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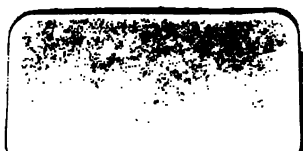
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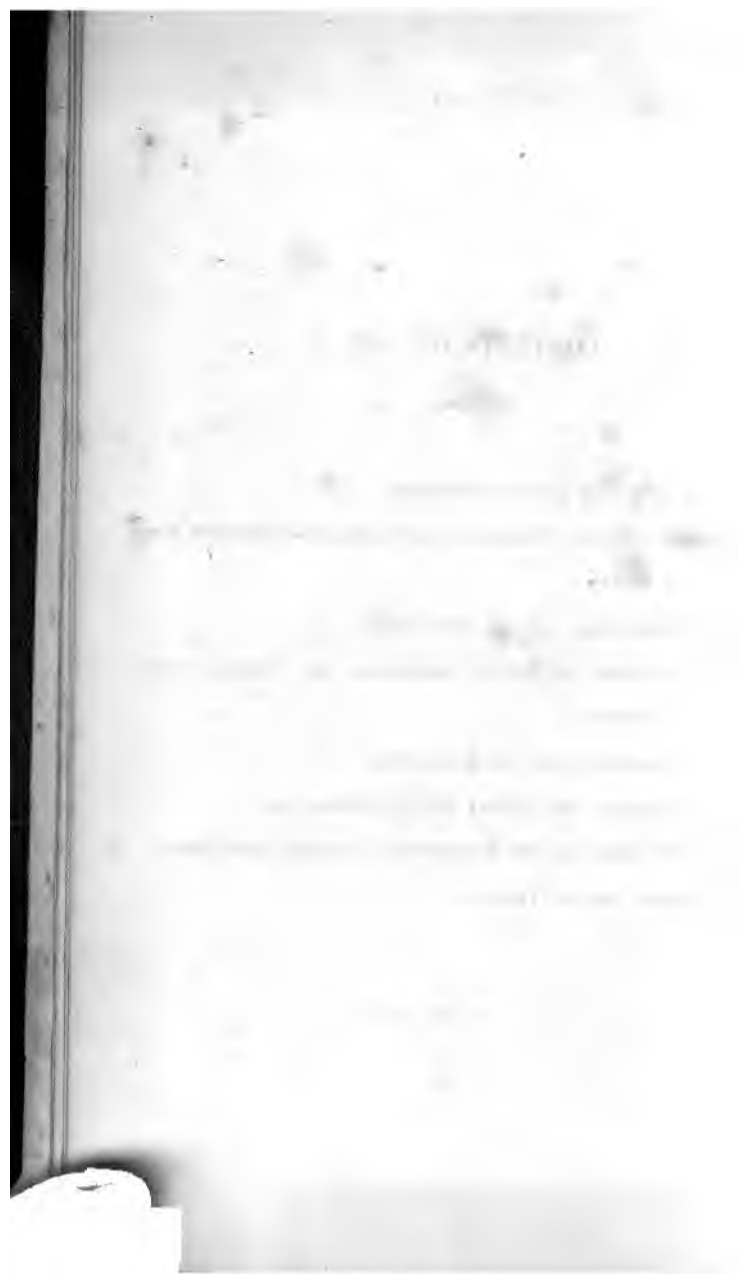
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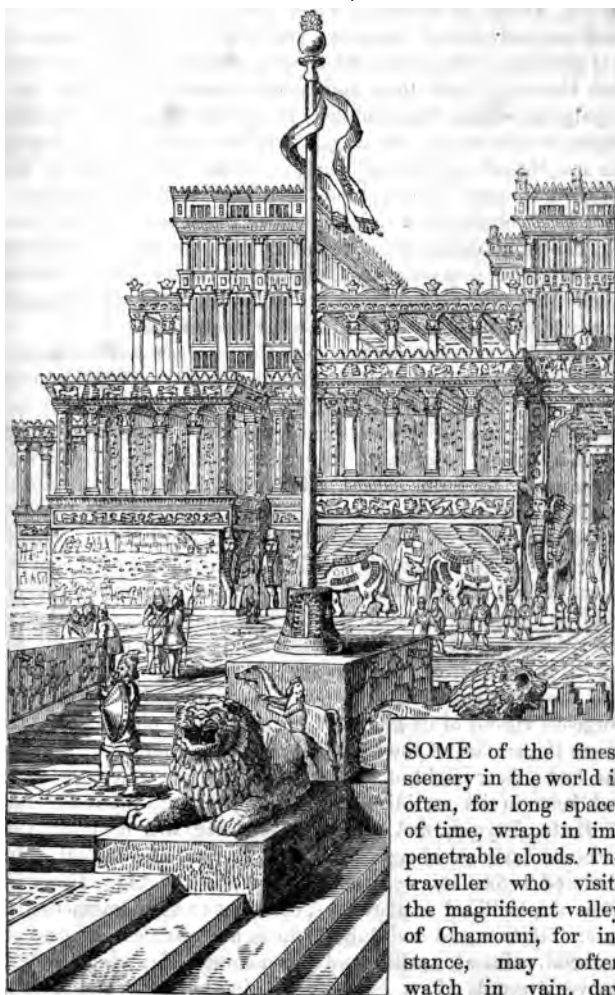
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THE STORY OF ANCIENT NINEVEH.



SOME of the finest scenery in the world is often, for long spaces of time, wrapt in impenetrable clouds. The traveller who visits the magnificent valley of Chamouni, for instance, may often watch in vain, day

after day, for a distinct view of the monarch of the Alps.

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The mist still lingers over his shoulders, covers his head, and envelops, perhaps entirely, his gigantic form. There is, nevertheless, known to be behind those floating vapours, one of the sublimest marvels of creation; and while it remains unseen, it is pictured by the imagination—it is painted on the very veil that hides it. Then there comes fairer weather; and the dull impalpable screen between the eye and the mountain of snow begins to melt away. At length it is pierced by the wind and the sun; broad openings are made; and the glories behind are revealed in part. Here, stands forth a wall of rock, dappled with rich colours; and there, peer out above the ridges of the fog, like battlements, pinnacles, and spires, the summits of the less lofty and imposing members of the Alpine group; while yonder, looming as an unearthly vision, there may be seen the pure white dome-crest of the father of them all.

Something of this kind has been the case in reference to the subject which we have selected for the opening tract of our series. NINEVEH, to a great extent, was long hidden from the world. The inquisitive, the learned, the enterprising, sought for a true history of it in vain. Impenetrable darkness enveloped its annals. Its form, extent, civilization, habits, government, worship, and other characteristics, were all encompassed with doubt and mystery. In the remote past, whither the student eagerly directed his eye, it was known to be one of the most splendid and stupendous of cities—one of the mightiest of empires. That it existed was beyond question. The Scriptures threw some light on its history, and more on its condition; but a full view of it was sought in vain. Imagination was busy with its old traditions; painting and song created gorgeous visions of its glory, which passed like phantasmagoria across the surface of the universal mist-like ignorance. But no one had a clear sight of Nineveh—no one saw exactly what it had been in its meridian glory—until, through the researches of Botta, Layard, and others, an opening was made in the gathered darkness of ages, and the Assyrian city was palpably disclosed before the eyes of the astonished world. Here, in these unparalleled explorations, come out to view fragments of its architecture and sculptures; there, are revealed glimpses of its social, political, warlike, and even domestic life; while yonder, the very records of its history are being unrolled, and we are actually beginning to read portions of its imperishable annals;

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not in old paper books or parchment scrolls, but on tables of stone, engraved by the contemporaries of the heroes whose achievements they relate. Nineveh, just now, is like Mont Blanc, revealing itself through the rent veil of vapour. Continually is the mist diminishing. Bright patches of artistic, antiquarian, historical scenery are left bare in succession, fixing upon them the intelligent inquisitiveness of a multitude of eager students. As mound after mound is opened,

“ Earth reveals her store ;
The gorgeous secret, ages keep no more ;
Assyria's homes and temples on us gleam,
And her dread pomp no longer is a dream.”

It is our purpose in this tract to tell, in brief, the story of Nineveh, so far as we know it—of course a very imperfect story at present, but a deeply interesting one.

We shall begin by looking at our subject as it presented itself to the minds of scholars before the recent discoveries were made. As Herodotus, in his great historical work, makes but few allusions to Assyria, and none which throw light upon its early history, but little assistance has been afforded by him. If he ever wrote a book expressly on Assyrian affairs—of which he expresses an intention in such portion of his writings as we possess—that book has perished. The main authorities, then, for what was until of late known on the subject before us, were Berosus and Ctesias. The former was a Babylonian, living at Athens in the time of Alexander the Great ; and being a priest of Belus, he possessed a large amount of Chaldean lore. He wrote a history of the Chaldees, of which, unfortunately, we have only a few fragments ; in these, however, are found some scanty notices relating to the condition of the Assyrian power and people. The second ancient author was Ctesias, perhaps a contemporary of Herodotus, who flourished in the fourth century before Christ. He is called, by Strabo, the historian of Assyria and Persia. He wrote a large work, of which the first six books were devoted to the former subject. The work in its entirety no longer exists, but, happily, an abridgment of it is preserved, so far as Persia is concerned, in the works of Photius. Of the part referring to Assyrian matters, there is no abridgment in Photius, but very large use of it is made by Diodorus Siculus, who may be regarded, in his account of Assyria, as giving the substance of his predecessor's labours. “ Of later writers,” says

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Dr. Layard, "who have touched upon Assyrian history, Diodorus Siculus, a mere compiler, is the principal. Eusebius, and the Armenian historians, such as Moses of Chorene, have preserved a few valuable details and hints; they also obtained their information from elsewhere, but in some instances from original sources not altogether devoid of authenticity. Many other authors could be cited who, in their works, have casually alluded to events in Assyrian history, or have introduced brief notices concerning the Assyrian empire; but any particular account of them, or any analysis of the information they afford, would only weary the reader. It is remarkable that none of the authors alluded to, do more than mention by name any of the Assyrian kings, with the exception of the three great monarchs, Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, whom traditions have made celebrated, and whose deeds, like those of all prominent characters in an epoch before sober history commenced, have been invested with superhuman features, or have been mixed up with fables."

To weave together these materials into anything like a consistent history is no easy task; and a difficulty, perhaps the greatest of all, is presented in the vast difference between the brief statement of Herodotus, with regard to the duration of the Assyrian power, and the chronology of other authors. Dr. Layard, and other accomplished scholars in this branch of learning, can find no satisfaction in the attempts that have been made to reconcile the discrepancies which meet us in this inquiry. "From such contradictory materials, it is not surprising that each writer should have formed a system of his own, and we may, without incurring the charge of scepticism, treat all their efforts as little better than ingenious speculations."

From all this it will appear that the certain knowledge possessed respecting Assyria, until very lately, was small in the extreme. It is very true that Holy Scripture afforded some clear and distinct intimations of the state of Assyria and of certain incidents in its history; but these were chiefly such as related to that connection into which the chosen people of God were brought with this military power which so often invaded and oppressed them.

A great change has now come over our knowledge of Nineveh and Assyria, through the wonderful discoveries of recent explorers, and revelations of the mighty and teeming past are still

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in the course of progress. The mist is being rolled away; fresh points of interest are ever coming into view; and it is not improbable that, in a few years our acquaintance with the Assyrian empire will be as full as hitherto it has been defective. The inscriptions upon which Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks and others, are laboriously employed, are of surprising value. They are, in fact, historical records full of particular and minute information. The sculptures and paintings, too, are of the greatest importance in reference to Assyrian history, because they afford abundant pictorial illustrations of the whole life of this wonderful people, from the sovereign down to the slave. Names and dates, the exact order and relation of events, may still puzzle the student; but broad glimpses of what the nation was—how the people ate and drank and dressed, built and hunted, fought and worshipped, and did a thousand things in the everyday acts of human life—these we have as clear as noon-light.

It is not our intention, in this elementary sketch, either to lead our readers into the bewildering mazes of chronological controversy, or to pass over in silence the wonderful stories derived from Ctesias—the only authority, as we have before remarked, who affords any fulness of information respecting the history of Nineveh and the Assyrians. We are extremely cautious when we come in the way of learned myth-theorists—men who resolve into pure fable—into mere imagination—almost all the glowing stories of the olden time. We never can believe that these are entirely fabrications—that from beginning to end they are no better than dreams. Such inventions would be unaccountable, and no satisfactory reason could be assigned for men's general belief in them. We are, of course, perfectly satisfied that very much of them must be exaggeration; nor are we able to distinguish correctly, at present, between the true and the false; but still we believe that there is a real historical element blended with the mass of fables; and in the case of Nineveh, possibly, some day, such new light may be obtained from the discoveries going on, as may give the critical historian the power of separating what is authentic from what is spurious. In the mean time, the best course to be pursued, perhaps, is to set down ancient tradition as we find it; giving, along with it, the distinct caution that it must not be altogether received as genuine history.

Ctesias was a Greek physician; and being taken prisoner in

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the rebellion of the younger Cyrus against his brother, was kept in captivity at the Persian court for seventeen years, where he enjoyed the favour of Artaxerxes Mnemon, in consequence of the surgical skill he had displayed in healing a dangerous wound which that monarch had received. It was in Persia that he collected the information respecting the Assyrians which has been handed down to us from him, and therefore it has this historical value at least, that it shows the notions of Assyria and of its early state entertained by the people who established their own power upon its ruins. Moreover, it indicates the ideas on the subject which possessed the minds of some of the Greeks.

I.

Here, then, followeth the old story of Ctesias, concerning Nineveh and its kings.

Once on a time, in very distant ages, there was a king called Ninus, who ruled over the Assyrians, and was a man of great power, courage, and ambition. He was at the same time very wise and prudent, and carefully trained up the young men in his dominion to the use of arms, and to the practice of all war-like exercises. Finding the Arabians to be a powerful people, he cultivated their friendship, and entered into alliance with Ariæus their prince. Uniting their forces together, these two warriors marched into Babylonia; but at that time the great city of Babylon was not built, though there were many towns in existence with numerous inhabitants. These, however, not being well fortified, easily fell a prey to Ninus and Ariæus, and the two invaders conquered the country, and exacted tribute of the people; they also led away captive the king and his family, and afterwards put them to death. Next they went to war with Armenia, whose king, Barzanes, they forced to wait upon them with costly gifts, and allowed him to remain on his throne only upon condition of being the vassal of Ninus. Media was then subdued; and, according to an almost invariable rule, the thirst of conquest increasing the more it was gratified, the insatiable monarch set his heart upon being master of the whole of Asia. Very many, accordingly, were his successful campaigns, extending from the Tigris to the Hellespont, and from the Nile to the Caspian sea. The Bactrians were the only people who successfully resisted this mighty hero; and they were indebted

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for their temporary safety to the formidable nature of their mountain fastnesses.

Ninus, having sent away the king of Arabia, began to build for himself, on the banks of the *Euphrates* (so Ctesias says by an odd mistake, instead of the *Tigris*), a great city, with high walls and very lofty towers; the former 100 feet, the latter 200 feet in height, and altogether 1500 in number. The city measured 74 miles in circumference; and so broad were the fortifications, that it is said, three chariots could drive along them abreast. The builder called the city Nineveh, after his own name; and after its completion he returned to war with the troublesome Bactrians, whom, in spite of their mountain strongholds, he was determined to subjugate.

Now, in connection with this enterprise, there occurred a remarkable event. Among the officers of Ninus, engaged in it, was one who had married a woman of extraordinary beauty and wisdom, called Semiramis. Her birth, it was alleged, was more than mortal, for she was supposed to have sprung from a goddess, and to have been miraculously nourished in her infancy by a flock of doves. She had come to Nineveh, where she had smitten the heart of Menon; and now that his services were required against the Bactrians, he had brought his charming and heroic wife along with him to the camp. There had been wondrous preparations made for reducing the capital of Bactria. Soldiers and chariots without end had been brought before it, but still the place held out against the invaders. Semiramis watched what was going on in the Assyrian army, and also detected certain points in the Bactrian fortifications which the soldiers had negligently left defenceless; and being a very brave and intrepid woman, she induced certain of the Assyrian troops to follow her up the sides of the rock on which the city stood, by which piece of strategy she managed to take possession of the citadel. When this became known to king Ninus, he, of course, was curious to see so marvellous a woman, and she was accordingly introduced into his presence. As might have been anticipated, the monarch fell in love with this brave beauty; poor Menon hung himself in despair; and the monarch speedily married the widow. It was thus that Semiramis became queen of Nineveh. Ninus died soon after his marriage with her, and left her the occupant of his throne. Semiramis was as ambitious as her royal husband; and, as he had built a very great city,

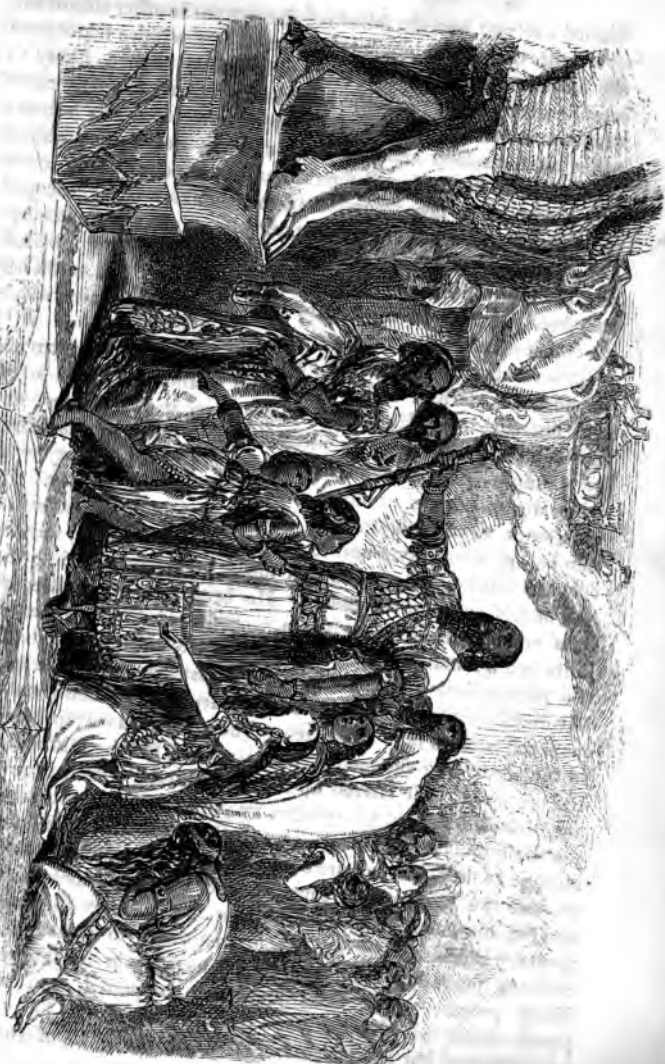
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she determined, in order not to be outdone, to build another ; and hence, under her direction, rose the mighty Babylon. Many other magnificent works she likewise accomplished, and among the rest a road called Semiramis' way. She spent much time in visiting her dominions, and even travelled into Egypt, where she was told by the oracle in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, that she would vanish from among men, and be honored and worshipped by some of the Asiatics, whenever her son Ninyas—whom she had borne to Ninus—should plot against her life.

We learn from Armenian history, that the present town of Wan, in Armenia, which is built upon the plateau of a large precipitous rock on the borders of a beautiful lake, occupies the site of an ancient city, embracing a royal palace of great magnificence, founded by Semiramis, and, after her, originally named Schamiramjerd. Here, in the delicious gardens which she had planted in the fertile plain contiguous to the city, and which she had watered with a thousand rills, she often sought refuge from the intolerable sultriness of a Mesopotamian summer, returning again, on the approach of winter, to her palace at Nineveh.

Ambitious of rivalling her husband's conquests, as she had been of emulating his architectural achievements, she led a great army into India, after having made vast preparations in the way of soldiers, stores, warlike engines, and bridges, wherewith to cross the rivers ; but one thing she had not, which she knew was abundantly possessed in the country whose martial power she was about to encounter, and that was, a supply of elephants. So, in lieu of the real animals, she set to work and had sham ones made. Three hundred thousand great black oxen were killed, and the skins being joined, were put over camels, and so stuffed as to look as big and burly as elephants. All this was cunningly done within an enclosure, so that nobody should see it who would be likely to divulge the imposition to the Indian king. Stabrobates, for such was his name, prepared to receive the terrible heroine ; he added to the number of his elephants, and at the same time sent messengers to reproach her for her conduct, and to declare that if she fell into his hands he would certainly crucify her. But she persevered, nothing daunted by his threats, and fought the Indians in a bloody battle on the banks of the Indus, where she completely vanquished them and took a multitude of prisoners. The king

SELF-INMOLATION OF A KING



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feigned a retreat, and she followed. Drawn to the other side of the river with the mock elephants, the smell of the hides frightened the Indian horses, so that at first the queen seemed likely to establish her victory; but the battle took a turn; the Assyrians were thrown into confusion, the ox-hide covered camels became worse than useless, and the king and the queen encountered each other on the field, and fought hand-to-hand, until the latter was compelled to flee, wounded in the shoulder. She escaped alive to Bactria, where her son employed an eunuch to attempt her assassination. Jupiter Ammon's oracle was now fulfilled, and the queen, it is stated, rose into a goddess. She made her exit from the world in the form of a dove, and became afterwards an object of worship to her people.

This wonderful woman was succeeded by Ninyas, who turned out to be as slothful as his father and mother had been active and enterprising. He locked himself up in his palace, and spent his life in licentious pleasures, only securing his safety by a cunning plan of changing his officers and his army, who, when dismissed, were obliged to take an oath of fidelity. His successors were voluptuaries like him, and were thirty in number, of whose lives and exploits we know nothing, until we come to Sardanapalus, who was more luxurious and idle than any of his royal predecessors. He became so effeminate that, it is related, he dressed like a woman, painting his face and imitating a female voice. Belesis, a priest, and a proficient in the astrological science of the time, assured Arbaces, a brave but disaffected warrior, that he was destined to dethrone the monarch and to take his place. The ambitious satrap listened to the gratifying suggestion, and prepared for the fulfilment of the prophecy. He stirred up the Medes and Persians to revolt, and Belesis favoured his designs by pursuing a like course with the Babylonians. So a great rebellion was fomented; when, strange to say, the indolent and sensual prince manifested all at once the most manly courage, and resolutely took the field against his enemies, and beat them in three several engagements. Belesis, however, encouraged them to persevere, and Arbaces prevailed upon the Bactrians to join in the revolt. These people, whom Semiramis had conquered, and whose proud spirits felt that they had centuries of wrongs to avenge, now attacked her last successor, besieging the gates of the city of Sardanapalus.

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The situation of the monarch, thus environed by determined foes, became desperate ; but still he hoped, because he trusted to an old prediction which said that Nineveh could not be taken until the river became her enemy. "The siege continued two years," says Diodorus, following Ctesias. "In the third year it happened that the river, overflowing with continual rains, came up to a part of the city and tore down the wall twenty furlongs in length. The king hereupon conceiving that the oracle was accomplished, in that the river was an apparent enemy to the city, utterly despaired ; and therefore, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, he caused a huge pile of wood to be reared in his palace court, upon which he heaped together all his gold, silver, and royal apparel, and enclosing his eunuchs and his concubines in an apartment within the pile, then ordered it to be set on fire, and so burnt himself and them together ; which, when the revolvers came to understand, they entered through the breach in the walls and took the city, and clothed Arbaces with a royal robe, and committed to him the sole authority, proclaiming him king."

Athenæus, who perhaps still more fully gives Ctesias' tradition of the fall of Nineveh, tells us that he erected a pile within his palace, on which he placed 150 golden beds and as many golden tables ; that in the midst of it he built a hall of 100 feet, in which he had couches for himself, his wives, and his concubines ; that it was all fenced round with timber, so as to be unapproachable ; that within it were collected 4000 myriad talents of gold and 10,000 of silver, besides an immense quantity of furniture and apparel ; that the pile, when the king had ordered it to be set on fire, burned for fifteen days, and was supposed to be the offering of a holocaust to the gods, so that the people generally were not aware at the time of the self-immolation of the monarch.

The mode in which this desperate act of self-sacrifice was accomplished, has been thus vividly depicted in a recently published poem, of great merit, entitled, 'Ruins of many Lands,' by Nicholas Mitchell :—

"From Bel's high altar, in a neighbouring room,
The dull red embers quivering through the gloom,
The monarch seized a brand—the pile was fired !
And up, like wreathing snakes, the flames aspired ;
They spread ; they clasped, with many a burning fold,
Pillar of cedar, and rich cloth of gold.

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Far fled the slaves—rushed women to and fro,
Blind in their terror, shrieking in their woe.
Sardan alone was calm; 'mid volumed smoke
And mingling flames, that round and o'er him broke,
Erect he stood, his form of giant height,
His proud eye raised, and flashing living light :
He seemed some spirit that disdained to fall,
High throned in Arismanes' blazing hall.
But hark ! that sudden crash—the walls give way—
Towers toppling sink—one shriek of wild dismay,
And all is still—the maid, the child, the sire,
Whelmed and enclosed within their tomb of fire !”

Such, then, is the story of Nineveh, according to those who appear to have depended on the authority of Ctesias ; and we have here, no doubt, the traditions that prevailed among the Persians—the tales which the soldiers among that people would tell their children—which the sages would relate to their disciples—which the poets would sing to the crowd—which would form sometimes the theme of conversation beside the fountain in the court, or under the palm-tree in the garden. And a great deal of all this, in uncritical times, and when men were wont to be credulous, especially about distant countries and ancient nations, would most likely be believed by the Greeks, when they heard it in reply to their inquiries about the wonderful power that once threw its shadow along the banks of the Tigris—of which a few mounds were the only mementoes existing in the days of Xenophon. No one, of course, would now believe all these astounding narrations ; but that they are not entirely fabulous, that there is a thread of truth running through them, we should, on general grounds, be inclined to admit ; while we shall find, as we proceed, that there are remains which indicate the historical reality of some of the characters and incidents which have been here introduced.

II.

Leaving, then, these realms of uncertain story, we would proceed to state two or three general facts, now tolerably well ascertained, in reference to Assyria and Nineveh.

According to the fragments of Ctesias, preserved by Diodorus Siculus, there were thirty-three kings from the accession of Ninus to the fall of the empire, and their reigns occupied 1306 years ; terminating in 876 before Christ. The statement of Herodotus is, that after the Assyrians had ruled over Upper

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Asia 520 years, the Medes first began to revolt from them—an event which took place about 710 B.C. The difference between the two spaces of time here mentioned is very great; and if Herodotus be supposed to refer to the first origin of the Assyrian power, and if his testimony is to be deemed conclusive, then the chronology of Ctesias must be utterly set at nought, and the great antiquity so often claimed for Assyria and Nineveh must be entirely given up. But it has been well observed, that the words of Herodotus by no means need to be regarded in reference to the commencement of the Assyrian dominion, but only to its extension *over other parts of Asia*. If so, the discrepancy between him and Ctesias would be diminished, and his authority would not be opposed to a much earlier date for the *founding of the original power* than for the sweep of the subsequent empire. At any rate, Herodotus does not disprove the remote antiquity of the Assyrian state; and, on the other hand, we have very strong proofs in favour of that antiquity so far confirming the account by Ctesias. Intrinsically, there is nothing improbable in the idea. Why might not a martial tribe plant themselves by the waters of the Tigris, in the very infancy of our world, after recovering from the desolation of the flood? It seems a very likely thing—quite in harmony with the little we know of those times—that a brave and enterprising band of people, so situated, should grow into a strong kingdom, and stretch out the line of their conquests far and wide.

Of the great antiquity of Egypt there can be no doubt; yet from “the earliest period we find her contending with enemies already nearly, if not fully, as powerful as herself; and amongst the spoils from Asia, and the articles of tribute brought by subdued nations from the north-east, are vases as elegant in shape, stuffs as rich in texture, and chariots as well adapted to war, as her own.” In fact, to reject the notion of the existence of an independent kingdom in Assyria at the very earliest period, would be almost to question whether the country were inhabited; which would be directly in opposition to the united testimony of Scripture and tradition. Moreover, upon the celebrated tablet which stands at Karnak, a name has been deciphered by Champollion as Neu-i-iu, or Nineveh. Though the identification of it with the Assyrian city has not been deemed quite satisfactory, owing to its position at the commencement of a line, where it may be only the termination of some other name,

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yet the coincidence is remarkable, and, as it stands at present, is not without its historic value.

By the best of all authorities, a very high antiquity is assigned to the commencement of the Assyrian nation. "Out of that land (Shinar) went forth Ashur and builded Nineveh." Josephus also says of Amraphel, king of Shinar, mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, that he was a commander in the Assyrian army, probably a satrap, or viceroy, which, if it were so, would be in harmony with the subsequent boast of Assyria, "Are not my princes altogether kings?" Certainly, as early as the fifteenth century before Christ, we find Balaam referring to the power of the Assyrians. Dr. Layard, after the laborious investigations which led to the production of his first work, expressed himself as decidedly of opinion, from an examination of the ruins of Nimroud, that the oldest of the palaces on that spot was built at least 1200 B.C., and is probably much more ancient. In his second work he refers to inscriptions giving the name of a king who reigned 1121 B.C. At that time, it is pretty clear that Nineveh had attained to great power—that it was not then an infant state just struggling for existence, but one that was founding for itself a mighty empire. Consequently, it must have been in existence long before; growing up by degrees into magnitude and palmy splendour. At the time, then, when the Philistines were at war with Israel—when Sampson was performing his miraculous exploits, slaying his enemies with the jawbone of an ass, and carrying away on his shoulders the gates of Gaza—long ere the kingly line was established in Judah, and the royal and sacred city of Jerusalem began to crown the rock of Jebus—long ere the people witnessed the victories of David and the magnificence of Solomon—at that time assigned as the era of the Trojan war—when Athens was scarcely known—when for Rome there remained five hundred years ere its first stone should be laid—a gorgeous city, with marble palaces and monuments, was washed at its foot by the waters of the Tigris, and the inhabitants could talk of their fathers having dwelt there in what were then times of old.

Another important point in Assyrian history appears now to be settled, and that is, a double kingdom or dynasty and a two-fold overthrow. The discrepancy between Ctesias, who places the fall of Nineveh in the year 876, and Herodotus, who

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dates it 606, was felt by Petavius and Usher, who sought its removal by adopting the hypothesis that there were two empires, and two overthrows in succession. This has been pronounced an assumption without evidence, and indeed, so far as written books are concerned, there is no distinct and explicit proof to that effect; but Dr. Layard has discovered it in the character of the ruins he has brought to light. He states, that the remains of buildings are so different in their sculptures and mythological and sacred symbols, as well as in the character and language of the inscriptions, as to lead to the inference of there having been at least two distinct periods of Assyrian history; that the people inhabiting the country at these periods were of distinct races, or belonging to varieties of the same race, and that intercourse with the Egyptians had considerably changed them; that the earlier palaces of Nimroud were in ruins before the foundation of the later ones; that these later edifices were constructed out of the ruins of their predecessors; and that while the more ancient structures discover no signs of any conflagration, the more recent have evidently been destroyed by fire.

It deserves also to be mentioned, that tombs were found over the earlier edifices, showing that soil had accumulated there, so as to become receptacles for the dead; the contents, too, of the sepulchres revealing relics of art quite distinct from those in the Assyrian style. The only evidences of a former overthrow likely to exist, if such an overthrow took place, are thus afforded, for we scarcely expect to find among the inscriptions of a proud people, like the Ninevites, any express record of their own defeat and desolation.

Having thus prepared the way for it, we shall now present, from the results of the labours of Layard, Rawlinson, and others, compared with the remains of ancient history, what has been at present pretty satisfactorily ascertained as an authentic summary of Assyrian events.

III.

The foundation of the city of Nineveh, by one to whom Moses gives the name of Ashur, and who seems from the disinterred sculptures to have been afterwards worshipped as a god is a fact clearly decided; but the period when that event occurred cannot be ascertained, and conjecture is vain. However, long

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before the historic age which our enterprising travellers have disclosed to us, there the city stood upon the banks of the Tigris, by the delta which the Zab, flowing into the river, forms at its junction. The country around, though undulating, was anything but hilly, and though it seems to have been fertile, must have been dependent for that circumstance upon the art and toil of husbandry. In addition to the rains which watered the soil, it is probable that from an early period the fields were irrigated by artificial canals.

The earliest king with whom Rawlinson makes us acquainted through the inscriptions he has explained, reigned, according to him, about 1250 B.C., and took his name from Derceto, whom he identifies as Semiramis, a personage evidently transformed by the Ninevites into a goddess, which so far accords with the tradition of Ctesias. Another king, named Divanubara, next gleams out of the past, reflected from many a slab and brick bearing his name, but nothing more—indicating, however, that he must have been a famous builder. Two other names occur afterwards, not yet satisfactorily deciphered; but before the end of the eleventh century B.C., there are evidences of a monarch, whom Rawlinson considers to have been the first to carry the Assyrian arms into foreign countries. "His exploits are recorded on a slab which was found at Nimroud, a relic of some ancient palace, and they are of value in defining the limits of the Assyrian empire at that early period. The king boasts that he had extended his sway from the Persian gulf to the Mediterranean; but it is evident from his lists of conquests, that neither Syria to the west, nor Asia Minor to the north-west, nor Media to the east, had been yet visited by the armies of Nineveh. In a later age indeed, when Sardanapalus led his troops beyond the Taurus, he expressly says that the king in question had not penetrated so remote a quarter. In the eleventh century B.C. the empire of Nineveh comprised Mesopotamia, Syria, and Babylonia, and incursions seem to have been then first made into Armenia, and the mountainous countries about the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates."

The historical epoch of Assyria fairly begins with the tenth century, and thenceforth we trace a nearly uninterrupted series of sovereigns down to the tragical fall of the city in 606. We find that at the time when Solomon in all his glory dwelt in his palace at Zion, Adrammelech the First wielded his sceptre

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over Nineveh and its extensive dominions. But the kings of this epoch seem to have been warriors rather than builders, since no monuments of their magnificence have been found. A great and illustrious king reigned in the tenth century, with whose tastes and exploits we have become familiar by means of the remains of the north-west palace of Nimroud, of which he was the builder. It is a curious fact, which we gather from the cuneiform inscriptions, that this palace was founded upon the ruins of a former one; and we are further informed by the same graven records, that the inhabitants of the countries over whom he ruled sent gold, silver, copper, and iron for the building of the edifice. Concerning the rendering of his name, there is a difference of opinion. Dr. Hincks renders it Assaracbal, and Colonel Rawlinson, Sardanapalus. As if to preserve his fame in the event of his palace being defaced, the annals of his reign were engraved on slabs on the side facing the wall, as well as on the outer surface. As many as 325 lines of writing remain, in which we find an account of this monarch's warlike expeditions detailed in a succinct and characteristic style. "On the 22nd day of the month I departed from Calah (Nimroud); I crossed the Tigris; on the banks of it I received much tribute; I occupied the banks of the Khabour. I halted at the city of Sadikanni." Having crossed the Euphrates, he goes on to say, "On the banks of the Orontes, I occupied the country. By the sea-shore I encamped. Whilst I was at Ariboua, the cities of Lukuta I took; I slew many of their men; I overthrew and burned their cities; their fighting men I laid hold of; on stakes over their city I impaled them. On the great sea I put my servants; I sacrificed to the gods. I went to the forest and cut them down, and made beams of the wood for Ishtar, mistress of the city of Nineveh, my protectress."

These curt details receive pictorial illustration from the contemporary architecture and sculptures, so that we are enabled to picture the king, Sardanapalus, going forth from the gate of his palace guarded by winged lions—the symbol of Assyrian power employed by Daniel. He appears in the midst of his eunuchs, officers, servants, and soldiers; "the captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men, horsemen riding upon horses." We see him in his battle chariot, gorgeously arrayed, drawn by four horses. They sweep along in proud martial array, and we almost hear the rattle of their well-arrowed

quivers, the clash of arms, and the tramping of hoofs and feet. They cross rivers; the chariots going over in boats, and the men swimming on bladders. They besiege cities; the monarch stands up in his chariot, with drawn bow, before the turreted walls; darts fly, shields are battered, men fall; and then, from the scenes of carnage, we behold the triumphal procession return laden with spoil.

While we see all this warlike array, indicative of the spirit of Assyrian civilization at the time, and which of itself is no sufficient indication of advancement in art as it regarded other things—we have peeps also into peaceful Assyrian life in the sculptures that king Sardanapalus has left us. We see him walking out under an umbrella held over him by his eunuch. He stands worshipping before a symbolic tree; the practice of divination is maintained; hunters go out and return from the chase; the mysteries of the kitchen are revealed, and the primitive cooks may be seen busy at their culinary art. We can enter also the very stables of the monarch, where we find grooms currying their horses, and other animals eating or drinking out of troughs. We can here only add, what a feeling of reality is given to that old north-west palace, where Sardanapalus chronicled his deeds and illustrated his civilization, by a little incident mentioned by Layard. "Standing one day," he says, "on a distant part of the mound, I smelt the sweet smell of burning cedar. The Arab workmen excavating in the small temple had dug out a beam, and the weather being cold, had at once made a fire to warm themselves. The wood was cedar, probably one of the very beams mentioned in the inscriptions as having been brought from the forests of Lebanon by the king who built the edifice."

This Sardanapalus the First, who must not be confounded with the hero of so many modern epics and tragedies, was succeeded by his son, whose name Rawlinson takes to be Divanubara. He was the builder of the central palace of Nimroud, and on the famous black obelisk brought from the ruins of his palace, and now placed in the British Museum, we find inscriptions recording the victories of his reign, and sculptures illustrative of the spoils and tribute which were the fruit of those victories. He was a very great warrior, and seems to have kept his armies in a state of efficiency and activity, from the beginning to the end of his reign, for the records state that he led them across the

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Euphrates no less than twenty-three times. A multitude of places are named where he subdued revolts, or brought the people into subjection; and it is remarkable that he seems to have been particularly zealous in promoting his own religion, for he says: "I abode in the country about the rivers which form the Euphrates, and there I set up altars to the supreme gods, and left priests in the land to superintend the worship." Upon the obelisk the king appears twice, followed by his train, with a prisoner at his feet, and his vizier and eunuchs bringing him animals and other tribute. The forms of the animals are of historical importance, for they are all clearly oriental, thus showing his extensive conquests in the east. There are the elephant, the rhinoceros, the lion, and the monkey, as well as tusks, metal, and rare wood, borne in the hands of the tributaries. From the nature of the bas-relief, observes Dr. Layard, it is natural to conjecture that the monument was erected to commemorate the conquest of India, or of some country far to the east of Assyria and on the confines of the Indian peninsula. There are also double-humped or Bactrian camels, thus proving that by that time, at least, Bactria was under the Assyrian power; so that, whether first conquered by Semiramis or not, the story of Ctesias, about the subjugation of that eastern country, was not all a dream. Divanubara is ascertained to have been a contemporary of Benhadad and Hazael, from the obelisk recording expeditions against those very monarchs. "Jehu, the son of Omri," is also expressly named as one of his subject kings; and on the sculpture are represented figures, which, from their physiognomy, short beard, and long robes, look like Jews. Divanubara dwelt indifferently at Nineveh and at Calah, and the latter city he greatly embellished. The duration of his reign cannot be exactly fixed, but as his annals on the obelisk extend to his thirty-second year, and his continued wars and ovations show at that period of his life no decline of vigour, he probably filled the throne of Assyria till about 860 B.C. Shamas Adar and Adrammelech II. were the immediate descendants of Divanubara. Only the name of the former is known, with the circumstance of his adopting the family title Derceto; but the latter is ascertained to have built palaces after the manner of his father, both at Calah and Nineveh.

The next Assyrian king added to the palace in the centre of the mound of Nimroud, and on a bas-relief of his reign we see

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him, with a line of war chariots, receiving tribute from Menahem, king of Israel. Only fragments of the annals of this monarch remain, but his first campaign appears to have been in Chaldea, and he is represented as carrying his arms into the remotest parts of Armenia, and across the Euphrates into Syria, as far as Tyre and Sidon. Among the list of conquered towns and tribes are Harran and Ur, names so interesting to us from their association with the early history of the great Jewish progenitor. This monarch is considered by Layard to have been either the immediate predecessor of Pul, Pul himself, or Tiglath Pileser, the name on the pavement slab not having been deciphered. Colonel Rawlinson considers it was Pul himself; and, moreover, conjectures that he took the name of Sardanapulus—that the first Assyrian dynasty ended with him—and that the catastrophe described by Ctesias refers to the revolt of an officer of the court who captured Nineveh, and drove out the old family, *B. C.* 747—this memorable epoch being accordingly adopted by the Babylonians as the basis of their astronomical canon. This obscure and controverted point, however, subsequent investigations may serve to elucidate and decide.

The next king was Sargon, the names of whose father and grandfather have been discovered on a tablet at Kouyunjik, though they do not appear to have been either of them kings. Sargon was the builder of the great Khorsabad palace, in whose ruins M. Botta has made so many valuable discoveries, and where some striking accounts of his reign have been met with. It appears by the alabaster chronicles that he extended his conquests to the Isles of the Mediterranean, and set up a monument of his victory in Cyprus. Babylonia, Susiana, Armenia, and Media, were the scenes of his warfare, and even the kings of Egypt apparently rendered him tribute. The palace of Khorsabad has been so well examined, and so fully explained, that we seem as if we could ascend the steps of the broad and lofty terrace that leads to the portal, where we are confronted by the four great winged bulls, two on each side—with their majestic impassive human faces turned towards us as if calmly watching our approach. Passing these huge guardians, we enter the gates, wander from gallery to chamber, and chamber to gallery, in the gorgeous edifice once occupied by the great king Sargon, whom we see yonder represented on a wall, in royal attire, with a long

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staff in his hand, and attended by the officers of his court. There, too, is the god Nisroch, and Ilus, a winged divinity, another deity also appearing with an eagle head, while yonder is a priest, holding three pomegranates. The symbolic tree is likewise everywhere conspicuous. In other compartments of the pictorial sculptures we see preparations made for warlike expeditions. Logs of wood are being hauled on shore for constructing a port, or building a road. Then we have representations of Assyrian ships—the very ships most likely that were employed for the transport of Sargon's troops. There, too, are galleys with oars, the lofty prow rising up in the form of a horse's head. Sieges are depicted, and we are in the midst of towers and battering rams, the former such as Sargon attacked, and the latter such as he used in the enterprises which his annals record. In other divisions of this panorama of Assyrian life and usages, men are seen in the act of being hewn to pieces, or flayed alive, or deprived of their eyesight, or with hooks fastened in their mouths—pictures, no doubt, of the treatment which captives received at the hands of Sargon. Next, Sargon himself is seen, with his sons, amusing himself in a forest, shooting at targets or hunting the lion. Then we come to a feast, where the guests are seated on stools at a table, with wine-cups in their hands, seemingly drinking a health, perhaps that of Sargon.

Sennacherib succeeded his father Sargon. This monarch is distinctly mentioned by Herodotus. Eusebius also preserves a fragment of Polyhistor, containing an account of his campaign in Babylonia. The Old Testament, too, contains copious allusions to his wars in Judea. And now, in addition to these materials of history, we have large inscriptions, narrating the events of his reign, upon two clay cylinders, as well as on a pair of winged bulls. Very soon after his accession, he began to build the sumptuous palace at Kouyunjik, with which, restored in its original magnificence, the exquisite sketch of Mr. Fergusson has made us familiar.* It stands before us, with

*A beautifully engraved copy of Mr. Fergusson's water-colour drawing appears, as is well known, in Dr. Layard's recent work on Nineveh, from which, by the publisher's kind permission, the sectional view that adorns our front page is taken. It gives us great pleasure to embrace this opportunity of pressing upon all who are at all interested in the subject of this sketch, the importance of reading and studying Dr. Layard's admirable production. It will be found as full of entertainment as of instruction; and while exposing to the reverent gaze of this modern generation, the disinterred monuments of dead and buried empires, it

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its immense terrace and far-spreading steps, an oriental pile surpassing splendour, sculptured slabs, and bulls forming the basement, while above are rows of columns, surmounted by other stories. Ten colossal bulls, and six human figures of gigantic size, actually remain, and the sculptured walls forming the facade of the palace, have been traced by Layard to the extent of 180 feet. He mentions that the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik differ from those of the older palaces of Nimroud in the general treatment of the subjects chosen for illustration in the costume of the time, in the appearance of the nation warred against, and in the character of the inscriptions, ornaments, and other details; the whole marking a new era in the artistic culture and civilization of Nineveh. We may add that a number of small articles, illustrative of the domestic usages, appliances, and personal decorations of the period have been found at the mounds at Kouyunjik—such, for instance, as pieces of pottery, stone utensils, glass vases of great beauty, marble dishes, terra cotta vessels, and moulds for gold and silver ear-rings. It does not, indeed, of necessity follow from their being found there, that they are relics of art contemporary with Sennacherib, but at least it is probable that they are not very different from things of the kind used by the subjects of that noted monarch.

It is very remarkable that monuments illustrative of the building of the palace exist, and we positively can see the Assyrians by scores and hundreds busily engaged with levers and ropes dragging the winged bulls along to their places in the structure, just as men at the present day set to work for the accomplishment of similar objects. The inscriptions relative to the warlike proceedings of Sennacherib are very copious. From them we learn that in the first year of his reign he defeated Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon—a name mentioned in the Old Testament (Isaiah xxxix. 1; 2 Kings xx. 12.) A battle was fought to the north of Babylon, the result of which was the total defeat of Merodach, who was compelled to flee for his life, leaving behind him chariots, and horses, and camels. The conqueror plundered the palace of Babylon, and carried away treasures of gold and silver and precious stones, besides captives, both men and women. He took numerous fortresses

also abounds in vivid and fascinating sketches of the wild erratic life that still in some measure, breaks the silence and solitude of those once populous sites.

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and towns of the Chaldeans, and subjugated many of the wandering tribes that dwelt around the cities of Mesopotamia. Sennacherib then made Belib, one of his officers, lord of the conquered provinces, after which he proceeded to the Euphrates and Tigris, there to spread desolation and to seize treasure as his father had done. The number of captives represented as having been taken is prodigious, and lead us strongly to suspect that there must have been not a little exaggeration in these ex-parte accounts of Assyrian victories. Indeed, it must be remembered throughout, that in the statements derived from the Ninevitic inscriptions, we have only the authority of a proud and egotistical nation for its own exploits.

The next year Sennacherib was occupied among the mountains to the north and the east, and seems to have crossed the Taurus to burn and plunder people whom his predecessors had not visited. Fresh colonies were planted in the place of the old population. In the third year he went into the country of the Hittites. The king of Sidon threw off his allegiance, and fled on the approach of Sennacherib. His country was reduced, and another person was placed upon his throne. The kings of the sea-coast repaired to his presence, and brought him their accustomed tribute. From thence he moved to the city of Ekron, whose chiefs, after having humbled themselves, he admitted into his service, but the young men he carried away captive to inhabit the cities of Assyria.

That Sennacherib undertook an expedition into Palestine, we learn from the Bible; but it is highly curious to read the characteristic version of this affair which he gives himself. Thus it reads according to the translation of Rawlinson:—"Because Hezekiah, king of Judea, did not submit to my yoke, forty-six of his strong fenced cities, and innumerable smaller towns which depended on him, I took and plundered; but I left to him Jerusalem, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it. The cities which I had taken and plundered, I detained from the government of Hezekiah, and distributed between the kings of Ashdod, Ascalon, Ekron, and Gaza; and having thus invaded the territory of these chiefs, I imposed on them a corresponding tribute over that to which they had been formerly subjected; and because Hezekiah still refused to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelt around Jerusalem, with 30 talents of gold

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and 800 talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah's court, and of their daughters, with the officers of his palace, men slaves, and women slaves. I returned to Nineveh, and I accounted this spoil for the tribute which he refused to pay me."

It comes not within the scope of this sketch particularly to illustrate coincidences between the results of recent discoveries and the histories of Scripture, or to dwell upon the relations into which the Jews and Assyrians were brought to each other. This, however, will be done in another tract. But we cannot here refrain from entreating the reader to compare this account with the seventeenth chapter of the 2nd Book of Kings. There is no mention, indeed, in Sennacherib's inscription of any calamity befalling him in this expedition; but the circumstance which he does mention, of his leaving Hezekiah in possession of his throne, and of his not attacking the city of Jerusalem, is one which indicates that there was some special reason for it. His explanation of the reason cannot be ascertained from the copies made of the inscription, but in itself it would be reasonable to suppose that some extraordinary occurrence had taken place to deter him from pursuing, in this case, his accustomed course of complete subjugation and severe chastisement.

We are further told by Herodotus that Sennacherib attacked Egypt with a mighty army, but that he was discomfited and driven back by an interposition on the part of one of the gods, who had been consulted by an Egyptian priest about the safety of his country. At Pelusium, so immense a number of mice infested the camp, that the quivers and bows of the soldiers, and the straps which bound their shields, were gnawed in pieces and rendered entirely useless. The historian adds, that in Vulcan's temple might be seen a statue of Sennacherib with a mouse in his hand, bearing the inscription, "Whosoever thou art, learn from my misfortune to reverence the gods." Whether this is to be accepted as a record of a literal fact, or merely as a hieroglyphical mode of expressing their sense of the interposition of a divine and irresistible power, we cannot say; yet in this version of the matter, as given by the Egyptian priests to Herodotus, we recognise what would be quite in harmony with the notions of that people and the faith they cherished in the power and help of their gods. A supernatural interposition is acknowledged as the cause which drove back the tide of Assyrian invasion. And

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what that supernatural cause really was we know from inspired authority. "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and four score and five thousand, and when they arose early in the morning, behold they were dead corpses."

"Like the leaves of the forest, when Summer is green,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen ;
Like the leaves of the forest, when Autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay wither'd and strawn.

For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breath'd in the face of the foe as he pass'd ;
And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew still.

And there lay the steed with his nostril all wide,
But through it there roll'd not the breath of his pride ;
And the foam of his gasping lay white on the turf,
And cold as the spray of the rock-beating surf.

And there lay the rider, distorted and pale,
With the dew on his brow and the rust on his mail ;
And the tents were all silent, the banners alone,
The lances unlifted, the trumpet unblown.

And the widows of Ashur are loud in their wail,
And the idols are broke in the temple of Baal ;
And the might of the Gentile, unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord !"

In consequence of this fearful overthrow—which exhibits an example of the Divine righteousness, and a warning to the proud, ambitious, and rapacious in every age—Sennacherib renounced his intentions with regard to Egypt. The key to the explanation of a monarch on the Tigris wishing to subdue the mighty power enthroned on the Nile seems to be, that between these two empires lay the palm of supremacy over the civilized world. Each wished to rule mankind ; but this was impossible, except as one power first subdued the other. As this explains the cause of hostility between Assyria and Egypt, the reason for Palestine being selected as the seat of warfare is equally plain ; for if Assyria could gain it, the gate was open into Egypt, and if Egypt could secure it, it formed a natural fortification of great strength against the assaults of Assyria. Perhaps, at the period under consideration, some treaty of peace between the two great rival countries was formed. At any rate, it seems appropriate

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here to mention the fact that an Egyptian seal was discovered at Kouyunjik, having the impression of two signets. The one bears the name of Sabaco the Second—a name familiar to Egyptian archæologists, and identified as belonging to a sovereign of the seventh century before Christ, and therefore contemporary with Sennacherib. The other signet is Assyrian, and is no doubt the royal attestation of some compact on the part of the Assyrian power. The document itself has perished, but the seals remain, bringing most vividly before us the political relations of this ancient kingdom at the time now under review.

It is worthy of notice that while very boastful inscriptions belong to the third year of Sennacherib, there is a great falling off in the fourth, during which time no operations of importance are recorded; and further, that no mention afterwards of any attempt by this monarch to enter Palestine has been discovered in the sculpture-annals of his reign. The account of the fifth year is rather more imposing, as if the humbled Sennacherib was beginning to rally after his calamities. Two expeditions are mentioned as taking place at that period, both being to distant countries, not before reached by the Assyrian arms.

In the next year, some grand enterprise was undertaken, involving the preparation of boats wherewith to cross the Tigris, and for which the Assyrian king expressly declares that he employed the shipmen of Tyre and Sidon. Interesting details, in one passage, seem to be given of the building of vessels, and of the navigation of the Tigris. Sennacherib, before embarking to cross the river, offered sacrifice to the gods, and presented to one of them a ship of gold. The campaign is described as successful, and the king returned to dedicate his spoils to the erection of temples and palaces at Nineveh. The remains of those buildings have been carefully explored, and on the sculptured walls are found illustrations of the warlike exploits recorded in the inscriptions. Originally there appear to have been placed over the sculptures the title of the events to which they refer. Most of these epigraphs have perished, but one still remains, which has been read by Layard as follows:—“Sennacherib, the mighty king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before the city of Lachish. I give permission for its slaughter.” Now a Lachish is mentioned in Scripture as having been besieged by Sennacherib, at the time when he sent Rabshakeh to Jerusalem to demand tribute

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from Judah. Layard identifies the place as the same with this, and, according to him, we are to consider the sculptures as illustrative of the third year of the monarch's reign. Rawlinson entertains a different opinion; but whichever be right, we certainly have here a picture of Sennacherib himself, seated on a throne, wearing a conical helmet and royal robes, and holding in one hand a sceptre, and in the other a bow. There he is, surveying a city, which his soldiers are busily engaged in besieging and capturing. There are archers, spearmen, and slingers, together with cavalry and charioteers. Torches are being applied to the buildings by the Assyrian soldiers, while patriotic women, from above the battlements, may be seen pouring water on the flames. Scaling ladders are raised against the walls, and a part of the city is represented as taken. Captives are being led out at the gates, accompanied by an abundance of treasure. Some of these unfortunate beings are being tortured and flayed, while others may be seen, in the attitude of suppliants for life, at the feet of the conquering lord of Assyria. Behind the greedy despot is his pavilion, and near him are his chariots and horses, with an officer of his court bearing the royal symbol and shade—a huge parasol. Whether we are to understand all this of the taking of Lachish or not, certainly we have here a very lively picture of the Assyrian king, his army, and his proceedings; and one which, while referring to some one particular event, may be taken as an illustration of his character and career in general, whenever he followed his own impulses, and success crowned his enterprises.

The inscriptions relative to the last years of his reign have not been deciphered; but we know from Scripture that he perished at last in the temple of his god Nisroch, where he was slain by his sons—a common destiny among eastern despots in all ages. The sacred narrative says that after his return from Judea, and before his murder in Nineveh, he *dwelt* in that city—terms which imply that some time elapsed between his return and his death.

Nineveh was in its palmiest splendour when Sennacherib sat upon the throne. The older palaces, indeed, were probably in ruins. Nimroud might still exhibit relics of a magnificence that had faded away, but Khorsabad and Kouyunjik were in the perfection of their architectural beauty; and up their marble steps, and along their painted halls, there daily swept grand

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processions of the princely and the noble, the brave and the fair. The court of Sennacherib must have been full of that pompous display and parade—that gorgeousness of apparel and costliness of furniture—that luxury of habit and formality of intercourse, which seem to be among the permanent features of oriental civilization. Modern India and Persia, where English influences have not changed the stereotyped forms of grandeur handed down from the past, would furnish the best illustrations of what Nineveh was. Those palaces were the scenes of a dominion the most absolute and despotic. There centred a power which nothing in the empire could control or check. It knew no such thing as public opinion. It ignored the mind and the liberty of the subject, and recognised only its own. One will was law, and reigned paramount and supreme. To the caprice of the sovereign the multitude bowed down, rather “adoring him as a god than fearing him as a man.” Yet, to use Layard’s words, “the king, we may infer, exercised but little authority beyond the immediate districts around Nineveh.” As to the outer dominions—which do not appear to have extended much further than the central provinces of Asia Minor and Armenia to the north, the western provinces of Persia to the east, Susiana, Babylonia, and the northern part of Arabia to the south, and Lycia and perhaps Lydia and Syria to the west—it is not to be supposed that anything resembling the government which we exercise over our foreign possessions prevailed among the Assyrians; but rather that a loose kind of control and superintendence was exerted over these subject states, the chief badge of their inferiority consisting in their payment of tribute and rendering of warlike services; in this respect giving them a position not very dissimilar to that of feudal vassalage. Nor were these relations well defined or always long observed; hence we remark among the inscriptions, notices of people within five days’ march of the capital being at war with the king, and instances of repeated campaigns to bring them to a state of submission. The sovereignty of the Mogul over the kingdoms of India, or that of the Sultan over the old pashalics, have been appositely instanced as resembling the political condition of Assyria.

In the same palaces where was the throne of power, there seems to have been the temple of religion. No temples distinct from palaces have been discovered, and therefore we may

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reasonably infer that the structures we are acquainted with served for sacred as well as secular purposes. Ashur was most likely their principal deity. Rawlinson names twenty other gods whom he identifies with some of the classic deities. Layard gives a table of twelve, but, with caution, observes: "Some of them may possibly be identified with the divinities of the Greek pantheon, although it is scarcely wise to hazard conjectures which must ere long be again abandoned." Besides these, there were multitudes of inferior gods, amounting, according to one inscription, to 4000. Ashur it would appear, was the Nisroch, in whose temple (a portion, we infer, of the royal palace) Sennacherib was murdered by his sons. Thus, the fall of that monarch is associated with the rites of his religion. He was a pontiff as well as a king; and more, he was even counted as the friend and son of the immortal gods. Some picture him in the very hour of his tragic fate, paying his adoration, after a stately ritual, to some such mystic figure as we see employed in the Nineveh sculptures to represent the object of worship.

In the days of Sennacherib, we apprehend also that Nineveh had attained to its largest extent. That extent, we have no doubt, was as great as is represented in the book of Jonah, and by Diodorus Siculus. "If we take," says Layard, "the four



great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamlas, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four

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sides correspond pretty well with the 480 stadia, or 60 miles, of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet." A recent trigonometrical survey, moreover, fully corroborates the great traveller's opinion. We apprehend there was not a group of cities on the banks of the Tigris, but ONE city, large and comprehensive, bearing the single name of Nineveh, though divided, doubtless, into districts. No outer wall, surrounding the whole, has yet been traced, but only walls around the palaces. These seem to have been distinct fortifications, agreeably to Nahum's description of Nineveh as "a city of many strongholds and gates." The interspaces were filled up with arable and pasture lands, with farms and flocks. There were the cottages or hovels of the Assyrian peasantry. There they tilled the soil and kept the sheep for their lordly and arrogant masters. There they sowed and reaped their corn and cultivated their fruits. Nor were parks and gardens wanting round the palaces for the pleasure of the king and his nobles, and for the furnishing of princely tables. The houses—beyond the great palatial establishments, which probably accommodated the court—we imagine must have been poor and mean, and contrasted even more strongly with the gorgeous edifices that enshrined the wealth and beauty of the land, than the abodes of a somewhat similar class do in the present day to the mansions of the English nobility or of the magnates of commerce.

We have given this sketch of Nineveh in connection with the reign of Sennacherib, because that seems to have been the epoch of the nation's greatest pomp, affluence, and amplitude of dominion, and because it may serve to give something of substance and life to the meagre annals which are all that we possess at present as historic memorials of his famous reign. Nor is there much now to detain us from the end of our Assyrian story.

Essarhaddon was the son and successor of Sennacherib, and the builder of the south-west palace at Nimroud, which he reared with materials brought from the ruins of the earlier palaces in its vicinity. Rawlinson speaks of these materials as belonging to edifices which were the works of a family whom Essarhaddon's grandfather had supplanted. That there had been a change of dynasty is evident, and with that political occurrence the building of the palace now referred to seems to have a connection. At any rate, the comparison of the newer

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sculptures with the old, bears witness to a change of tastes and habits. Costumes, armour, and equipages are different; old religious emblems disappear; fire altars come into view; novelties in Assyrian archæology indicate that fire-worship had succeeded to the purer forms of Sabæanism; alterations in language, too, are apparent. All these changes testify to a new spirit having arisen since the old fathers built and adorned the structures in the north-west corner of the mound. Cylinders preserving annals of Essarhaddon's reign have been sent by Dr. Layard to the British Museum, in which this monarch is recorded to have extended his arms from the Persian gulf to the Mediterranean and Caspian seas.

Next to Essarhaddon, during whose reign the captivity of Manasseh took place, came one who bore the same name as the builder of the north-west palace. He was a Sardanapalus, and carried on his principal campaign in Susiana or Elam. His son was the builder of the south-east palace on the mound of Nimroud, reared probably over the remains of an earlier edifice. These particulars are deducible from the inscriptions, and with these we may connect what we are told of Nineveh about this time in the book of Judith. It describes a king after Essarhaddon, named Nabuchodonosor, who revived the glories of the Assyrian empire, defeated the Medes, and slew their monarch, and then celebrated the victory by a long protracted festival. His general was the famous Holofernes, who fell under the hand of the celebrated Hebrew heroine, the widow Judith. We cannot yet determine with which of the successors of Essarhaddon Nabuchodonosor is to be identified. The grandson of Essarhaddon was one of the last—if not the very last king—of the second dynasty, and may indeed, as we have already suggested, have been that Sardanapalus, or Saracus, who was conquered by the combined armies of the Medes and Babylonians, under Cyaxares in 606 B.C., and who made of his palace, his wealth, and his wives, one great funeral pile, and consumed them. Of this tragical event we have a curious illustration in the history of Zimri, king of Israel, concerning whom we read: "And it came to pass when Zimri saw that the kingdom was taken, that he went into the palace of the king's house, and burnt the king's house over him with fire, and died."

The fall of Nineveh was sudden, and the overthrow complete. So Nahum had predicted; and to this fact, the state of the

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ruins bear remarkable witness, for they are obviously the huge leviathan remains of a city which could not have slowly sunk into decay, but must have been attacked and overthrown in the midst of its magnificence and majesty; for scorched beams, half-burnt articles, and slabs converted into lime by the action of fire, show that a tremendous conflagration attended the overturning of this greatest of ancient cities, and this proudest of ancient empires. And where once there were sculptured temples and many-coloured palaces—terrace rising above terrace, crowned with trees and shrubs and flowers—spacious parks, pleasant orchards, and well-tilled fields—fountains and streams, viaducts and roads—courtly processions and troops of mailed warriors—chariots with princes and nobles—husbandmen and mechanics, dusty wayfarers, and peasants chained to the soil they tilled, except when the conscription tore them from their families to fight the battles of their lord; in short, where once was the busy seat of an old oriental civilization, there is now silence and solitude, as Layard so affectingly describes, speaking to the heart most touchingly, and telling, for the millionth time, how the fashion of this world passeth away. “From the summit of an artificial eminence,” he says, “we looked down on a broad plain separated from us by the river. A line of lofty mounds bounded it to the east, and one of a pyramidal form rose high above the rest. Beyond it could be faintly heard the waters of the Zab. We passed the night in the jungle which clothes the banks of the river, and wandered during the day undisturbed by the tribes of the desert. The scene around is worthy of the ruin the traveller is contemplating; desolation meets desolation; a feeling of awe succeeds to wonder, for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hope, or to tell of what has gone by.”

“So fell great Nineveh!—and yet her power
Lingered awhile through many a varying hour,
Till other conquerors, proud to seal her doom,
Swept her to Ruin's all-engulphing tomb.
Long ages passed, and turf o'ergrew the walls,
And silence reigned in Ninus' buried halls;
New races rose and died, till e'en the name
And city's site a shadowy dream became.
The Arab spread his tent, but did not know
Bright palaces of kings might shine below;
And Moslem tribes their little hamlets reared
On piles where nought but barren stones appeared.”

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THE PYRAMIDS is a word which carries the mind back into the depths of the remotest antiquity. To the child, the age of queen Elizabeth stands at a great distance, and the English antiquary gains his

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name by occupying himself with the Norman arch and the Saxon tongue. This antiquity, however, was preceded by the dominion of Rome, and Roman art was a child born and bred on the classic soil of Greece. When you have passed over Roman and Greek antiquity, you are still very distant from that of Egypt. The Roman armies swept over the world, and perished; the Grecian lyre sang undying songs, and sank to silence; the Grecian chisel sculptured forms of perfect and fadeless beauty, and fell from the hand, to be used no more, at an epoch when Egyptian culture was blooming for the third or fourth time, like heather on the mountain side, which is always old and always new. Trace the line of light which illumined Greece, up the Mediterranean to Asia Minor, its rising point in relation to the western world, and you have made a step in advance, but are still remote from the date of the Pyramids. Follow the shining track to the points where it lights on the islands of "the great sea;" then let it conduct your eye to Sidon, and its offspring Tyre; go with it in fancy to the islands of Ceylon, and the banks of the Ganges; and come with it back westward, to Nineveh, Babylon, and other social luminaries of Mesopotamia. You have gone over great stretches of country, you have travelled thousands of years into the ages of antiquity, and yet you are now only approaching the epoch of the Pyramids, and the beginnings of Egyptian civilization.

To such a depth are the fountains of civil and social life in Egypt sunk, that, destitute of points of comparison, we have no line to measure the lower levels. Very early, indeed, in Egyptian history, do we find the Pyramids objects sufficiently distinct to assist the mind in an attempt to conceive of Egyptian antiquity. But where is the bridge that shall convey us from Abraham to Cheops? and, if we employ imagination for the purpose, how are we to get from Cheops to Menes, the founder of the empire? Whence, too, came Menes? And what and whence the city of This, where he prepared the way for building Memphis? Of fabulous eras anterior to Menes, gods of the first series (8), gods of the second series (12), demigods, and manes, I say nothing, though this thick and far-extending cloud adds to the mysterious depth of Egyptian antiquity, when the fancy tries to go back to its origin. But beyond a question, Egypt is the prolific mother of human

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culture. In its genial bosom were born and fostered the elegant, as well as the practical, arts. The date of their birth we are unable to assign: respecting its locality there cannot be a second opinion.

While the extreme antiquity of Egyptian culture is now a settled point, considerable diversity of opinion prevails concerning its details; and diversity of opinion is a sure token of uncertainty. It is only within the last half century, and through the learned researches of such men as Champollion, Bunsen, and Lepsius, that we have been put on the right road for acquiring a knowledge of the originals of the Egyptian state. This advantage has been gained by the well-earned success of those, and other eminent Egyptologists, in deciphering the hieroglyphics of the Nile. Those hieroglyphics, or sacred characters, are a species of picture-writing, descriptive originally of *things*, and not *sounds*, but, at a later period, of sounds as well as things; which, till lately, were impenetrable mysteries, and, as mysteries, were supposed to contain the richest treasures of knowledge; but which, now that they have been laid open, prove, in their mythological, legendary, and half-historical details, more serviceable indirectly than directly. Indeed, the translations of these signs into equivalent English sounds has not yet been brought to completion. On many points there still remains a diversity of opinion. Nor are the data or facts complete on which our expositors have worked. Nevertheless, the cardinal points have been ascertained. To employ another figure, the whole road has been travelled over, from the beginning to the mist which rises at and covers the end; and milestones have been found at many different points, while other points have been ascertained as once existing realities, of which some have been identified, with greater or less probability.

In order that you may understand how this result has been obtained, I must inform you that there are in ancient authors various passages alluding to Egyptian history. The famous Greek historian, Herodotus, (B.C. 450,) who wrote a sort of universal history, has devoted one book of his immortal work to Egypt. Of special value, too, is a long extract given by Josephus, the Jewish historian, from the writings of Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who, in the third century, ~~before~~ Christ, composed, from original Egyptian authorities—

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of his native land. Hence, we possess a catalogue of kings of Egypt, running through thirty dynasties. This long line of monarchs supposes so great a lengthening of the recognised chronology, or, in other words, requires the age of the flood to be carried back so far, that Manetho's authority was formerly held in little estimation. But from the recent explorations of Egypt, it has received unexpected confirmation. The names of Manetho's kings have been found on Egyptian monuments. Copies of those monuments now exist in the British Museum, in plates and in books; so that you may behold those primeval monarchs, sitting in their seats of honour, side by side, in long succession. It is true, the line is here and there broken; and, it is equally true, that scholars are not certain that more of them than some admit did not reign contemporaneously, so that to take the sum of their reigns as the basis of a correct chronology would give an undue length to the Egyptian annals. There are, moreover, other points of doubt. Nevertheless, by researches the most indefatigable, ingenuity the most acute, and learning the most varied and profound, scholars have at length succeeded in giving a generally reliable form to Egyptian chronology, the result of which is, that the date of the flood must be thrown back many centuries.

The opinions of the three most eminent writers on the subject may be here mentioned. The first I would refer to is Bockh, who, holding that the thirty dynasties of Manetho were intended to be all successive—that is, that they regularly followed each other—places the first year of Menes the first king of Egypt, in the year 5702 before the birth of Christ. Not that he thinks that a real king of that name then began to reign. The succession with him is one of calculation. As such, it, of course, represents no historical reality. And no impartial mind, familiar with the subject, will deny that a thick and suspicious mist hangs over the springs of Egyptian chronology. A somewhat different view is taken by Chevalier Bunsen. Considering the dynasties as partly contemporaneous, and partly successive, he sets the commencement of the Egyptian kingdom in the year 3643 B.C. Lepsius, professor of Egyptian antiquities in the University of Berlin, holding with Bunsen that some of the monarchs reigned in different capitals at the same time, is led to fix on the year 3892 as that in which Menes began his

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reign, and, consequently, as the first year of the Egyptian monarchy. That monarchy Lepsius divides into the Old Empire and the New Empire; while, by Bunsen, three divisions are made, namely, the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, and the New Empire.

The difference between the date assigned by Bunsen and that assigned by Lepsius is only 249 years. Yet such a difference is sufficient to show that absolute certainty has not been obtained. There can, however, be no risk in stating that our existing chronological system must be extended at its commencement. The exact addition which should be made cannot at present be stated. If, however, the figures given by Bunsen and Lepsius show a reason for interpolating at least 1500 years in the line of the world's annals, the definite facts on which their calculation rests, authorize as the date of the flood a much more remote epoch than any yet mentioned; for long anterior to Menes must that destructive event have taken place; since in his time, it appears, the earth had become peopled again, the arts had revived, and social disquiet had so subsided as to allow the foundations of civil government to be laid. While, however, these considerations go to authorize the extension of the line of time, in my judgment the line has already been unduly stretched. I look with suspicion on any mere list of names; royal titles unaccompanied with historical details are questionable representatives of reality. Besides, history is a late product in a nation's life. A nation does not begin its career with writing its history. History is an after-thought, for history is a record, and every record supposes a past: and when, in the early ages, a nation began to write its history, it found itself all but destitute of materials. What did not exist as fact, imagination supplied, and the light mists of tradition were condensed into solid realities and fixed in durable records. King Menes may, after all, be little more substantial than a creature begotten by sacerdotal credulity or national vanity. In English history we have our Brutus and our Arthur, who were once held to be historical personages quite as confidently as our Menes and his titular successors; and if so good a scholar, so powerful a logician, and so acute a critic as John Milton, could be so misled as to take English legends for true history, why may not some delusion fall to the share of even a German scholar?

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At the same time, enough has been learned to show the necessity of the reconstruction of our received chronology. The prevalent system is often ignorantly identified with the word of God. It is true that a series of dates is placed in the margin of our Bibles. But by what hand? The hand of man. Those dates may be right, or they may be wrong. If they are right, they owe not their correctness to the Bible. If they are wrong, the Bible is not answerable for the mistakes. Pity it is that human opinions should thus be mixed up with divine truths. We, of course, do not mean to deny the existence in the text of Scripture itself, of certain chronological data. These data Sir Isaac Newton, Archbishop Usher, and others, have worked into a system. That system, be it true or false, is their work, not its record. And while it is true that the Bible was given to men in order to lead them to God, not to teach them science, it is equally certain that in the Bible are found dates, which from the days of Solomon, if not from the exodus out of Egypt, present a series of perfectly reliable chronological points. The chronology of the Bible then carries us back, with entire certainty, several centuries anterior to the era of the foundation of Rome, or the commencement of the Grecian Olympiads—the two great resting-places of classic history. With the absolutely certain points of Egyptian history, the corresponding points of Biblical chronology are in entire agreement, and a close and impartial study of the earliest records of the Hebrew people will give sufficient reason for extending the ordinary chronology to a considerable degree. Whether the extension would be equal to that demanded by modern Egyptian criticism must here be left undecided; but at the same time a final decision has not yet been given on the alleged discoveries of Egyptian scholarship. Meanwhile, revealed religion is in no way specially concerned in the issue, for the salvation of the soul is her office, and science is but one of her handmaids.

The reign of Victoria—the birth of Christ—the call of Abraham—the foundation of the Egyptian empire;—these four events, which carry us back to the dawn of civilization, stand at intervals of nearly two thousand years from each other. From now till then, what a stretch of time! from Menes to Victoria, a period of six thousand years! That

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Memphis which he found near to the point where the Nile divides to form the Delta, how similar, yet how different to our London! While the Pyramids were rising under the fourth Egyptian dynasty, Stonehenge lay at rest on the mountain side, and the oak groves of Britain were unpolluted with the blood of human sacrifice. What a rushing tide now sweeps down the main thoroughfares of the British metropolis: then all was silent and still like death and the tomb!

Another contrast, too, arises out of our subject. Behold that tall fine figure, with a long spear and a flying cloak, urging his weary camel across the burning desert, accompanied by a small band; in the face of each, as well as in the face of their chief, hunger sits by the side of weariness and exhaustion. It is the patriarch Abraham, passing from Canaan into Egypt. Nearly two thousand years afterwards, a small family of the poorer sort may be seen heavily treading the same hard and desolate way: they are a father, mother, and child—the child an infant borne in a pannier, carried by an overloaded and famished ass. It is the holy family, flying from the blood-thirsty Herod; and that child is Abraham's spiritual descendant and Lord. The southern part of this same journey, so often accomplished by fugitives from Canaan, now forms part of the high road from England to India. Fourteen stations connect Cairo with Suez, a distance of eighty-five miles, which, twice every month, are posted over in eighteen hours, in spite of all the hindrances of hill, ravine, and sand; while the old forms of life which occasionally appeared there are replaced by the refinement, the opulence, the bustle, and the vulgarity of our cities, shops, and quays.

We have spoken of Abraham, the first of the Hebrew family that crossed the desert that divides Canaan from Egypt. What was the condition of the country when his eyes fell thereon? Give wings to your imagination, and accompany me. Taking a south-easterly direction, pass from England down through the straits of Gibraltar, up the Mediterranean, and then landing at Alexandria, go up the Nile to Cairo, the ancient Memphis. Arrived there, walk out to that plain a few miles to the west of the city and the river, and ascend the great Pyramid of Gizeh. The labour is immense, but great is the reward. Others have preceded us in the achievement. On the 15th of October, 1842, the national flag of Prussia, with

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its golden sceptre and crown, and its blue sword on a white ground, floated from the top of that oldest and highest of all the architectural works of man. The feat was performed by Professor Lepsius, who thus celebrated his sovereign's birthday. Stand, then, where that flag waved, and mark the objects of interest. Cast your eyes directly down in front as you look to the east and south. There you behold the valley of the Nile, a wide ocean in this season of overflow (October), everywhere inundated; waters which, intersected by those serpentine embankments, broken by villages standing like islands out of the flood, fill the entire plane of the vale, and reach across to that mountain chain which bears the name of Mokattam; on the most northerly point of which you behold the citadel of Cairo, rising above the town which lies there beneath.

That river, the Nile, is the parent and the benefactor of the land. On its periodical overflow depends the welfare and almost the existence of the inhabitants. Sacred stream! How sweet are its waters to the taste; how holy in the estimation of its children! No wonder that the gratitude of ignorance worshipped it as a god. Observe how its bosom is covered with river craft. Some, rapidly drifting down the stream, are piled with corn, destined for shipment at Alexandria. There a gayer bark glides by; the pasha's flag, waving at the stern, proclaims the presence of a bey or some other magnate on board, probably despatched by the government to superintend the extortion of the imposts, to hasten the contribution of corn from a hard-working, starving peasantry, or on some similar errand of despotism. There you see a sombre, dirty, dismal-looking boat, crowded with young blacks, some on deck, others thrusting their sable faces through the cabin windows. They are slaves from the interior; they have been torn from their native haunts and young companions, and are now carried to replenish the shambles of the Cairo market.

The mountains, which run along on both sides of the stream, were of old peopled here and there with ascetics. Five thousand anchorites are said to have found a home in those dreary cliffs. And the historian Rollin reports that the city of Oxyrinchus, in Lower Egypt, contained no less than 20,000 virgins and 10,000 monks, so that the monasteries could not receive them, and the monks lived over the gates and in the towers. Were you down there on the stream, you would be delighted to find

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yourself continually near palm groves, which, growing along the banks, nestle village after village within their luxuriant shade; and but for which the fierce rays of the vertical summer sun would be almost intolerable, even to the natives. Observe how the slender trunks stand up like fairy columns. Above is a roof of waving green, inlaid with golden clusters of dates. During the inundation, while rowing through the intricacies of those groves, canopied by their beautiful foliage, you seem making your way through a vast portico of water-columns. Could you ascend that river, your eye would meet with a succession of ruins—gifts from the ever-lengthening past to the ever-vanishing present. Midway, Thebes would attract your gaze, and bid your feet tarry amid wonders of art and triumphs of civilization which Herodotus chronicled and Homer sang. Most, however, would you be delighted and awed by the sacred relics of Philæ, at the southern extremity of the land. Temples and porticoes, based upon grand substructions, and combining with the green palms the pyramidal pylon or gateway, towering high above all—the whole mirrored in the river and backed by the mountains or shore. What a picture did the isle of Philæ present of old! what grandeur in its ruin and desolation now!

Turn round and look on that desert—the desert of Libya: observe, it is an ocean of sand and desolate rock-hills, boundless, colourless, soundless, animated by no beast, no plant, no trace of human presence, not even by graves. Between the river and the desert is a desecrated necropolis, the burial-place of ancient Memphis, where all the resources of art were lavished to preserve inviolate the dead, whose ashes have long since mingled with the sands, or been tossed to the winds, as if in derision of the care bestowed on perishing dust, or in reproof of the idolatrous worship there paid of old to the corpses of dead men and women. Nay, be not surprised. Shocking as was such idolatry, it was not so low and degrading as the original inhabitants offered to animals and even vegetables;—so little guarantee is given by mere head-knowledge or head-culture, of accomplishing a truly religious work. Yes, those are the mummy-pits; those are the tombs whence have been taken the mummies of our collections. Those cemeteries have yielded a rich harvest of sepulchral antiquities.

From this our lofty position what a }

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arounds us! and, with the view, what a flood of reminiscences! Yes, over those hills and from the desert beyond, came that wanderer in search of food whom I pictured to you just now: and these pyramids he beheld, for in his time they had stood many centuries. In the plain below, on which those huge structures cast their shadow, is the representative of that Memphis where lived the monarchs on one of whose graves we stand. In that same city dwelt Joseph, ruling the country under one of the wisest and mightiest Pharaohs of the new empire. Farther on, to the left of the Mokattam mountains, where you see the fertile plain border the eastern arm of the Nile, on the other side of Heliopolis, the city of On whence Joseph took his wife—a city still distinguishable by its solitary obelisk—begins the fruitful country of Goshen, a district specially suited to a pastoral people like Jacob and his sons. From that part, Moses led the Israelites forth to the Syrian wilderness, raising a horde of fugitive slaves into a great nation, and making that nation God's "peculiar people." Almost can we from this height recognise that ancient fig-tree on the way to Heliopolis, near Matarieh, beneath the shade of which, according to the legends of the land, Mary rested with the Holy Child.

How many thousands of pilgrims from all nations have sought these wonders of the world before our days, and stood where we stand on the apex of the Pyramid of Cheops, where we see beneath us the remarkable grave-field whence the Moses-rod of science summons forth the shadows of the mighty dead. The inner walls of those mausoleums still bear, fresh and distinct after the lapse of centuries, the whole of Egyptian life in paintings, executed when that life was passing before the painter's eye. The old life of Egypt may, indeed, be said to live everlastingly in its sepulchres and tombs.

The Beni Hassan pictures are, perhaps, the most remarkable for full and circumstantial detail of private, every-day life. As you leave the glare of daylight, and pass the threshold of the tomb, the veil of three thousand years seems suddenly lifted up. You enter the houses and fields of the ancient inhabitants, and witness their labours and their diversions. Among the subjects are agricultural scenes—ploughing, sowing, reaping, and housing the produce in granaries—all going on under your own eyes; boat-making, pottery-manufacture,

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basket-manufacture, military and gymnastic exercises, hunting, wrestling, dancing, tumbling; musical entertainments, with performers of both sexes; the trial of a delinquent, and the bastinado; collections of birds of splendid plumage; vases and furniture. In these scenes, one is continually struck with the close resemblance of ancient customs, instruments, and utensils to those that are now in use. A yoke of oxen ploughing with the rustic behind, might be taken for a modern scene in the neighbouring fields of Beni Hassan. And just as the monkish architects of the middle ages gave expression to the ridiculous and grotesque conceits of their brains in carved bosses, with which they adorned the exterior of their churches, or in the carved seats with which they furnished the stalls of the choir, so the Egyptian painters indulged their creative art in freaks of imagination and strokes of satire which recall some of the most effective drawings of the Parisian or London Charivari.

But we have occupied our elevated spot long enough. The shadows of evening are gathering round. Egypt is always singular and interesting; but under an autumnal sunset it is beautiful. The sun sinks behind a grove of palms, in a golden sky, upon which their most delicate featherings are, as you see, distinctly described. A rich amber light glows over the landscape, and makes the meanest and most uncouth objects look beautiful. But come, let us descend; for the twilight is very brief; soon the feeblest star will have lighted its lamp, and the black vault of heaven be studded with brilliants.

On those skies, and those celestial phenomena, Abraham looked, and, while he looked, adored their Maker. By the deep-coloured waters of that swelling and fructifying stream were his eyes saluted, and there he learned that God's goodness was not confined to either the country of his birth, or the country of his adoption. But were we to enter too much into minute details, and set them forth as objects that Abraham saw, we could hardly avoid error. Yet the East, and not least Egypt, has permanence for a chief characteristic. Like the almost invariable flow of that river is the changeless current of human life, so that one age is but the copy or reproduction of another; existence is stereotyped in all its leading features; forms, colours, usages, ideas, remain the same, whether on the hills, in the vales, the landscape, or the city and the temple. Accordingly, the Egypt of to-day

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 the three great Pyramids of Gizeh are the chief

assemblage of sepulchral works, once the cemetery of the
 and noble Memphis. The far-famed group are based on a leu-
 of rock, seventy or eighty feet high, rising out of a swell in an
 arid waste, just where it sinks into the cultivated lands, and
 between five and six miles from the Nile. On leaving the
 village of Gizeh, on the river bank, opposite old Cairo,* the
 pyramids rise before you, glittering white against the blue
 sky; but the flatness of the plain, and the purity of the atmo-
 sphere, deceive the eye as to their distance, and consequently
 their size. You appear almost at their base while several
 miles really intervene. As you advance, they unfold their
 gigantic dimensions; but you must have been some time on
 the spot, your eye must have repeatedly travelled along the
 Great Pyramid, 740 feet of base, and up its steep towering
 angles, before you can fully understand its immensity, and the
 untold amount of labour involved in its erection. Thousands
 of enormous stones, cut in the quarry of the Mokattam hills, all
 accurately squared and adjusted, are here elevated hundred
 feet from the ground; and each was hoisted step by step

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passage leads upwards to the *King's*
17 wide, and 19 high, being a little
of the vertical line. In this chamber
sarcophagus, which, being empty and
of having been rifled; the exterior
is 7 feet 6 inches, and its breadth
over the King's chamber are five
been left vacant in order to lessen
chamber, and prevent its flat roof

The original
pyramid to have
480 feet, or 43 to
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these figures give only a
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Let us, then, compare it with the
Vespasian and Titus. That splendid
spectators. On its dedication, 800
gladiatorial combats within its walls.

(Chaphra of the
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ISRAEL AND THE PYRAMIDS.

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The three great Pyramids of Gizeh are the chief assemblage of sepulchral works, once the cemetery of the ancient and noble Memphis. The far-famed group are based on a mass of rock, seventy or eighty feet high, rising out of a swell in an arid waste, just where it sinks into the cultivated land between five and six miles from the Nile. On leaving the village of Gizeh, on the river bank, opposite old Cairo, the pyramids rise before you, glittering white against the sky; but the flatness of the plain, and the purity of the atmosphere, deceive the eye as to their distance, and consequently their size. You appear almost at their base while several miles really intervene. As you advance, they unfold their gigantic dimensions; but you must have been some time at the spot, your eye must have repeatedly travelled along the Great Pyramid, 740 feet of base, and up its steep towering angles, before you can fully understand its immensity, and the untold amount of labour involved in its erection. Thousands of enormous stones, cut in the quarry of the Mokattam hills, were accurately squared and adjusted, and raised hundreds of feet from the ground; and each

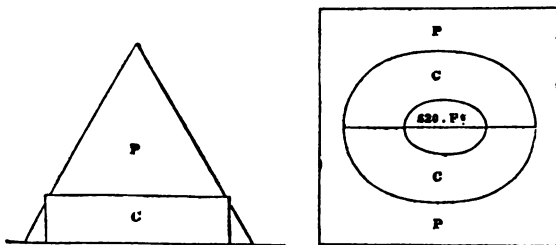
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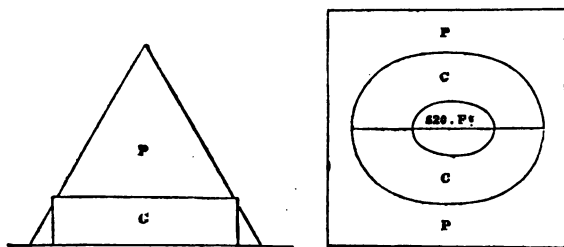
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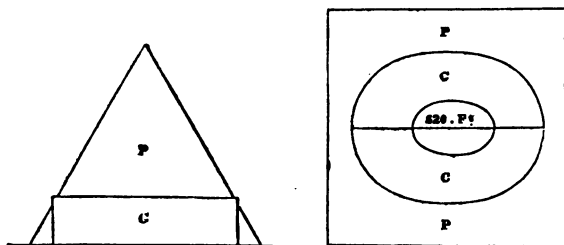
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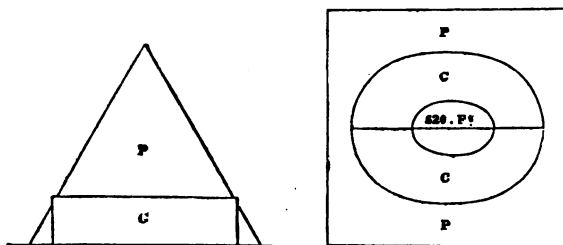
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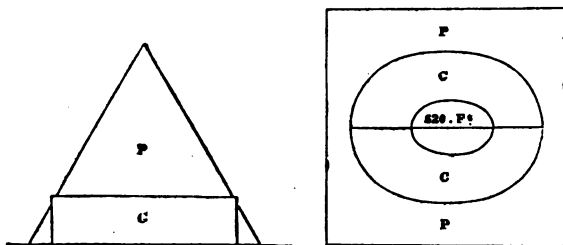
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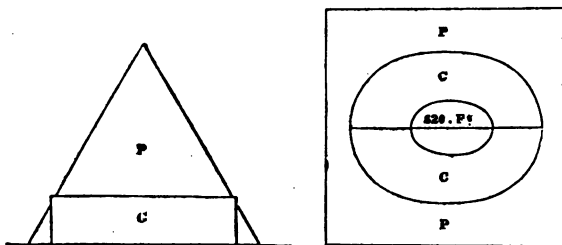
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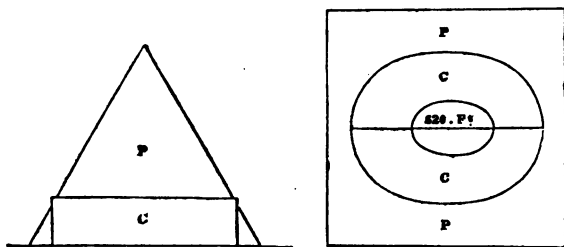
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The tomb of that monarch himself must now receive some attention. That tomb is the Great Pyramid. What an idea of the grandeur of these old Pharaoh's does such a sepulchre suggest! What a labour to raise so ponderous a structure! What a despotism, which could effectually command the requisite amount of toil! And what a religious power which could prompt obedience and sustain the consequent efforts!

The three great Pyramids of Gizeh are the chief of an assemblage of sepulchral works, once the cemetery of the rich and noble Memphis. The far-famed group are based on a ledge of rock, seventy or eighty feet high, rising out of a swell in an arid waste, just where it sinks into the cultivated lands, and between five and six miles from the Nile. On leaving the village of Gizeh, on the river bank, opposite old Cairo,* the pyramids rise before you, glittering white against the blue sky; but the flatness of the plain, and the purity of the atmosphere, deceive the eye as to their distance, and consequently their size. You appear almost at their base while several miles really intervene. As you advance, they unfold their gigantic dimensions; but you must have been some time on the spot, your eye must have repeatedly travelled along the Great Pyramid, 740 feet of base, and up its steep towering angles, before you can fully understand its immensity, and the untold amount of labour involved in its erection. Thousands of enormous stones, cut in the quarry of the Mokattam hills, all accurately squared and adjusted, are here elevated hundreds of feet from the ground; and each was hoisted step by step up

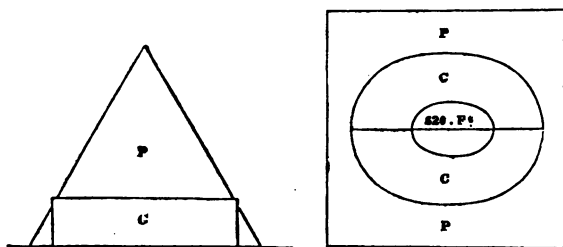
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the sides, till it reached its bed. To raise a single block to the higher part of the building would be an arduous task, probably defying all the mechanics of modern Egypt. The dimensions of the Great Pyramid, built by Cheops (the Chufu of the monuments) are these :—

Original base	764 feet.
Actual base	746 „
Original inclined height	611 „
Actual perpendicular height	450 „

The original perpendicular height, therefore, supposing the pyramid to have been carried up nearly to a point, was about 480 feet, or 43 feet more than St. Peter's, and 110 more than St. Paul's. The area covered was above thirteen acres. But these figures give only a vague idea of this gigantic mass, for the description of which our language has no adequate epithets. Let us, then, compare it with the Roman Colosseum, built by Vespasian and Titus. That splendid amphitheatre held 100,000 spectators. On its dedication, 5000 wild beasts were killed in gladiatorial combats within its walls. Now this well-named *colossal* building would stand within the Great Pyramid, (the most northerly of the three, and nearest to the river,) leaving spaces the most ample, as appears in the annexed cut.



Relative Dimensions of the Colosseum and the Great Pyramid.

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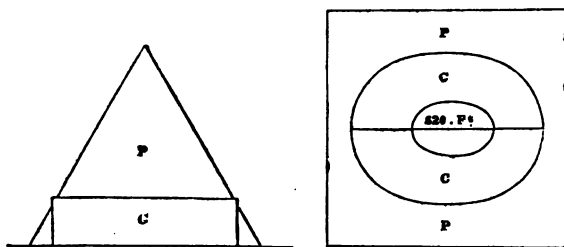
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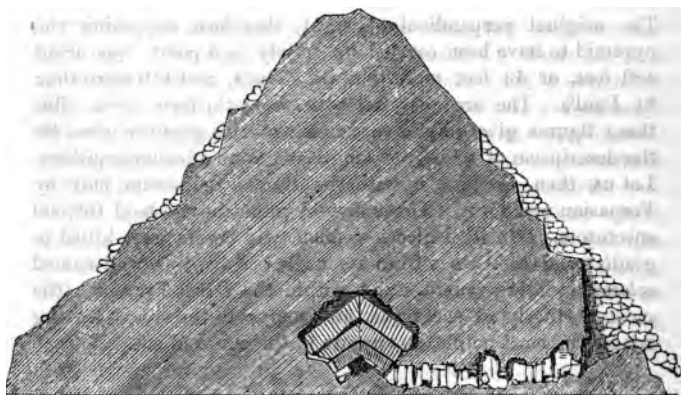


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workmen with onions and other vegetable food. The sum, probably some £300,000, gives no exact idea of the labour, because the value of money, as measured in food, was then very unlike what it is now. Colonel Vyse estimated the existing masonry of the Great Pyramid at 6,316,000 tons. An ancient caliph is said to have determined to demolish the Pyramids. Learning, however, that the whole of one year's tribute from Egypt would not defray the cost, he wisely gave it up.



Sectional View of the Great Pyramid of Abouseir.

The Great Pyramid, like all others, had its entrance on the north. On that front is the present entrance found. That entrance is an opening about three feet and a half wide, rather more than four feet high, fifty feet above the base, and somewhat to the east of the centre. This is the mouth of a long, low tunnel, of the same contracted dimensions, descending at a steep slope into the heart of the pyramid. The passage of entrance continues downwards in a straight line from the mouth for about 320 feet, and leads to a large subterranean chamber under the apex of the pyramid, and far beneath its base. At a point about sixty feet from the entrance, this channel meets an ascending passage, which runs inwardly towards the centre of the building. The passage breaks off at an angle; and of the two passages thus formed, one runs horizontally to an apartment about 17 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 20 feet high, called the *Queen's chamber*; it stands nearly under

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the apex. The other passage leads upwards to the *King's chamber*, 34 feet long, 17 wide, and 19 high, being a little southward and eastward of the vertical line. In this chamber modern research found a sarcophagus, which, being empty and without a lid, gave proofs of having been rifled; the exterior length of this stone coffin is 7 feet 6 inches, and its breadth 3 feet 3 inches. Immediately over the King's chamber are five open spaces, thought to have been left vacant in order to lessen the pressure upon the King's chamber, and prevent its flat roof from being crushed. When these chambers were forced, several quarry marks and a few rough hieroglyphics still remained on the walls. The latter were the first traces of writing discovered within the Pyramids. Though probably nothing more than the chance scribbling of Cheops' masons, they are the most interesting fruits of Col. Vyse's labours in exploring these sacred structures. Among them appeared the name of Shufu, who is admitted to be the Suphis or Cheops, to whom Manetho and Herodotus ascribe the erection.

The second Pyramid, built by Chephren (Chaphra of the monuments), stands about two hundred yards south-west of that of Cheops. Having retained the upper part of its casing and lost little from its apex, it rises nearly to the same height as the greater one, which has suffered much from abrasion and depredation. The internal arrangement of the two edifices is similar. It contains a sarcophagus, which is sunk in the floor. When discovered, the lid was half removed; amidst dust and rubbish within were found relics of the bones of a bull; and it was concluded that they were the remains of some bovine deity honoured with sepulture in this vast mausoleum. It is well known that immense sums were lavished by the ancient Egyptians on the funerals of the sacred animals. In the reign of the first Ptolemy, fifty talents were borrowed to defray the cost of the obsequies of Apis.

The third Pyramid was built by the monarch called by Herodotus, Mycerinos, whose name appears on the monuments as Menkera. The name was found by Vyse in a large apartment within the structure. In this pyramid the coffin of the builder himself seems to have been found. The sarcophagus is of basalt. The lid was broken; the mummy had been removed; but among the rubbish of the chamber a portion of a wooden case appeared; that case bore the name of *Menkera*.

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The sarcophagus, which weighed nearly three tons, was with great difficulty got out and sent to England, but the vessel in which it was embarked was lost off Carthage, in 1838.

Had we space to give a general description of Egypt, as it existed in the days of Abraham, we should have to speak of other great architectural works, especially of other pyramids, and the colossal sphinx, which, now for the most part covered with sand, still stretches out its vast figure before the pyramids of Memphis. What has been said, however, must suffice. And enough it is to point the contrast between the simple and virtuous shepherd-life of the patriarch, and the rank and godless life of the already corrupt valley of the Nile. How must the pure and pious mind of Abraham have been shocked and grieved at what he beheld in a land where religion professedly bore sway, but where it had degenerated into a gross and degrading superstition! Who, in the contrast that arises from the simple and godly narratives of the Bible, which tell of Abraham and his family, and the sketch of Egyptian civilization here given, can fail to thank the Disposer of all events for the gift and preservation of the sacred Scriptures; or wonder that, while Egypt, with all its external culture, has long been prostrate in social impotence and moral ruin, the religion of the patriarchs has become the religion of the most civilized parts of the world, and so has conferred on society, and on the human family at large, blessings the most precious and the most manifold? An anecdote related by Herodotus may serve to bring out the contrast in yet broader and deeper colours. The reader is familiar with the signal proof of the self-denying obedience to the commands of God which Abraham imposed on himself, when he proceeded to Mount Moriah to offer there his only son Isaac, the son of promise, on whose life depended the very fulfilment of the bright and far-reaching expectations which the Almighty had led him to entertain. Place by the side of this act of moral heroism the base conduct of Cheops, who, in order to replenish his exhausted exchequer, exposed his daughter to public prostitution.

Before the days of Abraham, however, Egypt had been visited by a race of men belonging to the same family as that of the patriarch. We allude to the Hyksos, who invaded Egypt from the north-east, conquered the country, drove from the throne its native princes, and reigned instead for some centuries.

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But here we must give an outline of the history. In doing so, we think it safest implicitly to follow the authority of Lepsius.

Menes, the Thinite, proceeding from Upper Egypt, founded Memphis, and so began the true history of the Egyptian people. The second dynasty continued its rule in Upper Egypt, and then came to an end. The first dynasty at Memphis was followed by the third, as well as by the fourth, both of them accordingly being Memphitic. Under the fourth, the old empire reached a high degree of prosperity. During its sway, the three pyramids which we have briefly described were erected. Of the development of its material greatness, an idea may be formed from the numerous and splendid tombs destined to the worship of the dead, which are still found near its capital. This bloom Lepsius dates as early as the second half of the four thousandth year before Christ. Then came the fifth dynasty in immediate succession to the fourth. The fifth was also a Memphitic dynasty. Contemporaneously with it there reigned an Elephantine, in Upper Egypt, the sixth dynasty, Ethiopic in its origin. With its monarchs, the Ethiopians first appear in the history of Egypt, and under them the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt were united. During the sway of the following dynasties, from the seventh to the eleventh, the prosperity of the land declined. The eleventh was Theban. Then the far-famed city of Thebes in Upper Egypt, with its local divinity, Amun, gained predominance and distinction. The twelfth, which was the second Theban dynasty, extended its power over the whole country, and raised it to a second period of bloom, which is testified by great architectural works, especially rock sepulchres, as may be seen at Beni Hassan, with its rich and enduring paintings. Soon, however, the light was extinguished. About 2100 years before the birth of our Lord, the Hyksos, a warlike nomad race of Shemites, seized Memphis, where they maintained themselves for 511 years. At length native princes expelled the foreigners, who, retiring to Syria, are reported to have laid the foundations of Jerusalem. This victory was the first advantage gained by the south against the constant incursions from the rude and powerful tribes which pressed forwards from the north, and especially from the fertile plains of Mesopotamia. The repulsion of the swarming myriads must have produced movements throughout Western Asia forming a new era in the world's history. The time was from the 16th to the 14th

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century B.C.; and it is worthy of notice that the roots of the historical and traditional recollections of all other nations run back to this epoch, which was the beginning of recorded emigrations and colonizations, the diffusion of superstitions, and the spread of knowledge over the surface of the then known world.

With the seventeenth dynasty, the New Empire begins, which was also the revival of native Egyptian prosperity. That prosperity continued under the eighteenth and the nineteenth. Beyond this point we need not pursue our sketch.

The exact date of Abraham's descent into Egypt is not declared by any monumental evidence. The event, considered from an Egyptian point of view, was too inconsiderable to be commemorated; but it took place between the expulsion of the Hyksos and the reign of Ramses, with whom the nineteenth dynasty begins. During the reign of the next king, Sethos I, an enterprising and victorious sovereign, Joseph rose to power. Under a monarch of the same line, namely, Ramses II, the Israelites, his descendants, were cruelly oppressed. And a third, by name Menephthes, was the monarch out of whose cruel hands Moses rescued his people. This event Lepsius places about 1322 B.C., whereas the year 1491 is assigned for it by the common chronology.

Considering the history of Egypt in relation to Israel, Lepsius states: "We accordingly know the Pharaoh under whom Joseph came to Egypt, namely, Sethos I; also the Pharaoh at whose court Moses was educated, namely, Ramses II, (Sesostris); and finally, the third, under whom Israel left Egypt, that is, Menephthes. Of these three kings of the nineteenth dynasty, Ramses II, surnamed Miamun, was unquestionably the greatest; nay, we must declare that, under him, the Egyptian empire rose to the summit of power and glory. In his reign, then, was Moses, the great man of God, born; and in the reign of his successor, whom Herodotus describes as a proud and godless monarch, and consequently as punished by blindness for his misdeeds, Moses led forth the Israelites, and founded the Hebrew theocracy by the system of law which was given at Sinai."

Not very long after Abraham had, in obedience to a Divine admonition, quitted the idolatrous land of his birth, and journeying

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to the south-west, established himself in the uplands of Canaan; and shortly before he had separated from his brother Lot, and, consequently, before the overthrow of the cities of "the vale of the meadows;" Abraham, sorely pressed by famine—a calamity under which the stony soil of Palestine, if visited with a drought, was very likely to suffer—went into Egypt, intending to sojourn there until the dearth was at an end, as being a country famed for the abundance of its vegetable productions, and as lying within a distance which ordinary perseverance might compass. The journey, however, was longer and more severe than we, in these days, may readily conceive, involving not only toil and privation, but also personal danger of no insignificant kind.

And here comes into view one of those marked accordances between the language of Scripture and actual fact, the recognition of which we owe to the discoveries of modern science. In proceeding into Egypt, Abraham is said *to go down* (Gen. xii. 10), and in returning to Canaan he is said *to go up* (Gen. xiii. 1). The terms are accurately descriptive, for, from measurements of the localities which have been recently made, we know that, within comparatively a few miles, he would experience a change of level amounting to some four thousand feet.

Abraham was not ignorant of the general character of the government under whose power he was about to place himself. It was a despotic government. It was also a licentious court. The harem of that court was supplied from the neighbouring lands. Especially were the Mesopotamian tribes laid under tribute, as opportunity served, because their females were of a lighter complexion than those of Egypt. In consequence, Abraham had reason to fear that his wife Sarah would be seized for the gratification of the lust of Pharaoh, or that of his courtiers. Her seizure, however, involved danger to himself, for, as her husband, he could not think his life secure. But Sarah was his sister as well as his wife. If she appeared in that relation, even favour might be shown to the patriarch in order the more readily to get possession of Sarah's person and win her favour. As Abraham's sister, it was therefore arranged that Sarah should be announced. When the pair arrived at Memphis, Sarah, as was expected, "was taken into Pharaoh's house," for "the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair; the princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and

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commended her before Pharaoh." (Gen. xii. 14, 15). Abraham, too, "was entreated well for her sake;" gifts were made to him of "sheep and oxen, and he-asses and men-servants and maid-servants, and she-asses and camels." One of these maid-servants seems afterwards to have become Abraham's concubine, under the name of Hagar (Gen. xvi. 1). Meanwhile, the dearth became mitigated, and plenty gave promise of a speedy return. The promise made by God to his servant also remain steadfast. That promise assured Abraham that he was to be the father of a great nation, and expressly said, "I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse him that curseth thee." (Gen. xii. 1—3). But how could that promise be fulfilled if Abraham's wife was degraded in the court of Egypt? Accordingly, "the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarah, Abraham's wife," sending therein grievous diseases, such as the leprosy and the pest; so that Pharaoh was glad to dismiss her unharmed, and the divinely-protected couple, having been preserved in want and in sore peril, were enabled to return home to their loved haunts on the pure highlands of Judah and Samaria.

Within the brief compass of a few lines, the Bible, in narrating these events, contains statements and implications out of which it would not be difficult to construct an ideal court, and an ideal social condition, as then existing in Egypt. That conception would exactly correspond with the reality, as already made known in some detail in these pages. Thus the Bible of the Hebrews and the monuments of Egypt are found to be in strict agreement; in both we behold the same despotism, the same organized government, the same division of ranks, from the slave to the prince, from the prince to the monarch; and in both we find Egypt a land of abundance—rich in all the great means of human support, and the great appliances of social ease and personal luxury. How could such an agreement exist did not the Scriptures represent realities, and had not its writers copied from nature? And the trustworthiness of the book of Genesis being thus illustrated in an instance where we can employ the severest test, are we not justified in regarding the whole as reliable, at least until the reverse is clearly established? The establishment of the reverse, in any case, is not contemplated as a possibility by the present writer, who, after the earnest studies of a life, feels warranted in

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declaring, that the more the Bible is investigated, and the more it is compared with general history and true science, the more will it be received as presenting a true record, and the more will it be loved and revered as containing a Divine revelation. It is only the effrontery of reckless scepticism, or the rashness of empty sciolism, that can question the credibility of the Scriptures, or impugn their spiritual worth.

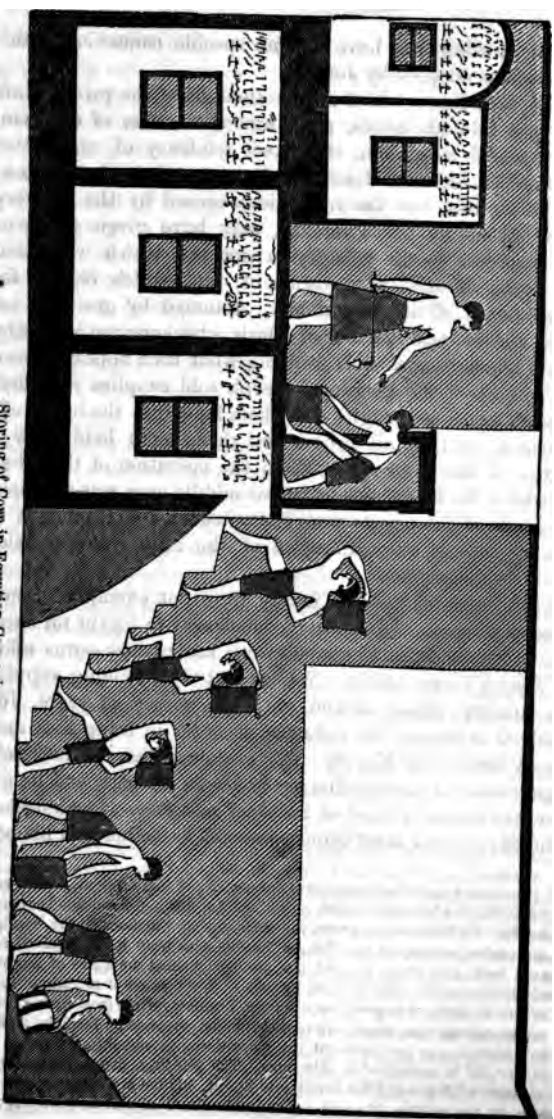
In the family of Abraham's grandson, Jacob, who received the descriptive title of "Israel," there arose a jealousy which was directed against Joseph, the youngest of twelve sons, and the father's favourite. The evil passion led to the exposure of the youth. The exposure took place in a part of Canaan near which ran the commercial road that connected the north-east of Western Asia with the fertile plains of Egypt. It happened that, at the time of the exposure, a caravan of Ishmaelite Arabs were passing that way, carrying merchandise down to the then great emporium of trade. These travelling merchants took Joseph, and, conveying him into Egypt, sold him as a slave there, where was the best slave-market of the day. In the harem of his purchaser was a voluptuous woman, the resisting of whose enticements by Joseph caused him to be cast into prison; for, such were the morals of the land, the temptress added falsehood to the arts of seduction, and threw on Joseph the imputation of a crime which she had been unable to lead him to commit. In his prison, Joseph would probably have perished, had he not been divinely gifted with foresight; by which he predicted the coming fate of two high officers of Pharaoh's court, fellow-prisoners with himself. Shortly after the monarch himself dreamt a dream which the wisest men of his land could not interpret. The interpretation of that dream by Joseph gained him the favour of the sovereign, Sethos I, by whom he was raised from a prison to a seat at his own right hand, by one of those sudden and extreme elevations which, in all times, have been usual in the great oriental monarchies. By this act of grace on the part of the sovereign, the young Hebrew shepherd, after being duly incorporated in the warrior and sacerdotal caste, and after being invested with the insignia of office, according to the religious and civil usages of the country, was made what we may term prefect or prime minister, or, in Egyptian, "the chief royal scribe," receiving the pompous

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name of Zaphnath-paaneah, or *life-giver*. As an additional honour, he was taken as a son into the family of the head of the Egyptian church, Pharaoh bestowing on him the hand of Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On or Heliopolis, by whom he had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

The time shortly came in which Joseph had it in his power to make a return for the favours with which he had been loaded. A famine impended. We know from history that Egypt, with all its fruitfulness, is liable to dearth, and the causes which inflict the calamity on Egypt are often general in their operation, so as to involve other lands in the same suffering. The fertility of Egypt depends on the overflowing of the Nile. Should the river, in its annual swelling in autumn, fail to reach a certain height, no inundation ensues, and sterility and famine are inevitable. The supply of water in the Nile, and consequently the growth of corn in the Delta, depend on the periodical rains which fall within the tropics in Ethiopia, on the extreme southern limit of the land. If those rains are less copious than ordinary, Egypt and the whole surrounding district is parched. The seasons observe sometimes a certain cycle in their changes, so that a period of abundance is countervailed by a period of want. So did it happen in Egypt while under Joseph's administration. Seven times did the Nile copiously overflow its banks, when, by natural and artificial means, the whole Delta became a network of irrigation, and shortly offered, first an almost unbroken sea of waters, and then a most plentiful harvest of corn. Seven adverse years ensued, and then want and suffering prevailed universally. During the season of abundance, however, Joseph had made provision, having formed magazines in the several districts. When the dearth came, therefore, he was prepared; he fed the people, and so their lives were spared. In all ages Egypt has been renowned for its productiveness. Its exports of corn are still great, and it was the chief granary of the Roman world. When, then, the neighbouring lands suffered from the widely-prevailing famine, they naturally looked to Egypt for a supply. By purchase they obtained from Joseph what they needed.

The accompanying engraving, taken from the paintings at Thebes, represents the storing of a granary, and shows to the life the series of acts that Joseph caused to be performed all over the kingdom. The subject is often repeated, and the



Storing of Corn in Egyptian Granaries.

actual painting may have had no specific connexion with the precautions adopted by Joseph.

The abundance, which the forethought of the prime minister had put into his hands, gave him the means of achieving a great social revolution, the exact tendency of which history does not enable us to describe. Not impossibly the domination of the Hyksos, and the relaxations caused by the recovery of their throne by the Pharaohs, may have given a degree of independence to the military aristocracy, which was alien to the spirit of oriental government, and which Sethos found troublesome, if not formidable. Actuated by gratitude to his royal master, and desirous of placing his supreme authority on a safe foundation, as well as doing what then appeared best for the welfare of the kingdom, Joseph sold supplies of provision on such terms as brought the whole land into the hands of the monarch, so that all proprietors thenceforth held their properties of the sovereign. From the operation of this change, by which the feudal system of our middle ages was anticipated, the lands of the priests were exempted—a signal proof of their power, and an exemplification of the lofty position held by Jacob's youngest son.

That patriarch and his family were not exempted from the general distress. Like others, Jacob sent to Egypt for succour. The aid—the Biblical student well knows how—was afforded by Joseph's own hands. Not content with sending supplies to his hungry father, bowed with the weight of years, Joseph resolved to employ his influence in order to bring him and his family down into Egypt. The reigning Pharaoh had now an opportunity of manifesting gratitude on his part, and he gladly assented to the request of his chief minister. Jacob descended into Egypt, and after being presented to Sethos and his court,*

* Illustrative and commemorative, apparently, of this incident, a most remarkable painting has been discovered, and which Lepsius has ordered to be reproduced in Berlin. He believes, however, the scene depicted to describe the immigration at an earlier period, of "a Hyksos family, who pray to be received into the blessed land, and whose descendants, perhaps, opened the gates of Egypt to the Semitic conquerors, allied to them by race." The opinion of so high an authority is, of course, entitled to great respect; yet I cannot refrain from giving utterance to my conviction that it actually represents the reception of Jacob by Sethos I.

But what is the precise event the picture was intended to set forth? Error here has led to inapplicable objections. The painting, then, does not represent the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, but the presentation of a portion of them to the ruling Pharaoh as commemorative of that descent. It appears

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was allowed to settle in the land of Goshen, between the eastern arm of the Nile and Palestine, his native land. At length Jacob died, full of years and full of honours. Held in respect even in that strange land, his obsequies were conducted with the attentions and pomp bestowed by its inhabitants on distinguished men departed this life. For forty days was the patriarch mourned for alike by Israelite and Egyptian. A special mark of reverence was paid to his remains. The Egyptians embalmed their dead. The process varied in complexity and costliness with rank and character. In their eyes Jacob was a prince, and easily would Joseph's affectionate heart yield to the idea that princely honours should dignify his revered father's interment. Accordingly, Jacob was embalmed with the care and sumptuousness bestowed on the first men of the land. But Jacob

from the sacred record (Gen. xlvii. 2, 7) that Joseph presented to Pharaoh his father and five of his brethren. Now, such a subject, when handled by an Egyptian painter, would have its accessories. Intended to commemorate the presentation in question, and at the same time to represent and record the coming of the Israelites into Egypt, the painting must contain objects and statements which would make it tell its tale to all Egyptian observers. Such objects and statements the painting does contain.

An hieroglyphical inscription informs us that the tomb in which the painting is, belonged to Potipherah (Pot phra, *devoted to phra, or the sun*), in which name the reader will recognise the name of Joseph's father-in-law, the high priest of Ieliopolis. The occupant of the tomb was Nevopth, or Nofroth, probably Joseph. Here, then, we may have to do with Joseph's tomb, thus distinctly marked in order not only to commemorate his beneficence, but to make mistake impossible when the time came for conveying his remains into Palestine, in obedience to his own strict injunction, ratified by the solemnity of an oath. Gen. l. 25, 26).

The company, as presented in the picture, is introduced by two Egyptians of high rank. These men are named. The first is called "the royal scribe Nofroth," whom we take to be *the royal scribe Joseph*. The second is called the president of the treasury Poti," in other words, the Poti, whose family name appears in Poti-pherah. Here, then, we have Joseph and his father-in-law presenting the Israelite deputation to Sethos. Joseph holds in his hand a tablet, stating that these persons, who, after the manner of the etiquette of despotism, are termed Pharaoh's slaves, are by country Euphratensians, a general name by which the Semitic tribes on the north-east of Egypt were designated and known.

We now pass to the Israelite company. It has been said that they are prisoners of war; but their free and independent bearing, and their intelligent as well as joyous features, show rather that they wear the appearance of a happy band, placed in a wished-for and agreeable position. The first figure stands respectfully while presenting a gazelle as a gift to the monarch. That is Jacob. He is clad like a prince, and a prince he is called in the hieroglyph at over his head. There we find the very term *Hyk*, the first syllable of *yk-sos*; *Hyk* signifies king or chief. In the hieroglyph below, the word *shufes* is found; so that the figure is described as *chief of the Jebusites*, a general name for the shepherd tribes who fed their flocks on and near the

had not been able to reconcile his mind to the thought of his bones lying in a foreign land. He had in consequence exacted a promise from Joseph to give him a burial in the ancestral tomb of Machpelah. Thither, accordingly, did that pious son proceed to convey the corpse. Great was the array, and long, very long, the procession which bore Egyptians of mark to that resting-place which they regarded as their only proper home. Now, then, the gorgeousness of an Egyptian funeral was added to the simple heart-bitterness and loud and long wailings of a Hebrew interment. What a lengthened and brilliant train of men and beasts may you in fancy see stretching there from that sacredotal city of Heliopolis eastwardly across the downs of Goshen into the desert, and then upwards to Beersheba and Hebron; a troop of soldiers preceding and another troop following,

hills of Judah, where stood Jebus, or Jerusalem. (Joshua xv. 8; xviii. 28). Then compare the attitude with the words put into their mouths in the Bible, and you may almost fancy you hear them pronounce the answer they gave to Pharaoh's question, "What is your occupation?" And they said to Pharaoh, "Thy servants are shepherds."

Jacob is followed by one of his sons, who presents another fawn. He is followed by a group of four males, finely clad, and appropriately armed; thus, with Jacob, making the six persons whom the Scripture says Joseph presented to his sovereign. Then follow a very graphic and speaking group—an ass, with panniers, bearing two children. How clearly do these objects set forth the travellers, and the "little ones" whom they are said to have taken with them! The goods, too, which Jacob brought have their representatives in the picture; also in that group of eager-looking, inquisitive, richly-attired women, may you recognise the "wives" of those patriarchal chiefs. (Gen. xli. 4-7). Immediately before the women stands a youth, represented as of noble or princely blood, for he is of the warrior caste, as you may see by the spear he bears. Here, probably, we see Manasseh, introduced as a symbol of the happy alliance thus inaugurated between the Lowlanders and the Highlanders, heretofore so hostile one to another. A second ass follows, laden apparently with emblematic "household stuff." The procession is closed by two servants, one of whom bears a lyre. In that lyre, in those gazelles, and in those asses, you see tokens of Canaan. Symbols of similar import may be beheld in those bows, as well as in that attire, the richer worn by the free, the more simple by the attendants, known from the monuments to be the attire of the Syrians, and picturing to the eye the "coat of many colours" which Jacob caused to be made for Joseph, his favourite child, and now his princely benefactor. Finally, the cast of the features, as well as the complexion, are Hebrew. In a word, almost every known circumstance connected with the scene contributes to the assurance that the painter intended to transmit to posterity a memorial of the presentation of Jacob at the court of Pharaoh—an event immediately connected with a great national deliverance, on which the mind of a whole people now dwelt with serene satisfaction, and which looked like a happy prognostic of a very bright future.

A copy of this interesting painting may be seen in Wilkinson's work on Egypt.

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for the sake of protection in that perilous journey; then the great ministers of state; then a band of priests bearing the ark, symbolical of the passage of the soul over the waters of death into the regions of endless life; then the bier, followed by Joseph, sobbing for grief, yet labouring to suppress his sorrow; with his brethren near him, and their attendants and slaves, from whom ever and anon burst forth cries the most piercing, as the memory of the dead came up in their afflicted hearts. The bereaved family was attended by chariots and horsemen, "a good company," (Gen. 1,) as by a guard of honour; and so, after a long and wearying journey, they at length deposited the venerated remains in the sepulchre, first having for seven days mourned for the deceased, then near his home, "with a great and very sore lamentation."

As long as Joseph lived, the Israelites received protection and enjoyed prosperity. In consequence, they greatly increased in wealth and numbers, the sure sources of social power. Meanwhile they had preserved their national identity. Existing as a separate people in a separate district of the kingdom, they formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*, or an independent power, which a despotism, in ever so slight a degree jealous, might reasonably fear. The time came for that jealousy to display its effects in a manner the most injurious and painful to the Israelites. By degrees the benefits conferred on the crown and on the country, by the administration of Joseph, faded from memory. The high favour in which he had stood, the unprecedented honours bestowed upon him, and the extraordinary liberality shown to his kindred, brought a reaction in the Egyptian mind, which became the more decided and active when it was remembered that the favoured people were a race of strangers; nay, were of the same blood and similar occupation with the hated Hyksos, who had so long and so fearfully weighed upon the land. Was Egypt a second time to fall under the yoke of the Bedouins? What was there to prevent these Israelites from forming an alliance with some of the predatory and warlike tribes which ever infested the north-eastern frontier? Then war would ensue, and the tyranny of the shepherd kings might be re-established.

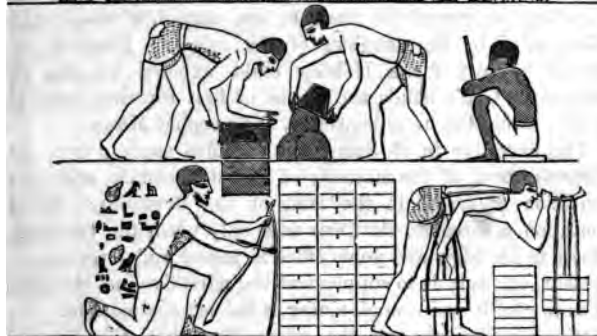
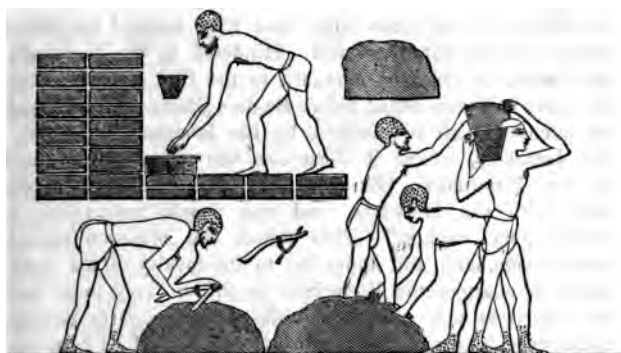
Actuated by considerations of this nature, and unable all at once to enslave or expel them, a Pharaoh, in whose mind the

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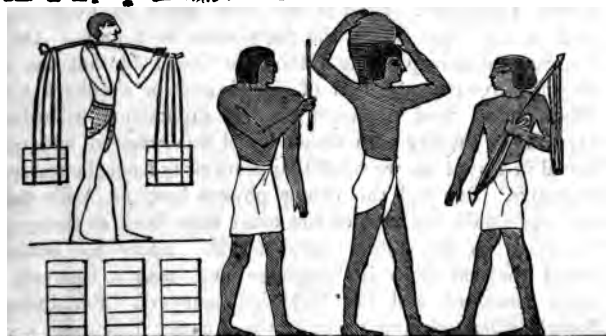
hostility to the Hebrews had reached its height, resolved to pursue by craft what he could not achieve by force, and took measures for gradually wearing down the strength of the people of Israel. Of first importance was it that he should possess strongholds in the land which the Hebrews occupied. For that purpose he erected the fortified cities of Pithom and Ramses. In order the more effectually to secure a communication between the two, he dug a canal, of which Pithom formed the western extremity, and Ramses the eastern. And such was the success that crowned his architectural and social efforts, that, in the latter city, there was erected in the sanctuary of the temple, and placed between two idols, an image of himself, cut in granite; and the group still exists. It was a stroke of deep policy to make the Hebrews forge their own chains. With that view, employment was given to them in the public works, probably under conditions which lulled suspicion and supplied attractions. Gradually the mask was thrown aside; tasks were imposed, taskmasters were set over the workmen, who by little and little sank into slaves.

The annexed picture, copied from the paintings at Thebes, seems to have been expressly intended to gratify the national vanity of the Egyptians, by commemorating the hard labour and bondage into which they had reduced the odious shepherds. Lepsius, in superintending the formation of an Egyptian Museum at Berlin, directed that this very picture should be painted on the walls destined to illustrate the reign of "Rameses II, the Great Miamun." Unquestionably, the picture is a good representation of the scene, as learnt from the Book of Genesis. The physiognomy and complexion of the labourers are of the Hebrew cast. Their toil is compulsory, while the aspect of their taskmasters is decidedly Egyptian.

But labour promotes robust and vigorous health; and the more their taskmasters afflicted the Israelites, the more they multiplied and grew. (Exod. i. 12.) Vexed and alarmed, the Egyptians redoubled their oppression. "And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve was with rigour." At last an expedient, as cruel as it was expected to be effectual, was conceived and enjoined. In order to secure its application, the crown employed its influence. The Hebrew midwives were required to



Illustrations of Israelitish Bondage.



Illustrations of Israelitish Bondage.

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put to death every male infant that they assisted the Hebrew women to bring into the world. Hindered in the discharge of the barbarous office by a regard to the God of their fathers, the midwives were called before Ramses (Rameses), and pleaded an excuse which is justified by the laborious lives led by the Israelites, whilst it illustrates the effeminating luxury of the Egyptians. (Exod. i. 19.) "Therefore God dealt well with the midwives, and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty." Thus foiled, the monarch issued a general command, and appealing to the loyalty of his natural subjects, charged the Egyptians to throw every male infant into the river as soon as born, while, with a view to licentious indulgence, he directed that every female should be kept alive. To whatever extent the mandate was obeyed, it was certainly disregarded by the daughter of the reigning Pharaoh, who, moved by pity for a Hebrew child exposed on the Nile, became in God's hands the means of first rescuing, and then of educating, the hero, legislator, and prophet Moses.

The narrative in its course has unfolded many points, illustrative at once of the meaning of sacred Scripture, and of the condition of Israel in the land of the Pyramids. Of that condition, a complete view can arise only when the training of Moses to his high and noble office is passed under review. At present, our duty is to supplement the narrative just concluded, so as to give it such completeness as the occasion admits.

We have written on the assumption that the Egyptian court, at the time of Joseph's administration, was a court of native Egyptians. Such is the view taken by Lepsius, and such is the view which the facts seem to require. On the contrary, some respectable authorities have held that the then reigning dynasty was that of the Hyksos, or shepherd kings. There is no need to resort to that supposition in order to explain the facility with which Israel was received and established in Egypt, as, we submit, appears clear from the foregoing narrative. But had the ruling powers been of Arab origin, scarcely would the tone of the court have been so thoroughly Egyptian as the Bible represents it. There we behold a broad contrast both in language and usages between the Arab Israelites, and the Egyptian courtiers. For instance, Joseph, when wishing to appear as a native Egyptian, speaks to his brothers by means of an interpreter. Equally does he

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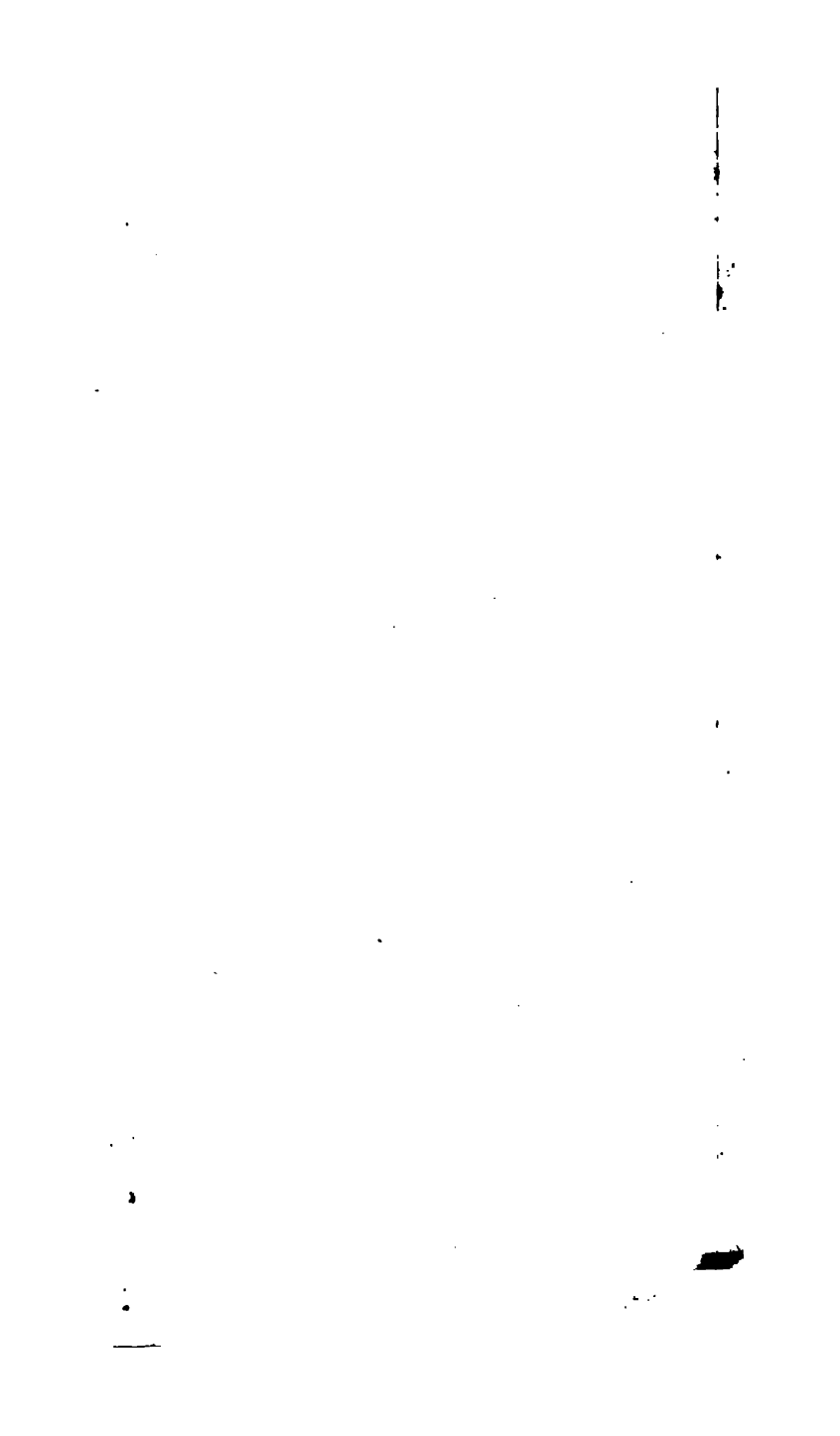
take his food apart from them, "because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians." (Gen. xliii. 32.) Equally does the selection of Goshen, as the dwelling-place of the Hebrews, attest the same divulsion of blood, manners, and religion. The sacred text is here very emphatic. Joseph, when instructing his brethren what part of the country they should ask to be placed in, employs these words—"When Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What is your occupation? ye shall answer, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, and also our fathers; *that* ye may dwell in the land of Goshen, *for* every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." (Gen. xli. 34.) Now, how could shepherds be "an abomination to the Egyptians," if the ruling line was of shepherd (Hyksos means *Shepherd Kings*) origin? Clearly the shepherd dynasty had left a still vivid feeling of abhorrence in the minds of the Egyptians. On the existence of a feeling of dislike the request is founded, for such an aversion would lead Sethos to place the new-comers, as much as might be, in a separate district, where contact with the natives might take place to the least possible extent. Such a district was Goshen, which lay beyond the Delta, in the eastern part of Egypt.

The selection of Goshen appears to have been recommended to Joseph on several grounds. The prime minister could not but know how deeply-seated and intense was the general aversion felt by pure Egyptian blood against the once oppressive and ever-troublesome nomades of the north-east. Yet what was he about to propose to Pharaoh? Even the admission of a clan of those neighbours who were feared no less than hated. It was a bold request, even from him who was "lord in Pharaoh's house" and governor of the whole land. The opposition to be expected would be softened down if Goshen was chosen as the place of settlement; for in one sense Goshen was hardly within the boundaries of the land, and certainly lay not so as to bring the strangers into collision with the natives. Besides, could not Pharaoh see that there was no small advantage in his having there in Goshen, on the weak and tender side of his country, a shepherd tribe bound to him in the strongest bonds of gratitude and alliance? On the part of the Hebrews, too, what district *so suitable* for pastoral pursuits? Goshen, for

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their purpose, was truly "the best of the land." It was also the most acceptable, for, being least unlike their own stony soil, it would least unpleasantly remind them of the limestone hills of Palestine. Yet deeper reasons also seem to have actuated Joseph. He had seen too much of Egypt—its idolatry, its moral dissoluteness, its tyranny—to wish that his family should be Egyptianized; and too strongly did his heart cling to the family traditions and the ancestral monotheism, and the loved hills of his own native Canaan, not to desire earnestly that Jacob and his sons should, in their adopted country, remain what they were and what they had been. Place them in Goshen, then, and these patriotic and religious wishes would be fulfilled. There, on a suitable soil, they would continue their pastoral occupations—there they would be at a distance from the flood of Egyptian corruption—there they would not be tempted to renounce the worship of the Lord God of their fathers—and there, consequently, would their tribal unity, their patriarchal form of government, and their ancestral faith, be preserved and fostered, until, in the "fulness of time," those high promises which, like a rainbow of hope, hung over the house of Abraham, should be fulfilled, and destinies too bright for distinct outline should be the portion of Israel.

But no; Israel has a higher destiny to fulfil than could result from incorporation with the idolatrous lineage of the builders of the Pyramids. Very natural is the filial joy which Joseph feels in having thus placed his aged father under Pharaoh's wing; and Jacob and Sethos may reasonably indulge in pleasing thoughts; but alas! a dark day is not very distant. The descendants of those Israelites will be cruelly oppressed; and one to spring from the royal lines of Pharaoh will be terribly chastised. On the dusky horizon of the distant future, slowly rise the unsightly forms of despotism and plague—the former engendered of man's passions, the latter commissioned from Heaven: and near the two appears another form—the veritable form of a "man of God," who is sent to take vengeance on the one by the infliction of the other. Alas! the glory of the picture already begins to fade; the Hebrews waste away under toil and oppression; disease and death are preparing against the Egyptians: but the avenger delays his coming!





The figures in the Sea indicate the depth
 at low water the English chart.

DEAD SEA, AND ITS EXPLORERS.



Mountains of Usdum.

is of all kinds are mournful to contemplate. Among the sad sites of primitive prosperity for which the East is famed, few, all things considered, strike us as sadder than the righted region occupied by the DEAD SEA. The fame of it is of such ancient date and universal interest, as to need no explanation here. Its marvels have been recounted

3. 1

THE DEAD SEA,

to every age. The mysterious traditions of the spot have formed some of the earliest recollections of our childhood; and wherever the Bible has penetrated, the admonitory echoes of that terrible overthrow, of which it is the monument, are being continually repeated.

Obviously smitten by supernatural agency, the Dead Sea became to the superstitious ancients the haunt of ideal phantoms, and its ominous name grew into a synonyme for terror among surrounding nations. Its seclusion in the heart of deserts served to deepen the mystery of its history, and intensify the awe with which it was everywhere regarded. In days of scientific ignorance, when the love of the marvellous was especially strong, its phenomena were eagerly seized upon and exaggerated by the imagination. Strange sights were said to be seen here, and mysterious sounds to be heard. Spectral forms issued out of the accursed deep, and a sepulchral light flickered upon its molton flood. Every creature, it was believed, that inhaled its malaria, perished. The foot of the pilgrim hesitated and trembled as it drew nigh, for, in the old times, the terrible footprints of an incensed Deity were reverently traced upon the soil. Such, until recently, were the popular sentiments which almost universally prevailed respecting this realm of dreariness and death. More intelligent examination and careful scientific research, however, have done much to explode these legendary tales. One traveller after another has dispelled some portion of the illusion that overhung its deeps or rested on its shores; and although its forbidding aspects are now revealed to our curious gaze in the journals of modern tourists, showing it to be one of the dreariest wastes in the wide world, still it has been divested of those supernatural accessories of terror which had been inspired by religious dread, and transmitted from age to age.

Without going into unnecessary details as to the traditional associations of this extraordinary lake, we shall proceed at once to exhibit the results of the various attempts that, of late years, have been made to explore and describe this region. In order to popularize the subject as much as possible, we shall distribute such information as we can compress within the limits of this tract under the following sections:—(1.) A brief historical sketch of the various travellers by whom the Dead Sea has been recently visited and delineated—(2.) An imaginary excursion around its shores—(3.) A sail upon its waters; and (4.) An examination of some of the hypotheses that have been entertained respecting its probable origin.

I.

The few earlier travellers who have visited this celebrated lake, and favoured the world with their observations, seldom spent more than a few hours upon some single point, or points, in a circuit of shore embracing at least 120 miles. From such fitful irruptions into the district, no sound generalizations could possibly be formed; while the exaggerated expectations with which they too generally approached the spot, would be almost sure to impart an untrustworthy bias to their report. One of the first in the enlightened band of travellers who, during the early part of the present century, have done so much to unveil this mysterious region to the Christian world, was SEETZEN. This intrepid man visited the Dead Sea *en route* to Kerak and Petra, at a time when travelling in Palestine was far more hazardous than it now is. To increase the chances of safety, he assumed an oriental disguise, and chose a sheikh as his companion and confidant. As they were obliged to make their observations by stealth, and conceal the papers containing their scanty records, the information derivable from this source is necessarily brief and imperfect.

On a fine May morning, in the year 1818, a considerable party might have been seen emerging from the gate of Hebron, and taking the south-eastern road, that led through Bethlehem and the wilderness of Tekoa to the southern end of the Dead Sea. The principals in the equestrian company consisted of Captains Irby and Mangles, and Messrs. Legh and Bankes, accompanied by both Frank and Arab attendants, all of them being attired in the picturesque costume of the Bedouins. The Englishmen, to carry the disguise still further, were addressed by fictitious oriental names. About mid-day the travellers obtained from an eminence a fine view of the southern extremity of the sea. Stimulated by the spectacle, they pressed on with ardour, and reached the great southern plain by six o'clock; in the shelter of a ravine, on the western side of which, they baked their evening meal, and spent the night. Rising at dawn, on the following morning from their rocky couch, they passed round the southern end of the sea to the eastern side, which they found well wooded and cultivated. Continuing their course northwards, on their way to Wady Kerak, they passed through a district inhabited by the Ghorneys—a wild, half-savage-looking tribe of Arabs, who have abandoned a nomadic life, and settled down to the tillage of the soil. After

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temporary bivouac in the thicket which shelters the reed-built dwellings of this people, and partaking of their hospitality, the party proceeded towards the opening of a ravine through which the perilous road to Petra winds. Here our travellers disappeared, and, for a period of eighteen days, we see no more of them on the borders of the silent lake. At the expiration of that date, however, having in the interval, at the peril of their lives, inspected the extraordinary monuments of the ancient Nabatheans, they returned and completed the exploration of the southern extremity of the sea. During their researches in this neighbourhood, they stumbled upon the vestiges of an ancient city, which Irby and Mangles conjectured to be the ruins of Zoar.

After this expedition, seventeen years rolled by without any fresh recorded attempt, of any importance to penetrate these shores. The next case, though it led to no practical results, is invested with a painful interest, from the tragical issue of the enterprise; for the Dead Sea, as well as the Polar Sea, has had its victims and martyrs. Although most of the strangers who from time to time have looked down from some adjacent eminence upon the beautiful expanse at their feet, have probably longed again and again for a vessel in which to sail pleasantly upon the surface of a flood never, perhaps, furrowed by a keel; yet, singularly enough, it was not till the year 1835 that any determined effort was made to realise this wish. Brave as was the resolution, in this instance, however, the means resorted to were marked by lamentable rashness and indiscretion. The enthusiastic navigator in question was a young Irishman, named Costigan, who, to carry out his ambitious project, superintended the construction of a boat to Jericho, which, when completed, was launched upon the lonely waters, beneath the fierce beams of a July sun. He was so sadly inexperienced as to embark without taking with him ordinary provisions, and was accompanied by only one servant. The two amateur navigators succeeded in reaching the southern extremity, where they were left for two or three days without fresh water, exposed meanwhile to the blaze of a midsummer sun, and were compelled to row hard to get back to the northern end. After reaching the shore, they lay for a whole day too enfeebled to move, and trying to regain strength by laving each other with the heavy waters of the lake. At length the servant managed to crawl as far as Jericho, where Costigan had left his horse, which *was immediately sent to him with a supply of water.* Medical

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assistance was procured from Jerusalem, whither the solitary sufferer was borne. This journey exhausted the little strength that remained, which medicines failed to restore. He was taken to the house of a newly-arrived German missionary, who did all that lay in his power to alleviate the sufferings and cheer the desolate mind of the dying stranger. He lingered for a very short period, pining for the home and dear friends of his childhood, and then fell beneath the stroke of Azrael, the angel of death. His remains were interred in one of the christian cemeteries on the declivities of Zion. So unpropitiously terminated this bold but rash endeavour to wrest from its jealous keeping some of the secrets of this hoary sea.

Only three years elapsed from the occurrence of this melancholy romance, before the shores of the lake were trod by the feet of two eminent pilgrims from the New World, urged on by scientific and religious motives. We allude to the well-known American travellers, Messrs. Robinson and Smith. The fruits of their noble mission of research and discovery in Bible lands are in the hands of most of us, and need no commendation. It was on the 17th of July, 1837, that Dr. Robinson left New York with the intention of accomplishing the fondly cherished dream of his early manhood. Having spent a short time in England, taking counsel with some veterans in oriental travel, and wandering for two or three weeks in the classic lands of the Levant, he took ship for Egypt. While here, exploring its monuments, our distinguished topographer was joined by Mr. Smith on the 28th of February, 1838. This gentleman was an American missionary, who had spent many years in the East, and became accordingly—from his familiar acquaintance with the Arabic language, his knowledge of the native character, as well as his experience in Syrian travelling—an invaluable ally in the mission which his colleague had undertaken. It appears that Dr. Robinson had not contemplated the eminent services to the cause of sacred topography which he afterwards found himself capable of rendering. He had never dreamed, he tells us, of anything like discoveries in a field that had been overrun in all ages by so many inquisitive pilgrims of religion and science. Aware, too, that Schubert, an eminent German geologist and botanist, had only just preceded him, he and his associate neglected to take with them all the scientific instruments requisite for the determination of the physical aspects of the regions through which they passed. On reaching Sinai, however, *en route to Palestine*, they found out their mistake; and

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subsequent stage of their journey proved that much of interest and importance had been left unobserved and undescribed by their forerunners.

Leaving the land of the Pyramids, Messrs. Robinson and Smith, made their way to Mount Sinai, and thence to Jerusalem, which they entered on the 14th of April. About a month afterwards, excursions to the Jordan and to Petra were planned. They started from Hebron on the 10th of May—a beautiful season for such a trip. The course they pursued took them through the districts of Tekoa, Ziph, Carmel, and Engedi—scenes consecrated by some of the most singular events in sacred story. These regions, from their wild and rugged character, were regarded as the most insecure in Palestine, being inhabited by Bedouins of the worst character. Every attempt being made to intimidate the travellers by terrible stories of danger and disaster, they thought it prudent to engage an escort from the suspected tribes. The result proved the wisdom of their course, for the sheikh and men, whose services had been secured, honourably fulfilled their contract. The first view of the sea was gained from the summit of a perpendicular cliff overhanging Engedi. Descending here a terrific pass, the travellers reached the celebrated fountain of Engedi, in the vicinity of which they spent the night. On the following morning at daybreak, regaled with the songs of innumerable birds, they rose, and, after re-climbing the hills, pursued their way along the western shore towards the northern or Jordan end of the lake, where, for a time, we quit them.

About a fortnight later, the same travellers, attended by a different escort, might have been seen again defiling from the gate of Hebron, and taking much the same direction as that formerly pursued by Irby and Mangles. Their destination was Petra, while the southern extremity of the sea was to be examined on their way.

The next expedition of any note was of quite a different character from the one just referred to. This consisted of a renewed attempt to navigate the Dead Sea by means of a boat, which was conveyed overland from the Mediterranean coast to Tiberias, and then launched upon the Galilean lake, with the intention of floating it down the serpentine Jordan. The mission was entrusted to Lieut. Molyneux, and was executed in the month of September, 1847. The voyage down the Jordan—the first probably ever attempted—was a series of alarms, disasters, and calamities, terminating at last in the attack and

plunder of the boat, and the dispersion of the seamen. After enduring severe sufferings and privations, Lieut. Molyneux, and his servant Toby, contrived to reach Jericho, where they appealed for assistance to the governor of the castle. From this Turkish official, Molyneux procured four well-armed soldiers, accompanied by whom he went in quest of his lost comrades ; but he failed to discover them. The aid of the authorities of Jerusalem was next invoked, with no better success. Meanwhile, Molyneux, in a desponding and gloomy mood, had the boat borne to the mouth of the Jordan, and there launched afresh, when he and two attendants ventured upon the waters of the sea, with considerable trepidation. Here he continued, rowing about for two entire days and nights, without once disembarking. This brave officer, too, like the unhappy Costigan, fell a victim partly to the anxiety and fatigue of the enterprise, and partly to the malaria of the inhospitable sea, a protracted fever having been brought on, which terminated his life soon after reaching England.

But the path of victorious science, like that of war, is often strewn with the corpses of its devotees. Undeterred by the issue of these two experiments, in eight months from the date of the last, an American expedition, under the command of Lieut. Lynch, was heroically renewing the undertaking. With such melancholy examples of fatality before their eyes, it was a bold thing on the part of this band of earnest men to repeat the attempt. In this case, however, they had the advantage of numbers and suitable equipments.

After procuring the necessary authorization from the Sultan at Constantinople, the scientific adventurers at once departed, and reached Beyrout towards the close of March, 1848. From Beyrout, the party coasted to Acre, where they finally disembarked, and landed their equipments. Among these were two metallic boats, composed of copper and galvanized iron, which were fancifully designated the "Fanny Mason" and the "Fanny Skinner." The first night in Palestine was spent on the shore, beneath the shelter of tents ; and in the morning several important additions were made to the party for the purpose of increasing its strength and efficiency. All preliminaries arranged, the boats were borne on the backs of camels across the hilly country to the Galilean lake, upon the bosom of whose waters they were lowered in the presence of a crowd of wondering spectators. Now that the actual expedition was about to commence, the party was divided into two squadrons

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one of which was to proceed by land, and the other by water; at the same time keeping so near to each other as to be able to render mutual assistance in case of danger.

On the afternoon of the 10th of April, the little fleet started. It forms no part of our purpose here to narrate the incidents of the perilous river voyage. Contrary to all former impressions, the Jordan was found to pursue a most tortuous course, flowing through an extent of 200 miles, while in a straight line the distance between the two lakes is not more than sixty miles. The bed of the stream was also found to be broken down in many parts, thus forming a succession of rapids and falls exceedingly dangerous to navigation. As the party neared the vicinity of the Dead Sea, the atmosphere became intolerably sultry; the occasional vegetation assumed a more tropical character; and every living thing, exhausted, retired from the withering heat and blinding glare of a sun unscreened by mist or cloud. Eight days after leaving the Lake of Galilee, the adventurers entered the open portals of the Sea of Death. Many important observations and discoveries were made, during their labours, which extended over a period of twenty-two days, besides a further period of nine days, during which the commander undertook an excursion to Kerak and Petra; on their return from which the company repaired to Jerusalem, and thence to Beyrout, where the vessel soon arrived which was to bear them back, laden with valuable scientific spoils, to their native land. Not all of them, however; for, unhappily, one of the devoted band, Mr. Dale, was carried off by the same low nervous fever that had previously stricken down Costigan and Molyneux.

As we approach nearer to our own day, intelligent visitors to this doomed site thicken. Close upon the heels of the expedition from which we have just parted, followed a joyous company of Frenchmen, headed by M. de Saulcy, a distinguished *savant*, and whose knowledge of the Arabic language proved of incalculable advantage to him. A severe domestic bereavement led him to seek solace in his sorrows in foreign travel, which he wished to turn to account, by presenting some scientific fruit to the academy of which he is an eminent member. Another motive that influenced his mind was, a desire to afford to his son just leaving college, an opportunity of finishing his education by an enlarged acquaintance with men and manners in other parts of the world. After much consideration, he resolved to undertake a scientific pilgrimage to the Dead Sea.

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Companions were soon found who were willing to join in the exciting and somewhat perilous trip. On arriving at Jerusalem they were hospitably entertained by M. Botta, and on starting for the sea their number was swelled by M. G. de Rothschild, who resolved to share the honours of the visit. These, with the addition of seventeen Arab guardians and guides, and the servants of the travellers, formed an imposing and daring band, and, indeed, great need there proved in the sequel both for courage and endurance.

The extent of shore traversed by M. de Sauley, and his comrades, approached nearer to a complete circuit of the sea than had ever before been accomplished. Starting from Jerusalem, they passed through Bethlehem, and taking the pathway by the convent of Mar Saba, came upon the western shore near Ayn-Fechkhah, at which fountain they encamped during the first night of their sojourn here. From that spot they moved in a southern direction along the entire western coast—traversed the swampy plain at the south end of the sea—and then pursued almost the same course as that taken by Irby and Mangles—returning in the same way as far as the supposed site of ancient Sodom and Zoar, where they left the sea, and struck across the country to Hebron, by the route followed by Messrs. Robinson and Smith. On a subsequent occasion, the north-western portion of the shore, omitted in the former journey, was examined from Jericho to Ayn-Fechkhah, in the neighbourhood of which M. de Sauley believes he has discovered the ruins of Gomorrah. He has also contributed many facts and arguments calculated to settle the long-discussed question as to the exact situation of Sodom and Zoar. If his conjectures be correct, it is singular that the very names of several of the perished cities should have survived, under an Arab form, to the present day. About seventeen days were spent by the travellers in these explorations.

II.

Having thus glanced at some of the more eminent modern travellers who have explored this remarkable region, we shall next endeavour to convey to the minds of our readers as vivid an impression as possible of the aspects and phenomena of the shores of the sea. In doing this, we propose to traverse the entire circuit of the lake, embracing an extent of 120 miles, recording our observations as we proceed as familiarly as possible. *Of course, in passing along such a lengthened line of*

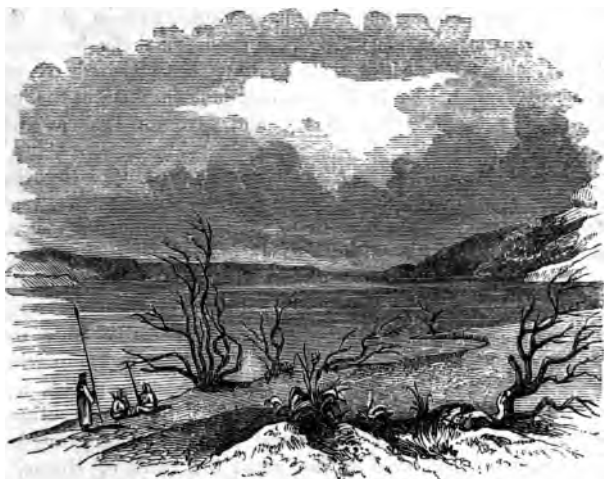
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scenery, the most that we can do is to select and depict such features as are of commanding interest. We shall freely and gratefully avail ourselves of the services of those who, at great cost, and much personal danger and privation, have preceded us, and left their guiding footprints in the rugged pathway. We at least, in our easy perigrinations, need incur no risk from the hostility of the Arabs, the malaria of the sea, or the break-neck insecurity of mountain passes. We shall enjoy all the excitement of the adventure without sharing any of its alarms and losses. The course which we propose to pursue in our imaginary trip is as follows:—Commencing at the northern point of the sea, we will pass along the western shores, in the direction indicated by a line on the accompanying map, till we reach the opposite extremity, when sweeping across the plain at the south, and continuing our travels over the eastern shores and hills, we complete the circuit by arriving near the point from which we started. If the reader will keep the map before him while the panorama of Dead Sea scenery is passing before his eyes, it will aid materially in fixing in the memory a clearer impression of particular localities.

Supposing our party, then, duly mustered and equipped, we issue, on a beautiful morning in the middle of January, from the eastern gate of Jerusalem, and, passing through scenes of sacred interest, press onwards to the banks of the Jordan opposite Jericho. From the character and wealth of the vegetation in the region hereabouts we infer that the climate of the valley of the Jordan is decidedly tropical, bearing a great resemblance to that of India. Quitting this charming part of the river, we enter upon a muddy plain, destitute of vegetation, and presenting the very image of desolation. Across this plain the ordinary road pursued by pilgrims winds. Let us take heed how we tread, as it was somewhere here that the horse rode by De Sauley, in 1851, sunk up to its nostrils in the miry soil, from which he and his charger were with difficulty extricated. As we approach the northern shore of the lake, we find branches and trunks of trees scattered about in all directions at high-water mark, some looking black as if charred by fire, while others are white and sparkling with saline incrustations.

At last, after a toilsome march over this unpicturesque and arid waste, we arrive at the northern edge of the sea, which we approach within about fifty yards. At a short distance from the shore is a small islet, covered with the remains of very ancient buildings, and thought to have been coeval with the

catastrophe which destroyed the Pentapolis, and which, it is not at all improbable, have given rise to the idle tradition that the ruins of Sodom have been seen under the sea. These remains are called Redjom-Looth, or Lot's mass of Stones.



Continuing our course between meagre and blighted shrubs, over a light soil covered with pebbles, and dead carbonized bushes that snap at a touch, we presently behold the Canaanite mountains gradually approaching nearer to the beach, so as almost to bar our progress. Pressing on, however, close to the sea-margin, we soon fall in with some remarkable ruins, covering a considerable extent of ground, and presenting the appearance of great antiquity. As Ayn-el-Fechkhah (the Fountain of the Stride) is in this neighbourhood, let us turn aside for a brief space, and refresh ourselves with its welcome waters. Gladdened by the sight of the bubbling spring, and the copious stream that flows seawards from it, we rush towards the spot with an eagerness which only oriental travellers can fully understand; but, alas! for our panting animals and our thirsty selves—we find that the water, so beautiful to the eye, is bitter and hot to the palate, and evidently impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. After slaying an immense lizard, and attempting in vain to beat off a greedy army of mosquitoes, we leave *part of our escort* with the beasts and the luggage.

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and sally forth to inspect the ruins just noticed. An extended examination satisfies us of their importance and vastness. Not only do they lie scattered over an immense track, parallel with the beach, but extend far inland through a valley—the Onad-Goumran. This name, Goumran, suggests the probability of these vast ruins being the remains of GOMORRAH—a site that has never before been identified. Indeed, until the beginning of 1851, the ruins do not seem to have been visited by any modern traveller. De Saulcy was, we believe, the first to direct attention to them.* Let us try and give an idea of their character and extent.

The first mass of ruins that attract our attention by their singular appearance consist of enormous blocks of unhewn stone, forming the foundation of cyclopean walls, at least a yard in thickness. The outlines of several distinct pavilions or dwelling-rooms can be distinctly made out. These habitations were evidently attached to vast inclosures, the use of which will, perhaps, never be determined. Whether they were used for sacred purposes, or whether they were mere parks, in which cattle could be collected at night, M. de Saulcy confesses himself incompetent to decide. In favour of the former hypothesis, he remarks that in a building, most probably appropriated to religious uses, discovered by him amid the ruins of Hazor, as well as in the temple of Gerizim, he found pavilions similar in every respect to these, and disposed in exactly the same manner. Advancing still further along the coast, we cross a wide boundary ditch, evidently constructed by human labour, and beyond which, ruins again appear, in an abundance that would seem to indicate the skeleton remains of a great city, of which the vestiges before referred to probably formed a suburb. All the remains in this locality betray a strange and barbarous style of construction, characteristic of a very remote period, and cover an extent of about four miles. In no writer, ancient or modern, is there any reference to a city having stood on this spot; from which, and other circumstances, M. de Saulcy affirms his strong conviction that this is the true site of Gomorrah. The elements necessary for such an overthrow are evidently all around us, and as we pass along we perceive the faces of the mountains on our left are here and there hollowed out into a kind of circus, in which extinct craters are visible, while huge mounds of sand below may easily be taken for volcanic ashes.

* *Journey round the Dead Sea, and in the Bible Lands, vol. 2.*

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Still onwards—over ground covered with fragments of flint, the view of the sea partly obstructed by cane brakes, from which we now and then start partridges and other birds. - We also pass from time to time huge stones, planted in the form of the segment of a circle, and which are regarded with religious veneration by our Bedouins. They are a counterpart to the Druidical cromlechs of the western nations. Several of our curiosity-hunters pick up now and then pieces of bituminous stone which burn like cannel coal, and are manufactured into cups, rosaries, and other articles, for sale to pilgrims. Some of the rocks on our left are veined with this combustible material. One of our party, more adventurous than the rest, climbs a neighbouring height for the purpose of surveying the strange scene around us; and he reports to us on his return that such is the marvellous number and wavy appearance of the insulated hillocks, rising in all directions, that it seemed as if he were standing in the midst of a stormy sea suddenly turned into stone.

The next object of interest to us, from its hallowed associations, is the Ravine of Fire (Wady-en-Nar), through which the waters of the sacred Kedron empty themselves into the Dead Sea. Often have we, in imagination, crossed that bridge which spanned its bed, and led to Bethany and to Gethsemane; and we now see the spot where it terminates, and lays its murmurings to rest for ever in the molten flood surging so heavily at our feet. This ravine is a deep gorge, towering at least 1200 feet above our heads. But as our long journey has yet barely commenced, we must not be tempted to linger here. Turning our faces southwards, then, we again pursue our way, over light fine sand, in which we sink at every step. The surface of the sand is efflorescent, from the salt with which it is saturated, while multitudes of black-looking trees, the collection of centuries, are half buried in the soil. The greater part of this floated forest has probably been contributed by the wood-fringed Jordan, during the annual rainy season. A little further on, the shore disappears under a tangled cover of gigantic reeds, reaching to within a few yards of the cliffs. Their presence is owing to a magnificent fountain of sweet warm water, peopled with myriads of shells. Several beautiful kingfishers are fluttering over the rivulet, which is known as the Brook of the Little Morass.

Shortly after quitting this agreeable oasis, we are told by our guides *that the further passage of the beach is impracticable*

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and that we must climb the hills to reach Engedi. This disconcerts us not a little. However, remembering that De Sauley and his followers were compelled to do the same, and hoping to enjoy a glorious prospect from the Judean heights, we submit to the necessity, and begin the perilous ascent. The road is execrable, and is strewn with the bleaching bones of camels and of men. Part of the route is called, appropriately enough, "Break-neck Valley," which the army of Ibrahim Pasha once passed with considerable loss. The poor animals rebel, and shake with terror at the fearful abysses which yawn at their feet; the Bedouins, however, scramble along like monkeys; and, happily, we all, after an extraordinary succession of escapes, reach the mountain path, and press on to Engedi, awed by the spectacles of sterile grandeur that everywhere salute our gaze.



Mountains of Engedi.

At length, without any disaster, we reach the identical spot from whence Dr. Robinson caught his first view of the sea, reposing at least 1500 feet below. The prospect embraces the whole southern half, including Usdum, and part of the northern half. Directly opposite to us is the mouth of Wady Kerak, at the head of which, Kerak, with its castle, is visible on a high precipitous rock. The waters, viewed from this eminence, have a decidedly green hue, as if stagnant, while the shore is edged *with froth*, caused by saline deposits. It was not far from this

stand-point, too, that De Sauley first gazed upon what he styles with enthusiasm, "the finest and most imposing lake in the world." He visited it, however, it must be remembered, at the most favourable period of the year—early in January—when the sea is fullest, the tributary streams are flowing copiously into it, and the vegetation is rich and luxuriant on the numerous small deltas formed by the streams. Lieut. Lynch, on the other hand—whose work abounds with pictures of dreariness and desolation, seemingly at variance with the representations of the French traveller—was here at a more advanced season, when the region had assumed an Egyptian aspect, and the atmosphere had become so intolerably sultry as to wither up every green thing.

But we have no time to tarry here. Let us descend to the beautiful fountain that is sparkling below in the morning sun. The pass by which we seek to reach this tempting spot—this "diamond of the desert"—has the reputation of being the most terrific in the country. In descending, we behold what appear to us to be islands in the sea, but which afterwards turn out to be merely spots of calm, smooth water, around which the rest of the sea is gently rippling. The same optical illusion has been common to most Dead Sea pilgrims, and will serve to explain the phenomenon of supposed islands existing in the lake. Even a telescope has often failed to dispel the deceptive appearance. Arrived at length at this famous fountain, we find it, indeed, a most charming spot. No wonder that Lieut. Lynch should have selected it for his depot and permanent encampment while navigating the flood below. The Fountain of the Kid (its English name) bursts forth at once a fine stream upon a narrow terrace of the mountain, more than 400 feet above the sea-beach and rushing down the declivities, is speedily lost in the thickets of trees, and shrubs, and flowers, which spring up in its life-giving and beauty-creating path. The water is warm, but deliciously sweet. So far as it circulates, the plain is covered with gardens, chiefly of cucumbers, which are cultivated by the Arabs; and the soil is so rich that, if properly tilled, it would yield exuberantly, and produce the rarest tropical fruits. The songs of innumerable birds sound strangely amid the solitude and grandeur of this devastated realm; while the gentle surging of the sea falls soothingly upon the ear. The scenery altogether cannot be called lovely, yet magnificently wild it is, and in the highest degree stern and impressive.

The ancient Hebrew name of this site was Hazezon-Ti

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(the Town of the Palms), which, before the destruction of the guilty cities, was inhabited by the Amorites. Under the name Engedi, it afterwards occurs as a city of Judah, giving its name to a portion of the adjacent desert to which David withdrew for fear of Saul. Many of the caves in which he probably hid himself, while leading an outlawed life, may still be seen, some of which are large enough to contain twenty or thirty men. They subsequently became the secluded dwellings of the Essenes, and still later, of Christian hermits. According to Josephus, Engedi was famous for palm-trees and opobalsam; while its vineyards are specially celebrated in the Old Testament. The forests of palms, however, have utterly disappeared, and no balm is collected here now. All that remains as a memorial of past glories are plentiful fragments of antique architecture, a spring of pure and delicious water, and a splendid spontaneous vegetation.

Having bivouacked for a season on this deeply interesting site, and refreshed ourselves at a fountain where the old Hebrew patriarchs had probably often quenched their thirst, we descend by another fearful pass to the beach, and resume our journey. Nothing very remarkable arrests our attention for a time, except those extraordinary features common to this region, but which elsewhere would excite wonder and curiosity. We now and then come to spots where we find the air tainted with a sulphureous effluvium, and which we can readily believe, according to the testimony of Lynch and others, is far more offensively noxious in the hotter months of the year. Among the objects that attract our eye as we pass along—now near the margin of the sluggish sea, and now at the base of the Canaanitish hills—are cascades, rushing headlong down the rifted rocks; large pools of water, formed by the retreat of the sea; the rough beds of ravines, through which the waters of the Judean wilderness flow into the lake; calcined fragments of rock, lava, and excoræ, composing the volcanic ejections of ages past, with which the ground is in places profusely covered; and hills of a fantastical shape, some of them much resembling the round towers of an old Gothic castle, and having their bases half buried under conical heaps of fallen rubbish. Presently, after passing Birket-el-Khalil,* as will be seen in the map, we bear westward over

* A curious legend was related to M. de Sauley by the Arabs, to account for the origin of the name of this place, where that traveller noticed some remarkable stones having the appearance of salt. This is the story, precisely as it was told by the Bedouin sheikh, who seemed thoroughly to believe it, though we may find considerable difficulty in doing so. "Abraham

a spacious plain, covered with sand-hills of a whitish green colour. These hillocks present so strange an aspect that it is difficult to persuade ourselves that we are not gazing on an extensive city, for we see distinctly what appear to be palaces, mosques, towers, houses, streets, and other edifices, constructed of white marble. Opposite to the spot where we now are, is the peninsula, which is separated from the western shore by a comparatively narrow strait. (See map.) Similar sand-hills appear on this singular tract of land, so that one might almost suppose that two large towns faced each other on the two contiguous shores.

While still pursuing our course along the edge of the plain before referred to, we observe a large rent in the mountains, surmounted by a high peak, crowned with ruins. This is known among the Arabs as the hill of Sebbeh, and these ruins are the remains of the famous Masada—emphatically “the fortress”—the last rampart of Jewish independence, and to which is attached a tragic tale, unsurpassed for thrilling interest in the annals of any other nation, ancient or modern. Inasmuch, however, as it is our intention to pay a special visit to this scene of heroism and horror at some future period, we will reserve what we have to say on the subject until that occasion. Casting a parting look of mingled admiration and dread, therefore, at the venerable ruined-crowned rock, we pass on in search of fresh objects of interest and surprise, in this wonder-teeming realm.

As some of the chief objects of interest are centred at the southern end of the sea, we press onwards towards that point of attraction, passing on our way some remains of the siege-works

known to the Arabs by the name of El-Khahlil (the friend of God), which name he has also left to the town of Hebron, where he resided, came one day to this very spot, with his mule, to purchase his usual provision of salt—the inhabitants of the place being accustomed to prepare salt, and sell it to the people of the upper country. The salt merchants had the impertinence to tell Abraham they had none to sell, though there were large heaps of salt lying around. The friend of God, incensed by such audacity, determined to punish the offenders. So he answered thus:—“You say you have no salt—so be it: you have none left, and never shall you have any more. You shall no longer find salt in this place, which I curse; and, moreover, the road to Hebron is closed against you.” Immediately the anathema of the patriarch was accomplished; the salt changed into stone, retaining still its original appearance, and the Valley of Khalil ceased to be practicable for travellers. The guilty traders vainly entreated for pardon; Abraham was inexorable. He ceased to traffic with them, and from that day the *Birket-el-Khalil* is strewed with salt, which is not salt but tasteless stones.”

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erected by the Roman army at the time of the reduction of Masada ; another bed of lava, which had evidently been poured from the crater of an extinct volcano still visible ; and a most enchanting little glen in the valley of the Water of Embarrheg, near which are the vestiges of a military station of the same age as Masada, and which De Saulcy believes to have been the fort of Thamara. But sites of far more engrossing interest are at hand ; and ere we have proceeded far we find ourselves in a locality in which, in the names of the valleys, plains, and mountains that surround us, we cannot fail to recognise a striking resemblance to scriptural names familiar to us from our very childhood. Thus we have the Ouad-ez-Zouera, or Valley of Zoar ; the plain of Usdum, or Sodom ; and Djebel Usdum, or the Mountain of Sodom. The retention of these names for so many ages is a remarkable circumstance.

The position of the Mountain of Sodom will be seen indicated on the map. The shore here, composed of loose sand and dangerous pits, is about 1000 feet in breadth. Here also are small pools of water, constituting real salt wells, and producing a perfectly crystalized salt of the most dazzling whiteness. Bedouins are employed disposing this salt in heaps, preparatory to conveying it away for sale.

On the northern declivities of the Salt Mountain, and on the plain contiguous to it, we meet with huge masses of ruins among which can be distinguished the foundations of very ancient structures. They cover a space of 1200 feet in extent. On the northern face of the mountain especially there are vast excrescences, or projecting hillocks. Many of these present an extensive surface, on which disjointed accumulations appear, "exhibiting infallible evidence of the existence, on this point, of a very considerable town." Other huge fragments of primeval habitations are scattered about in the neighbourhood, bearing every stamp of high antiquity upon them.

In the eastern face of the Salt Mountain is the entrance to a cavern, which is said by our guides to penetrate to the opposite side, and to be a refuge for robbers, who here waylay and plunder solitary travellers. Owing to the late rains, we find the entrance nearly blocked up by huge masses of salt, which have been thus detached from above. Some of the more enterprising of our party resolving to explore the interior, we light our torches, and enter the crystalline grotto—not, however, without some dread, inspired by the apprehension that we *may encounter a band of freebooters in their own rocky fastness.*

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We timidly advance until the cavern resolves itself into a small irregular gallery or fissure, with a murmuring water-course at the bottom, which at some seasons probably resounds with the hoarse roar of a torrent. Having penetrated to the very heart of the mountain without making any particular discovery, we are glad to return to daylight and the company of our anxious friends.

The general aspect of this mountain is very singular. It consists of a solid mass of rock-salt, and towers to an average height of about 200 feet. It is in most parts coated with a stratum of clay, of a dingy white hue, though some of the upper layers are tinged with green and red. Through this covering, however, the pure rock crystal often breaks in precipitous columns, giving a fantastic appearance to the mountain. The whole hill-side abounds with fissures and furrows, produced by the action of the rains, and is continually undergoing a change of aspect. Through the six miles of coast at its foot, the ground is strewn with masses and lumps, of all sizes and shapes, that have been detached by climatic influences. The existence of so remarkable a mountain in this region, and continuous with the chief city of the Pentapolis, sends some of our explorers—in the absence of any Murray's hand-book—to the works of earlier travellers, which they have wisely brought with them, for information on this curious phenomenon. One of them, accordingly, seated on a block of prostrate rock-salt, having found some appropriate remarks in Dr. Robinson's work, reads to the group that gathers around him the following passage:—"The existence here of this immense mass of fossil salt, which, according to the latest geological views, is a frequent accompaniment of volcanic action, accounts sufficiently for the excessive saltiness of the Dead Sea. At the time of our visit, the waters of the lake did not, indeed, wash the base of the mountain, though they appear to do so on some occasions; but the rains of winter, and the streamlets which we still found running to the sea, would naturally carry into it, in the course of ages, a sufficiency of salt to produce most of the phenomena. The position of this mountain enables us to ascertain the place of the Valley of Salt, mentioned in scripture, where the Hebrews, under David, and again under Amaziah, gained decisive victories over Edom. This valley could well have been no other than the Ghor, south of the Dead Sea, adjacent to the mountain of Salt; it separates, indeed, the ancient territories of Judah and Edom. Somewhere in the neighbourhood lay probably, also, the City

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of Salt, enumerated along with Engedi, as in the desert of Judah."

Having thus identified this strange locality with interesting biblical events, we are again on our way, eagerly searching for the remarkable pillar seen by Lieut. Lynch, and which some recent writers have understood him to represent as being the monumental effigy of Lot's wife. An ancient tradition of the kind prevailed in the time of Josephus, who declares that he had seen the pillar into which the disobedient woman had been changed. Other early writers also mention the same circumstance, and Reyland even goes so far as to assert, that as fast as any part of this pillar was washed away, it was supernaturally renewed. Among the superstitious Bedouins, the pillar, seen by the American expeditionists, is regarded as the "monument of an unbelieving soul." But the position and dimensions of this cylindrical rock are fatal to the hypothesis of its being the pillar into which the mistrustful woman was transformed. It is perched upon the top of an oval hill, about fifty feet above the level of the sea, and is itself at least forty feet in height.* Its physical formation is ascribed by travellers to the action of the wintry rains. Indeed, De Saulcy speaks of the existence of vast numbers of needles of salt, and expresses his regret that the American officer did not happen to examine the Salt Mountain on two different occasions, and in the rainy season, when "he would have found a hundred Lot's wives instead of one."

Besides these objections to the supposition in question, the death-stricken woman was overtaken by the divine judgment on the *plain*, and not in the midst of a range of hills like Usdum; while, from all that is known of the relative positions of Sodom and Zoar, she would in this spot have been miles out of her route to the city of refuge.

As we have thus undoubtedly stumbled upon the ruins of the metropolis of the Pentapolis, many of our company—knowing that Zoar was situate at no great distance from Sodom, and remembering, moreover, that we only just now passed the mouth of a valley, which our Bedouin guides designated the Ouad-ez-Zouera—are bent on retracing their steps, for the purpose of exploring the valley in quest of some vestiges of that celebrated retreat. Cheerfully acceding to this desire, we turn our faces northwards, and soon find ourselves again amid the

* The engraving on our frontispiece gives a correct representation of the scene as witnessed by the American explorers.

huge fragments of the fallen city, at the extremity of the Salt Mountain. Here we enter upon a large and beautiful plain, planted with mimosas, and which in ancient times had probably been rich in fertility. Beyond this plain is the mouth of the Valley of Zoar, which we enter, and soon find ourselves among gigantic ruins, of the same age and description as those of Engedi and Usdum. The locality is called by the Arabs, Zouera-et-Tahtah—the lower Zoar, or Zoar at the foot of the hills. It has taken us twenty minutes to reach the spot—the distance being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile—which corresponds singularly with the time occupied, and the distance traversed, by the fugitives from Sodom, referred to in Genesis xix. 15 and 23. Lot is expressly said to have departed from Sodom “when the morning arose,” and to have entered Zoar when “the sun was risen upon the earth.” Now, in the short interval elapsing between these phenomena in Syria, it would have been quite impossible for Abraham’s nephew to have crossed the plain now submerged beneath the southern bay of the Dead Sea, and reached the spot on the eastern side which is usually regarded as the site of Zoar; while *this* locality fulfils all the requirements of the case. Seated among the grey fragments of fallen edifices, one of our number is engrossed in the perusal of the masterly arguments by which De Saulcy has sought to demonstrate that *this* is the very spot where the fugitives found an asylum from the desolating storm that raged around them; and these arguments are felt by the most disputatious among us to be well-nigh conclusive.

No description can give an adequate idea of the present dreary aspect of the Ouad-ez-Zouera. On all sides, nothing is to be seen but immense chasms, rocks violently torn from their original masses, and hurled down into the bottom of the ravine; together with perpendicular cliffs of a soft crumbling stone, resembling volcanic ashes. Mountains there are, too, that look as if they had been calcined by intense fire.*

* During the recent march of the French party through this valley, they were so fortunate as to witness a storm of appalling grandeur burst over the Dead Sea, and which gave them a vivid conception of the terrible catastrophe that had destroyed the doomed cities. It is thus described by M. de Saulcy :—

“When we began ascending the first acclivities of the Ouad-ez-Zouera, large black clouds, driven by the westerly wind, passing above our heads and over the Djebel-Esdoum, rushed down upon the Dead Sea in the direction of the Rhor-Safieh, then rising again along the flank of the mountains of Moab, soon cleared the view, and allowed us to contemplate the expanse of water, resembling a vast motionless sheet of molten lead. By degrees, as the storm hurried towards the east, the western sky became again pure and radiant; the

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Tearing ourselves from a spot consecrated by so many mournful and monitory associations, we hasten to retrace our steps once more, and find ourselves soon emerging from the shadow of the Salt Mountain, and entering upon the great southern plain. A considerable portion of this region is a mere salt marsh, which the sea overflows during the rainy season, and abounds with sluggish water-courses and mud-pits, in which the traveller, if not careful, is in danger of being engulfed. To this flat and dismal tract succeeds a region covered with a growth of gigantic reeds, so densely planted that it is difficult to make our way through them. Escaping at length from these we enter upon a prettily-wooded country, interspersed with open districts, cultivated with wheat, barley, and tobacco. Some of the wild plants flourishing here are of a remarkable appearance. Ever and anon, as we press onwards through scenes delightful in contrast with the dreary realms recently trodden, we find ourselves entangled in a forest of a most novel description, consisting of clumps of slender trunks of trees entwined together like sticks in a fagot. Thousands of prickly branches interlace each other around these impenetrable clusters, forming countless thickets, which it is impossible to pass without leaving portions of our dress suspended from the thorns. Traces of the wild boars and panthers that infest this region are everywhere visible. Beautiful little pink doves look down upon us from the branches of the trees, and exquisite humming-birds,

moment the setting sun darted above the mountains of Canaan fiery rays, which seemed almost to cover the summits of the land of Moab with the flames of an enormous conflagration, while the bases of those imposing mountains remained as black as ink. Above was the dark louring sky; below, the sea, like a metallic sheet of dull leaden gray; around us, the silence of the desert, and utter desolation. Afar off, in the west, a bright, cloudless sky, shining over a blessed land, whilst we seemed to be flying from a country condemned for ever. It is impossible to describe this scene, which, to be fully understood and felt, must have been witnessed. Our Bedouins themselves, though accustomed to the grandest operations of nature, participated in the sensations by which we were completely mastered. 'See, sir, see,' they exclaimed; 'the Lord is smiting Sodom!' And they were right. The tremendous spectacle which was witnessed by Lot, from nearly the same spot where we were now standing, must have borne a striking resemblance to the magnificent repetition with which we had just been favoured by the same presiding Providence."

Dr. Robinson, who passed through this ravine on his way to Kerak—which he calls Wady-ez-Zuweilah—saw the sea from this spot by sunrise, under an aspect altogether different from the one just described. "When at the last descent," he says, "the sun rose over the eastern mountains. As we looked down through the narrow opening over the valley, the calm glassy waters of the lake became liquid gold, and the verdant shrubs along the shore, tinged with sunny hues, gave for the moment an impression of beauty to a scene in itself stern and desolate as death."

with emerald and ruby frills, flutter joyously around us. Even floricultural products are met with on this part of our route.

The next point of interest inviting our examination is found beside the path generally traversed on the way to Kerak, and consists of some extensive and very ancient ruins, which have been often visited and described by modern travellers, some of whom have supposed them to mark the site of Zoar. De Saulcy having, as we have seen, fixed the locality of Zoar on the opposite coast, has, with a better array of argument, identified these huge fragments of architecture as the remains of ZEBOIIM. He finds a strong corroboration of this view in the name still attached to the spot—Sebaan, in which he recognises the Zeboiim of the Scriptures. The ruins, too, are said to be manifestly of the same age as those of Sodom, while there is no known record of any other city of ancient times having stood in this region. But let us turn aside and see this sad sight. In doing so, we diverge from the direct course when arrived at the heel of the peninsula, and, as will be seen on the map, enter the mouth of a valley, and ascend towards the higher ranges of the land of Moab. On reaching the spot indicated by Sebaan, the ruins in question first appear, and extend from thence, in greater or lesser quantities, as far as the presumed site of Zeboiim. Here we find ourselves surrounded by remains of so stupendous a character, that it is at once evident they could not belong to a town or city of inferior extent to that of Sodom. Several terrific craters still frown upon the devastated position, and suggest to the beholder how instantaneously, by their simultaneous explosion, they must have accomplished the annihilation of the doomed city. It is a solemn, thought-inspiring scene, and willingly would we linger here awhile, and indulge in profitable musings; but time presses, and we have still a wearying distance to travel.

As we descend the ravine, on our return, a large extent of land, spreading into the sea, lies before us. This peninsula was known in the old Hebrew times as "The Tongue," (see Joshua xv. 2, margin) and it is very remarkable that by the Arabs it is still designated by the same name—El-Lisan. In shape, it is said, by Lynch, to resemble an outspread wing; but a better comparison would be with a huge human foot, the sole being paralld with the western coast, and the toes pointing northwards. It is a bold, broad promontory, with a steep white ridge running like a spine down the centre. Myriads of dead locusts strewed *its sea margin* when visited by the American

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expedition. It is doomed to utter barrenness. The scene, indeed, is so dreary, and the atmosphere so stifling and oppressive, that we feel no temptation to linger in its neighbourhood; and accordingly, climbing the reviving uplands of Moab, we hasten onwards towards the termination of our rambles. We accordingly soon cross the precipitous rocky banks of the river Arnon, which anciently separated the territories of the Moabites from those of the Amorites; rest awhile beneath the delightful shade of a palm-grove; pass the grand and romantic valley of Callirrhoe, after enjoying a refreshing bath in its famous hot springs, which Herod the Great was wont to frequent; and at length, unharmed and instructed, reach the eastern bank of the Jordan, exactly opposite the spot from which we started on our peregrinations.

III.

In the excursion round the shores of the sea, thus completed, we have bestowed scarcely any notice on the waters themselves. This has been reserved for the present division of the tract; which is designed to describe, with great brevity, a few of the aspects and phenomena that arrest the attention of the circumnavigator of the bosom of the lake. With the view of keeping up the pleasant illusion of a personal trip, we will suppose (if the anachronism can be pardoned) that just as we have reached the verdurous banks of the melodious Jordan, in the month of April, the boats of the American expedition are gaily sweeping by on their noble enterprise of science; in which, through the frank courtesy of the commander, we are permitted to embark, so as to share with them in the privileges and the privations of the voyage. In narrating some of the sights we may see, and the experiences we may meet with, we shall not scruple to draw freely upon the journal of our leader, Lieut. Lynch. Of course, only such incidents of the voyage can be noted as will directly serve to illustrate the peculiarities of the region. The course pursued will be found indicated on the map, which also represents the varied depths of the soundings in different parts of the lake.

Deep is the anxiety that presses upon our minds as we draw near the point that will usher us upon that mysterious abyss of waters where several of our predecessors inhaled the miasm of death; nor are our feelings of dread at all likely to be assuaged by the reception awaiting us on our entrance. For as we emerge from the Jordan, which at its mouth is about 180 yards wide,

we are assailed by a violent wind, which gradually increases to a gale, lashing the usually quiescent surface of the lake into heavy, foam-crested billows. As we tremblingly labour on towards the eastern coast, the spray, evaporating as it falls, leaves incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands and faces; and while exciting a prickly sensation wherever it touches the skin, is especially painful to the eyes and lips, which it causes to smart excessively. While thus tempest-tossed, and expecting every moment to founder, we cannot repress the feeling that the divine Avenger is frowning upon our attempt to navigate a flood environed by the monuments of his dread displeasure. These apprehensions, however, are of short duration, for, as the wind suddenly abates its riotous fury, the water, from its ponderous, leaden quality, speedily settles into a placid sheet, with the gentlest possible ripple, over which we at length are gliding tranquilly.

As the sun shines upon the sea, it justifies the comparison that has sometimes been made between it and molten lead. When about a mile from the western shore, we pass a solitary duck, swimming towards his cane-brake on the shore—thus refuting the old tradition, that no animal or fowl can live upon these waters. By the time we have been several hours upon the briny sea, our arms, instruments, and everything metallic, have become bronzed by the saline atmosphere. Some stones, in the bottom of the boat, are so incrustated with salt as to look as if whitewashed. The outward surface of the boats, too, we observe, exposed to the friction of the brine, is as bright as burnished gold, though, after contact with the air for a short period, it is found rapidly to corrode. The hands of the boatmen engaged in taking the soundings are covered with a continual lather; while a book, which was accidentally dropped into the lake, can nohow be dried.

When about midway between Engedi and the point of the peninsula, one of our seamen picks up a dead quail; and about the same spot, in one of the deep soundings, the line, singularly enough, brings up a blade of grass from the briny abyss, faded, indeed, in colour, but of as firm a texture as any plucked on the margin of any mountain stream. That it is the product of the bottom of the salt lake is incredible: it must have been washed down from one of the tributaries in connexion with some substance. While referring to the soundings, we find that the bottom consists in different parts of various
—the line *sometimes* bringing up blue, yellow, or

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sometimes crystals; while at other times it descends upon a hard stratum of gravel. Hitherto, no indication has been discovered of any submarine ruins which would imply that either of the cities of the Pentapolis has been engulfed beneath the flood.

As we approach the southern extremity of the sea we perceive large pieces of a black and shining substance floating on the surface of the waters. Rowing towards one of them, we find that it consists of bitumen or asphaltum, similar to what is so often picked up on the shores. This natural product of the region seems to be most plentiful at the shallow southern end, and, according to all local traditions, flows from concealed fountains in the submerged plain. It is supposed that, issuing from its springs, it spreads and accumulates like a coat of lava over the adjacent sea-bed, from which position it is from time to time detached and brought to the surface by the earthquakes that still visit those volcanic precincts. Stories are told by the Arabs of islands of bitumen occasionally appearing in a sudden and inexplicable manner, and which they are accustomed to dispose of to advantage.*

These remarkable facts seem to point to the conclusion, that in that shallow portion of the sea south of the tongue, or peninsula, we have the site of the Vale of Siddim, which from the most ancient times was full of slime-pits, or wells of asphaltum. And thus, too, in the bitumen, the sulphur, and the Mountain of

* Dr. Robinson, in support of this statement, relates the following striking facts:—"The Arabs believe that this bitumen only appears after earthquakes. The sheikhs of the Ta'amirah and the Jehalin related that, after the earthquake of 1834, a large quantity of asphaltum was cast upon the shore near the south-west part of the sea, and of which the Jehalin brought about sixty kuntars into market. My companion (Rev. E. Smith) also remembered that, in that year, a large amount had been purchased by the Franks merchants at Beirut. During the last year, also, after the earthquake of Jan. 1st, 1837, a large mass of bitumen (one said like an island, another like a house) was discovered floating on the sea, and was driven aground on the west side, not far from the north of Usdum. The Jehalin and the inhabitants of the Yutta swam off to it, and cut it up with axes, so as to bring it to shore. The Ta'amirah heard of it, and went to get a share. They found seventy men already upon and around it. It was carried off by camel-loads, partly up the pass of Engedi, and sold by the Arabs for four piastres the pound. The share of the Ta'amirah brought them more than 500 dollars; while others sold to the amount of 2000 or 3000 dollars. Except in those two years, the aged sheikh had never known of bitumen appearing, nor heard of it from his fathers. This account will corroborate the assertions of several ancient writers—Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, and Ptolemy—to the same effect. The latter describes the existence of islands of several acres in extent, from which the Egyptians, he adds, drew their store of resinous matter for the process of embalming.

Salt, we find, collected in this region, all the combustibles that needed only to be ignited to produce the most tremendous conflagration and catastrophe.

But to return to the incidents of the voyage. Many attempts are made, as we glide along, to ascertain the existence of aquatic life in the waters beneath us; but in none of our endeavours have we been successful. Although birds, beasts, and insects are met with upon the shores, there appears to be no living thing within the sea itself. Sometimes, it is true, a dead fish is found, which leads to animated discussions on the subject; yet the result of a careful and intelligent examination invariably is, that the object of so much scientific curiosity has been borne into the sea by some of its tributary streams, where it is speedily poisoned and expires. And to place the matter beyond further doubt, our commander, subjecting a portion of the water to a powerful microscope, is unable to detect any animalculæ or vestige of animal matter whatever.

On reaching the straits between the peninsula and the opposite western shore, where, as will be observed in the map, the water shoals considerably, much interest is evinced by some of our navigators to ascertain the existence of a ford in this part of the sea. The testimony of travellers on this point has been very conflicting, and even the Arabs of the country exhibit strange disagreement in their statements upon the subject. The result of our soundings in this neighbourhood proves, however, the practicability of a passage being effected here when the waters are low; and thus corroborates the assertion of Irby and Mangles, who state that in descending from Kerak they fell in with a small caravan going to Hebron by way of the ford. As these travellers were afterwards exploring the peninsula, they saw this caravan enter the water and pass over to the opposite side, the liquid pathway being indicated by boughs of trees. Another ford is also said to exist from the point of the peninsula to the northern end of Usdum.

The proverbial density and unusual specific gravity of these waters, as might be expected, have been subjected to numerous tests by some of our companions. So early as the time of Vespasian experiments were tried by tying the hands of criminals behind their backs, and casting them into the lake, where they are said to have floated like corks upon the surface. Dr. Robinson bathed in the sea just under Engedi, and states that so buoyant did he find it, that although he could not swim before, here he could sit, stand, lie, or swim in the water without

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difficulty. The experiments made under the direction of Lieut. Lynch fully corroborates these representations. Among these are trials with a donkey and a horse, which swim without losing their balance. A muscular man, too, who has just fallen out of our boat, floats nearly breast high, without the least exertion. Two fresh eggs, too, which would certainly have gone to the bottom in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, here contrive to support themselves on the surface. As another proof of this extreme density, it is observable that our boats, with the same freightage, draw one inch less water here than in the Jordan.

As we enter the southern basin, where the bottom of the sea is visible to us as we glide along, and the surrounding mountains reflect upon us an intolerable glare, the feelings of drowsiness, which have long been creeping over us, become quite overpowering. A hot, blistering hurricane is rising from the south-east, which soon converts the air into a consuming furnace, beneath whose withering blasts the physical strength of the rowers rapidly sinks. The men pull mechanically with half-closed lids, and every one else, except the commander, has sunk into a state of stupor and temporary helplessness. With the view of seeking shelter from the sirocco blast in the shadow of some ravine, the toiling rowers strive to reach land, which they at length accomplish. But now a new difficulty awaits us; for, on attempting to gain the shadow of the rocks, it is found that the shore is heated to such an extent as to render it just like running over burning ashes—the perspiration streaming from us as we painfully urge our way. The terrible sirocco at length subsides, but our expeditionists are evidently beginning to suffer seriously in their health. The figure of each is assuming a dropsical appearance; the lean are growing stout, and the stout almost corpulent; the pale-faced are becoming florid, and the florid ruddy; while the bodies of the men are covered with pustules and festering sores. These alarming symptoms of indisposition, coupled with the remembrance of the fatal character of the climate, induce the commander at once to propose a land excursion to Kerak, that, on the breezy highlands of Moab, their health may be re-established. As it forms no part of our present purpose, however, to visit that rocky region, and as our allotted time is well-nigh exhausted, we cordially thank the American expeditionists for their pleasant companionship, and regretfully *take our leave of them.*

IV.

It but remains for us now, in conclusion, to say a few words as to the probable origin of this extraordinary lake. Seating ourselves, accordingly, on the pinnacle of one of the loftiest western hills, from whence a large portion of the region is visible to us, bathed in the mellow light of the setting sun, we will pass hastily in review some of the hypotheses which have been entertained by the learned, as regards the primitive condition of this blasted and desolated region.

Some writers have expressed their belief that the lake has, from the earliest epoch, occupied the full extent of its present basin. Such a view; however, can be maintained by no one at all acquainted with the physical features of the surrounding country; for where, then, are we to look for the fertile "vale," or "plain," so often referred to in scripture, and by whose luxuriant productiveness Lot was allured to the spot? It must be clear at once that such a position is quite untenable.

The next hypothesis—perhaps the most popular and captivating, and that enrols many great names among its advocates—is, that no immense reservoir of water originally existed here at all; but that the Jordan pursued its beneficent way across this sunken plain, and onwards, through the valley El-Arabah, to the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea, into which it emptied itself. In favour of this theory is the remarkable fact related by Lieut. Lynch, namely, that through the northern and more depressed portion of the bed of the sea, there may be distinctly traced an ancient channel or ravine, evidently a continuation of the bed of the Jordan, and which seems to correspond with a similar ravine at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. The American writer also states, in confirmation of the same conjecture, that the lateral valleys examined by him have a *southward* inclination near their outlets. If this be so—though it is right to remark that his statement is directly in opposition to that of Dr. Robinson—the circumstance is not without an important bearing upon the question. For if the northern chasm of the lake had formed the primitive reservoir, all the waters of the region were collected, we should have expected to find a northern instead of a southern distinctly marking the outlets of all the wady's situated of the peninsula.

The great and apparently fatal obstacle to the reception of this theory is the fact, that a few miles

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there runs a transverse ridge of hills, which forms a watershed that divides the valley, causing the waters of the surrounding region to flow in part northwards into the lake, and in part southwards into the Elanitic gulf. This natural barrier, which was not long ago discovered, is deemed by many sufficient to explode the notion that the Jordan formerly traversed the Arabian valley. By others, however, it is regarded as by no means so conclusive; since, as it is argued, the tremendous disturbing agency that was adequate to submerge the plain of the Dead Sea to a depth of 1300 feet, was surely equal to the upheaving of the ridge in question. Another fact hostile to this theory, moreover, is, that the Red Sea, according to Rusegger, lies more than 1300 feet above the present level of Lake Asphaltites. As a kind of compensation for this adverse assertion, the conjecture is hazarded by some authorities, that when the ancient channel of the Jordan was interrupted by the volcanic convulsions that upheaved the watershed, an underpassage may have been riven in the strata of rocks below, through which a large portion of surplus water annually flows off into the Elanitic gulf. In favour of this view, we are told by Captain Moresby, who has lately explored the region, that at the head of the gulf he could find no bottom at a depth of 1600 feet; while not a few persons feel themselves necessitated to resort to some such speculation, in order to account for the disappearance of the enormous volume of water continually flowing into the Dead Sea (six millions of tons being daily discharged by the Jordan alone), and which, in their opinion, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the process of evaporation.

The only other theory to which we can here advert, is one which, perhaps, at the present time, commands the assent of the largest number of distinguished topographers and biblical scholars. Finding no trace of any natural outlet for the confluent waters now pent within the basin of the Dead Sea, they are led to conclude that a lake of smaller dimensions than the present one existed in the plain of Sodom anterior to the catastrophe that destroyed the profligate cities. The southern boundary of this lake was probably formed by a line of coast drawn somewhere from the northern part of the peninsula to the western shore. All the level district south of this sea-boundary constituted, as is supposed, the "Vale of Siddim," bisected by the Jordan, which, after having emptied itself into the lake, emerged again, and resumed its fertilizing course

gh the plain to the very foot of the transverse hills, where
 rather progress was effectually barred. "Here, then," to
 the words of the author of the 'People's Dictionary of the
 ,' "we have a luxuriant and prolific vale, covered with a
 lation who lived on a volcanic soil. Such is the state of
 s which anteriorly science would lead us to expect. The
 un would of necessity diffuse its waters abroad, as the Nile
 in Egypt, and that the more because denied an exit in the
 tion of the Elanitic gulf. This diffusion of water would
 ace rank fertility, especially in the hot clime of the sunk
 y. Rank fertility would afford a ready subsistence to
 un beings. Hence a dense population, and society quickly
 ized under what are termed 'kings', (Gen. xiv. 2,) or
 independent chiefs. Yet, as in Herculaneum, were the
 bitants in constant peril. Ease brought forth luxury,
 ry begot vice, and general turpitude awoke the wrath of
 en, which, causing a volcano, punished those guilty men,
 converted the fruitful vale into a barren and unsightly
 t." According to this view, which seems to us highly
 nal, it is not at all likely that any of the overwhelmed
 s were situated in the plain, thus exposed to periodical
 dation, but were probably built on the rising ground on the
 ers of the well-cultivated valley—on the spots, in fact,
 re their vestiges have recently been met with by
 le Sauley.

. bringing about the dire catastrophe that has made this
 e region a perpetual desolation, the righteous Avenger of
 found all the elements of destruction here stored up and
 y for the work of judgment. The surrounding hills bear
 le witness to their decidedly volcanic character, showing
 they were prepared at any moment to obey the mandate of
 r divine Maker, by opening their destructive batteries upon
 objects of his holy indignation; while, as we have seen, the
 le plain abounded with springs of slime or asphaltum, which
 probably, in the lapse of years, largely accumulated, and
 ad extensively both beneath and above the soil, and which
 needed the flashing fire from heaven to kindle it into one
 ersal and tremendous conflagration, before whose appalling
 ges everything living must perish. If, in addition to these
 icies, we suppose the simultaneous visitation of an earth-
 ke, we have all the phenomena which the most literal inter-
 ation of the sacred records can demand. (See Gen. xix.
 25, 28).

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But our imaginary visit must now abruptly terminate, sun has already sunk below the horizon, and the moon beginning to shine across the ghastly flood on whose desolation we have thus lingeringly gazed, as we turn into our room for the last time, filled with sad and solemn thoughts, together with more ardent aspirations after the favour of that glorious Being who, if thus terrible as a Foe, is not less faithful Friend.



Apples of Sodom.

THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.



Departure of Moses for the Court of Pharaoh.

THE PEOPLE ARE FREE! That last blow Pharaoh could not endure. The hand of the Lord hath gotten us the victory. The first-born in every house in this land of abominations lies dead, and the sufferers would thrust out Israel, as a leper is driven from the haunts of men. The future rises bright before God's

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people; yet the desert has to be passed, and the privations of the wilderness to be borne, ere the happy land is reached. But what if Pharaoh should pursue with his overwhelming and victorious myriads! Here at Rameses—the city of his father's pride—we must not tarry. Yet at this Ebenezer, fain would I glance back upon the past ere I advance into the dimly-known future. The orders are all given—Israel is collecting in its tribes and families—a short hour meanwhile will suffice for a retrospect of what Jehovah has done by my hand.* Wonderful, indeed, has my course been; and, strange to think that now when I have seen fourscore years, I should enter on the onerous duties of an office which demands the enthusiasm of youth, the vigour of manhood, as well as the wisdom of age;—but in union with the Almighty, the weak are strong.

The hand of Jehovah rises like a star over the whole of my history. That hand has been my guide hitherto, and by it shall I be led to the last. Under the weight of that hand has the stubborn Menephthes† just bowed down, and by its pressures was Miamun,‡ his great predecessor, compelled to work out designs of which he knew nothing, and bring about results most foreign to his aims. How could he have supposed that in giving education to the priest Osarsiph,§ he was preparing an avenger for his Hebrew slaves? And his daughter—the gentle, loving, good Athyrtis—to whom I owe even life; nay, to whom I owe that which is better than life, namely, such knowledge as at length has led me to renounce the idols of Egypt, and to consecrate myself to the exalted service of the one true God—Athyrtis little fancied when she drew me from the Nile that she saved one who would afterwards desecrate the divine stream, and strike its right arm from the kingdom of her grandfather. But a truce with such reflections, though they come crowding on my mind like bees to the hive at night-fall. Time presses, and the wondrous story must be recited.

Imperfect and shadowy is my remembrance of the earliest days of my childhood. Very dear still is the thought of that poor frail Hebrew hut, where my father found shelter after the

* For an explanation of the reasons that have led to the adoption of the autobiographic form in the present tract, the reader is referred to the "Concluding Remarks," page 32.

† For information respecting the relation which these monarchs bore towards the Israelites, see "Israel and the Pyramids," page 18.

‡ The Egyptian name of Moses.

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exhausting toils of the day under this burning sun of Egypt; for there was I suckled, and cared for, and caressed by a very fond mother, until I grew to know the hand which upheld me, and to feel somewhat the tenderness of the heart which shed on me blessings like the dew of God on the young grass. More vivid and distinct, however, are the impressions I retain of those words which, in conversation or in ejaculation, fell from the lips of my parents, as we sat in that rude abode, a family circle, under the shadow of one of the hills in Goshen, after the sun had gone down, and while the moon was rising with her silvery light over huts and houses confusedly scattered there—the habitations of a sorrow bordering on despair. Those words, the import of which has only dawned on my mind by slow degrees, spoke of a happy land, the former home of our race—a free land, teeming with plenty, and flowing with milk and honey—a lost land, alas! but still the goal of Hebrew hope and desire, and which Elohim had promised to our fathers as an enduring inheritance to their descendants. And then, after statements to this effect had been made with an emphasis that burnt the very words into my soul, my father would say: “Moses, may the curse of Elohim be on thy head if thou ever bow down to one of those monstrous idols worshipped by our oppressors; may the curse of Elohim pass from the crown of thy head to the sole of thy foot, if thou serve not the Lord God of thy fathers. Alas! Israel is corrupt; where soon will be found a seed and a remnant for Elohim? Fatal example that, when Joseph took Asenath to wife! * Too many since that dire hour have done the like, so that the blood of Israel is defiled with the blood of Egypt. How haughty and how cruelly oppressive are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered, the Hebrew, married,†—apostates alike to Osiris and to Elohim—children of the Evil one! My son, keep pure thy Hebrew blood, lest thou become an abomination to Him who made thee. But, peradventure, thou wilt not be tempted; for since Miamun came to the throne, Joseph’s memory is fast fading away, while the Hebrews are sinking, from a separate and independent people, into a horde of slaves. Yet wilt thou be tried, my son, sorely tried; and unless Elohim be with thee, thou wilt fall, for Pharaoh’s daughter will shortly take thee from thy father and thy mother, and”——

The words were interrupted by a low piercing wail, that

* *Genesis xli. 45.*

† *1 Chron. iv. 18.*

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went to my heart, the dull echoes of which are still in my ears. It was the voice of my mother, who for some time did nought but wail. At length, with a sobbing heart and stammering lips, she said: "Must I indeed lose my boy, my lovely, darling boy? Go thou must, but my heart will go with thee; and when thou thinkest of me, thou wilt remember Elohim, the God of thy fathers, and wilt cleave to the good old way, and wilt not go a whoring after the strange gods of this hateful land."

On one of these occasions, with which a pleasing melancholy is yet associated in my mind, my parents were more than usually weighed down by sorrow. The cause of their sorrow I was then too young to perceive with my own eyes, but that cause can now never escape from my recollection. After the two had sat for a long time in unbroken silence, they, in succession, began to sob, and sobbed until their grief burst forth into a cry. While overpowered with alarm, and wondering at the cause of these sudden lamentations, I saw my mother gently draw aside my father's hik or plaid, and then let her tears stream down upon his back. After a moment she applied unguents and perfumes, and then binding up the sores kindly, led him, as he leant on her for support, under the shelter of our humble roof. Not an explanatory word was uttered by either parent; but in the morning the mystery was solved, for I then learnt that my father had been cruelly scourged, because the band of Hebrew labourers of whom he had the oversight had, in that season of fiery and overpowering heat, fallen short of the tale of bricks they were required to make.

At length the day came for me to quit my home. Athyrtis sent a train of servants to convey me from my father's hut to her own sumptuous palace. What glitter and pomp! how were my young eyes dazzled! how were our Hebrew neighbours amazed! The young Moses was to be a prince! Congratulatory words poured forth on every side; but my father's ear was deaf to them; and my mother's heart was too busy with cares and fears to give heed to anything so idle. The preparations for departure were soon over; already had the priest, who led the embassy, taken me by the hand to place me in his chariot, when my mother darted forth, followed by a small troop of maidens, neighbours' daughters, somewhat older than myself, with harps in their hands, and they sang the following words, amid prayers and tears from a surrounding crowd of Israelites:—

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"A fruitful stem is Joseph,
A fruitful stem by a fountain,
Whose boughs spread over the wall.
The archers sorely grieved him,
And contended with him and hated him;
But his bow retained its force,
And his arms their activity,
By the power of the Mighty One of Jacob—
By the name of the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel—
By the God of thy father who helped thee—
By God Almighty who blessed thee.
May the blessings of the heavens above,
May the blessings of the deep lying beneath,
May the blessings of the breast and of the womb,
May the blessings of thy father and thy mother,
Be heaped upon the blessings of the eternal mountains,
The desirable things of the everlasting hills!
May they be on the head of Joseph!
On the crown of the head of Moses, his son!"

This farewell benediction I, on reaching my regal abode, found inscribed on a piece of lamb-skin, suspended round my neck by a chain made of my mother's hair. That memorial of the truest and tenderest mother's love, and of the purest piety, I still keep, and hope to keep till the end of life.

I was conveyed at once to Heliopolis—that city of priests—that focus of the worship of the sun—that gathering-place of sacred rites, where heterogeneous abominations seemed to find a home—that mysterious site of religious edifices and monuments, which stretch back through generations of kings and over very many centuries. Soon after my arrival was I favoured with a visit from my imperial patroness. Scarcely could I recognise in the flaming splendour of Pharaoh's daughter in her own palace, the comparatively simply-attired lady who had a few times visited my Hebrew home. Athyrtis caressed and fondled me, as if I had been her own child; and for this and other acts of kindness beyond number, I cannot but hold her memory in most affectionate regard. Soon was I consigned to the custody of a member of the royal family, the High Priest of On, who gave me in charge to a sacerdotal officer of high distinction, by whom I was shortly surrounded by teachers in every branch of knowledge. To give full details of the manner in which I was initiated into all the wisdom of the Egyptians would require longer time than I can now devote to this task. One or two facts alone must here suffice.

The priests, to whose hands I had been confided, at first regarded me with *suspicion*. I was known to be of Hebrew blood.

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I belonged to the dreaded Shepherd races. Even at that moment was the great Sesostris* making successful war in Syria against those formidable neighbours. What, if in me, the servants of On were to train one who should put an avenging sword into the hands of the Hebrew Goshenites, and they should join with the Naharaim of the Euphrates, to throw chains on the Nile, and lay waste the land and the gods of the land? True, Athyrtis loved Osarsiph, and therefore he must be educated as she had commanded; but religion and patriotism required that, if he had a lurking purpose, it should be dragged to light.

In consequence of these suspicions and distrusts, the usual examinations and tests were made specially severe. Before I was allowed to set foot within the primary school, I was subjected to a series of trials which even now I cannot call to mind without a shudder. In vast sepulchral caverns, damp and dark, under lights the most varied, amid shapes the most frightful, and haunted by voices now of the most exquisite sweetness, and anon terrific as the thunderings of Midian, was my youthful imagination wrought upon at one time for a few minutes, at another for hours, and at a third during a whole night; and then, when all my keen Hebrew susceptibilities had been strung to a preternatural vividness, so that I hardly knew whether I was or was not in the body, I was taken to the cell of the querist, who, after reciting the horrors that awaited those who tried to deceive the gods, questioned me as to my motives, my aims, and my knowledge. Having satisfactorily gone through this first process of trial, and been allowed some repose, I was examined as to my mental ability. Knotty questions were put to me, oracular responses I was required to solve, the hidden import of popular observances I was asked to expound; and when at length, by these and other means, I had been found to possess the requisite mental powers, I was stripped, and most scrupulously surveyed and searched from top to toe, to see if my body was unblemished, and pure enough to be employed in the service of the idols of the land. Having come forth approved from the hands of the triers, I was declared a son of Thoth, the goddess of letters, and was allowed to

* This sovereign, who reigned from 1445 to 1328 B.C., was *Rameses II*, or *Rameses Miamun*, called by Herodotus *Sesostris*, and *Sesosis* by Diodorus. He built many of the chief monuments now existing, and among others, the cave temples at Abu-Simbel.

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enter on that lengthened course of study and discipline which, like the long colonnade to the temple, leads to the most holy duties of the priesthood, and so conducts the soul from the outer world of appearances to the inner world of realities.

What a glorious career was that of my youth, through that brilliant circle of the sciences, so rich in information, so replete with delight! As one who bathes in the Nile after the day's heat has subsided, or ere it has well begun, I plunged into the sacred stream of knowledge, and played therein like leviathan in the deep. I began with the art and mystery of writing, passed on to the properties of numbers, ascended to the virtues of plants and herbs, then studied the obvious and the hidden qualities of animals; and after pursuing in detail the applications of this knowledge to the wants, conveniences, and pleasures of life, especially in regard to the preservation of health, and the distribution of the waters of the Nile, that subordinate source of all temporal good, I from that point rose to theology and astronomy; studying the attributes of the gods, their symbols, their names, their operations, their signs and powers on the face of the skies, and their working through the same on the earth, in its seasons, its productions, its tenants, and especially on man. Having exhausted all knowledge pertaining to this world, I followed the soul on its journey into the next, and became familiar with the dead and the regions of the dead, in all their transitions, mutations, and enduringness, until I saw the circle close, and the life that began in the Eternal One, ended there too, and there was no more change and no more death.

These were to me, at the time, grand and imposing studies. I will not deny that they took my soul captive. What a privilege was mine! I did not, indeed, forget that shattered Hebrew hut, and those dear ones who lay under, or gathered around it. Nor did I cease to remember my play-fellows; but the thought would force its way: What are they now? Toiling slaves, in all probability, while I am a member of the Sacred College, and stand on the very threshold of the priesthood. From the day when my novitiate ended, my course had been one of joy. I loved knowledge; the more I drank, the more I thirsted; the more I thirsted, the ampler were my supplies.

But could I enter the priesthood? Beyond the precincts of the University I had already been understood to have passed within the holy of holies. In popular opinion I was a priest

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The opinion spread among the Israelites, who bewailed another son lost to Elohim and Elohim's people. But in my own heart a terrible conflict was proceeding. At length the time for a decision came. Longer delay was refused. I must consecrate myself to On or ———. The alternative I knew not exactly. Dark words were employed; and, acquainted as I was with the human sacrifices of past days, I dreaded the worst. Then came the final struggle—Israel against Egypt; the latter was on the point of prevailing, when, in searching among some old and long-neglected papers, I found the inscription which my mother had hung around my neck. That precious memorial, thrown aside and unworthily neglected amidst the gold, and jewels, and fascinations of Pharaoh's house, called back the past in its full power, and, falling on my knees, with my face on the earth, I, one evening, on the open plain whither I had wandered for freedom of thought, solemnly and irrevocably devoted myself as a sacrifice, body, mind and spirit, to Elohim, to be, and do, and suffer all that he, in his wisdom and goodness, might command. Returning home with a tranquil bosom, I, the next morning, formally signified to the Head of the College my final determination to live and die a Hebrew.

The news soon reached the ears of Athyrdis, who, with all the royal house, and the entire priesthood, was filled with consternation. In a few days my beloved patroness came to me. Many of the particulars of that interview are too painful to be repeated. Would that I could blot them from my memory! I record only a portion of what transpired. She said to me: "From a slave I have raised you to be a prince; while your kindred toil in the damp mine, in the dark quarry, or in the burning field, you recline on couches, are served in gold and silver, revel amidst the delights of knowledge, and stand in the porch of the temple. But what do I say? No! I will not reproach you with ingratitude, though bitter will my disappointment be, and sharp the fingers of scorn, for often have I been taunted with your Hebrew blood; nevertheless, if I cannot win you by an appeal to reason, I renounce the only fond hope I ever cherished. Think, then, of the glorious destinies that are before you. Once a priest, what hinderance between you and even the throne? Joseph did more than reign—he ruled. But perchance, absorbed there in those secluded chambers, in studies so profound, you know not, or know but

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superficially, the glories which my illustrious sire has thrown around the land. Listen, then, to a concise account; nay, cast not down your head, as if I spoke in vain. You owe me, at least, an attentive hearing. A father's wise care fitted Sesostrius for the high mission ordained for him by Amun, king of gods and men. As soon as he had come into existence, that father collected all the male children born in the land on the same day as himself, and placing the boys together in one magnificent edifice, caused them to be nursed and trained with the greatest solicitude, and without the slightest distinction. They all shared the same table; they all joined in the same pursuits; they all went through the same discipline. With the progress of years the youths were cemented together by mutual confidence and affection. The prince acquired in them so many friends, while the youths found in him an indulgent master. The whole formed a band which, whether for peace or war, was no less able than self-reliant. In due time Sesostrius was sent at the head of his immortal troop, and with a large army, to encounter the enemies of Egypt in Arabia. There, in his first campaign, he vindicated the wisdom of his father's care; heat and cold he endured patiently; he could toil by day and watch by night; in abstinence from food, and in long and wearisome journeys, he was more than a match even for those hardy sons of the desert; and such was the prudence of his arrangements, such the discipline of his soldiers, and such the impetuosity of his attack, that he subdued tribe after tribe, overran the whole of the vast territory, and returned, followed by ten thousand captives, and loaded with spoil.

"Then, in the review of his bold achievements, and in consultation with Amun, did I myself conceive the design, and acquire the prophetic power, which led him to undertake those distant expeditions which have made his name a terror to all lands, and will leave it an imperishable memorial to all ages. Convincing him, not without difficulty, that he was destined in the councils of Amun, to be the conqueror and lord of the world, I had the proud satisfaction of seeing him, shortly after his assumption of the sceptre, go forth at the head of the largest army even Egypt has ever collected, after he had carefully ordered his kingdom and its administration in every part. That army was composed of 600,000 infantry, and 24,000 cavalry, with 27,000 chariots of war. The offices of command and trust

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were divided among my father's schoolfellows, who now numbered 1700, all men of experience no less than prowess, scarcely one of whom might not have held the post of Sesostri's himself. With this army, the king first marched towards the south, and vanquishing the Ethiopians, compelled them to pay tribute of ivory, ebony, and gold. Then, having built 400 ships of war, he turned to the east, and sailing down the Red Sea, he subjugated all the islands and the coast even as far as the continent of India. At the same time he conducted an army along the interior, and passing the Ganges, vanquished all Asia as far as the ocean, and the land of the barbarous Scythians. Turning westward, he overran Europe till he reached Thrace. There his course was stopped, not, however, by human bravery, but by the severity of the climate and the barrenness of the soil. Knowing how quickly the successive waves of human generations wash away the footsteps even of the greatest heroes, he erected in several countries statues of himself, each bearing this inscription:—SESOSTRIS, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS, WITH HIS ARMS CONQUERED THIS LAND. But how shall I tell you of the vast spoils which he brought home—the treasure and the choice productions of every country and city and sea; or how find terms to describe the countless hosts of heterogeneous captives, from kings who sat on thrones to slaves who worked in the mines? Oh, what a day was that, when he entered his native city—the hundred-gated Thebes; how joyous and triumphant a day for me, as well as for those exultant myriads that streamed forth from every gate of the city to salute the conqueror, led by the long retinue of the priesthood, with all their pomp and blazonry, and by the sons and wives and daughters of the immortal seventeen hundred.

“Pardon the vanity which may appear to have dictated this description, but your studies have been chiefly in sacred things, and it was necessary you should have before your mind a distinct idea of the strong foundations on which this empire is built. For know that it is only of the basis I have spoken. That boundless treasure Sesostri's was too wise to waste, and too pious not to consecrate to the divinity by whose might it had been acquired. Therefore did he resolve to expend it in raising or enlarging those huge and gorgeous temples, the memory, if not the existence, of which will be coeval with the race of man. But before I direct your mind to one or two of

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his constructions, let me give you a proof of the special regard Sesostris bears to all of Egyptian blood; for not one native of the land would he suffer to engage in the requisite toils, but imposed the labour on his prisoners and tributaries and other foreign dependants.

"You seem to be moved at those words! What has been his royal munificence to this ancient temple and venerable city, you yourself know well. Better, far better, than myself are you aware of the value of those literary treasures, the spoils of many lands, and the traditions of all people, with which he has enriched the library of the Sacred College, in which, I am proud to learn, you have been a most diligent and successful student. The neighbouring city of Memphis, too, has proof of his munificence, which may almost rival its time-honoured pyramids. But Thebes, his own city Thebes, already so renowned for its master-pieces of art, has he piled with monuments, which will convey to the remotest posterity the honour of the gods and the glory of his reign. But why these details? You cannot be ignorant of facts known and celebrated from Syene to Buto, and from the lake Serbo to the bay Plinthes. If your memory needs revival, peruse the enumeration the king himself has made of his forces, his revenue, and his conquests, on those two lofty obelisks which are now rising on the river-bank,* as if a permanent testimony to the god Nilus, the immediate and prolific source of all this wealth and happiness. But I have done; I have briefly sketched the glory of which you may at least have a large share: the sole condition is that you fulfil my wish, and accomplish your own career, by consecrating your life to the sovereign powers that guard and bless this prosperous land."

"My royal benefactress," I replied, "to you I owe everything, and to you I am willing to give everything—but one. Pardon me, madam, if even in your presence, remembering that the blood of Joseph flows in my veins, I reserve my allegiance for Him from whom came my life, and to whom belongs every soul of man. My reply will be brief; would that it could be such as you desire. Only let me premise that it must be simple as well as brief, for I am a man of thought rather than of speech, and I

* At what is now called Luxor, on the eastern bank of the Nile, a little north of Thebes, in Upper Egypt; one of the two obelisks now stands in the Place de la Concorde, at Paris.

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can in no way hope to answer in terms corresponding to the eloquence of your highly gifted tongue. Yet must I bear witness that, with all your glowing terms, you have in no degree exaggerated the glories of your imperial sire. Nay, a whole class of works, of the highest utility, have you omitted, which to me at least confer on their originator a yet higher honour. The progress of some of those works have I watched with my own eyes; for this region, the delta of the land, has been their locality. With what admiration have I seen those mounds, or rather hills, erected here as places of resort and even refuge, when the Nile, overflowing its banks, lays the whole country under water. And then what forethought in those canals which now bear its fertilising waves over the entire surface of the soil! Not only wisdom, but unheard-of enterprise, too, is manifested in that stupendous undertaking by which my royal master is uniting the Nile and the Red Sea.

"But, madam," I continued, after a pause, "my heart sinks within me while I dwell in thought on these parts of your sire's dominions. There, in thought, I behold other works—works, doubtless, great in conception and admirable in execution; but works which attest the servitude of my fellow-countrymen, and at the same time rivet their chains. Why, madam, what are Pithom and what Ramses but two strongholds built at once by and against your Hebrew slaves? Oh! the adroit and too successful policy of making that unhappy race erect its own dungeons! You have spoken, royal Athyrts, of your father's achievements against the Arab tribes of Syria. You condescended to notice my emotion as those words fell from your lips. The cause you could not divine, for probably you did not remember that their blood is mine. I shrank from your recital, for in fancy I saw my own kindred—men, women, and children—falling beneath the upraised scymitar of Sesostria. And now, to keep back the hordes of that wild and manly race, who press southwardly and westwardly against the confines of this land, thirsting for revenge, the king erects a wall extending even from this city to Pelusium, the eastern border of Egypt. Do I blame these precautions? They are, I know, indispensable. Could I be an Egyptian, I should rejoice in their progress. But that progress is purchased by the sweat and blood of my own kinsfolk. May I be pardoned, madam, but I have not been able to keep either my eye or my heart from those stupendous but

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exhausting constructions. Compelled have I been, by a power which I could as little define as resist, to go forth in disguise to look on that, to me, most distressing scene. I have seen weeping eyes and worn cheeks there, that so bore the Hebrew stamp that, when on returning hither and looking in the mirror, I shuddered at the resemblance, and dreamt in the night that I myself was working the clay there under a slave-driver's whip, and that slave-driver my own father. Madam, I have gone among those unhappy thousands as they lay sleeping at the dead of night, and heard groanings as from the down-trodden, together with prayers for deliverance, which now sank like a mountain on my heart, and now stung it with keen self-reproach. I have wandered forth at early morn, and witnessed with what pain and difficulty the labourers dragged their emaciated bodies, these to the pick and the spade, those to the hammer and the spike, others to the brick-mould, and others to offices, the very instruments of which are unfit to be mentioned in such a presence. Madam, mine is a vigorous and joyous race; but alas!—excuse my tears, madam—their vigour is nearly gone, and their joy has vanished. No more is the labour of the day welcomed with song and lute; no more is its termination celebrated with the dance. The beauty of our maidens is darkened, the buoyancy of our youth is unstrung, and the aged go down with their dishonoured grey hairs in sorrow and lamentation to the grave. No, madam, I cannot enter the priesthood; I cannot become an Egyptian. I bless you heartily for the treasures of wisdom I have gained through your unmerited bounty; but after all your patient waiting, all your kind forbearance, all your alluring promises, a Hebrew I am, and a Hebrew I must remain.”

The brow of the princess clouded as I finished these words. She added: “The worst will happen—the very evil I feared, and have done all I could to avert. A deadly enmity is springing up between your race and mine. A dire conflict is coming on, which will commit the all-powerful Amun in strife against him whom you call Elohim. The thought of that collision fills me with distress, but chiefly on your account; for be assured that Egypt has not conquered the world to bend the neck to a Syrian divinity.”

“Magnanimous lady,” I rejoined, “yours is a spirit worthy of the daughter of *Sesostris*: would that it were filled with the

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grace of the Most High God. Too well do I know that the friendly feeling originated by Joseph has, under the secret and open working of the priests, been not only undermined and destroyed, but converted into a rivalry, which bears in its bosom mortal issues, and has already brought untold woes on the Hebrew people. Would that it were in my power to turn aside the coming wrath! But the struggle, though I but dimly foresee its nature, is one of principle, affecting the very life of your nation and my own oppressed race, for it is essentially religious. And here arises my difficulty. All else could I sacrifice to gratify your wishes, which point to a proud destiny for me, whose infant life you saved, and who, but for your continued goodness, could have been no more than the foreman of a gang of slaves. But these dazzling honours have lost their charm. I go. Yet grant me one favour more. Fain would I go in secrecy; expose me not to the vengeance of disappointed priests."

The princess in silence left the pillared hall, and at night I withdrew from those venerable walls. The past and the future rose on my mind—that brilliant past—that clouded future. No definite plans of action had I formed. I relied for direction on the same Hand that had given me strength to prefer his service to the pleasures of Egypt.

Naturally I sought one of the remoter settlements of my brethren, in a hilly and secluded district of Goshen, which lay towards Canaan. The position of this clan gave its members a species of independence, and so encouraged a manly patriotism in their breasts. In course of time they began to form the nucleus of a Hebrew national party. Within their fastnesses, fugitives found a shelter from disgraceful punishment or ignominious death. Their numbers grew after my arrival among them, and soon the general voice summoned me to place myself at their head. Thus, by the aid of the old family and tribal relationships which had never wholly died out, possessing some kind of rough organization, our band, from serving as a shelter, began to meditate reprisals.

Sharing in this state of general feeling, one evening, having wandered in meditation far on towards the land of bondage, I came near a troop of workmen employed in one of the most difficult tasks connected with the formation of the great canal. The spot was a quicksand in the midst of a marsh. Vain was the labour of the men's hands; the excavation filled as fast as it was

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cut. The unavoidable want of progress was visited with cruel punishments. One who had been destined to be severely beaten, being a man of high spirit, vigorous frame, and swift of foot, had escaped by flight from the tormentor's hands. A hue and cry was forthwith raised. He was run down, and already a battle-axe was falling on his neck, when, rushing in, I slew the slayer. The whole transaction—the work of a moment—took place within the angle of a rock, and so passed unseen. My rescued brother and myself, having buried the Egyptian in the sand, hastened to our settlement. The refugee was rather valorous than discreet. In speaking of his escape, he extolled my spirit and daring. The eulogy was ill-received by a few, who had already intimated that I took too much on myself. The discontent very inopportunistly found expression, when, shortly after, grieved at seeing the hands of two Hebrews raised against each other, I interposed, and with friendly counsels strove to pacify the combatants. My effort was met by a repulse, and an insinuation which I little expected—"Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?" was the reply. I saw that my avenging blow was known, and I knew not to what the suspicion might shortly grow.

My uneasiness was increased a few weeks after by intelligence from court. I had always dreaded the effect, when what would be called my apostasy became known to the monarch and to the sacerdotal and warrior castes. My fears did not respect myself so much as others. I feared for those of my brethren who still lived on a somewhat friendly footing with the natives, alike in the highest, the middle, and the humbler classes. I feared for the large number of the Israelite workmen employed by Pharaoh at Thebes and other remote parts of the land, and so sundered from the sympathy and support of the large body of the nation which dwelt in Goshen. For that body, too, I feared, on the ground of their proximity to the then seat of power, Memphis, and to the sacerdotal college in Heliopolis. My fears sometimes became very vivid as well as very dark. What, if a religious war of extermination should be stirred up by sacerdotal bigotry? What, if a general massacre should be attempted? Already had the worst dispositions been manifested; we were loaded with reproaches, and every ignominious term was fixed upon us. The storm seemed *gathering in the distance*, when one evening I

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learnt that soldiers were prowling round our settlement, charged with a command from Pharaoh to seize me alive or dead. "The shepherd slain, the sheep," thought I, "will be scattered." I accordingly fled, resolved, with God's help, to reserve myself for better days, and, if it might be, a nobler destiny.

My steps of course went eastward. Undirected were they except by the Divine finger. Journeying by night, I hid myself by day, and so fled until I reached the territories of Midian, on the north-east of the peninsula of Sinai. Wearied with my long and harassing way, I sat down in the circular enclosure of a well, blessing the God of my fathers that I had been conducted to a friendly tribe of the great Arab family. As I sat there under the long shadows of evening, I saw a small group of damsels making for the well, bearing pitchers in their hands, and followed by their thirsty flock. Suddenly my ear caught a sound as of a troop of horse, and turning, I beheld three sons of the desert rushing down in full speed, their lances poised on the unprotected maidens. Indignant at the cowardice, I seized my arms, and unmindful of my disparity to the foe, boldly dashed on the nearest. At the same moment, the girls, taking courage, flew like heroines on the Bedouins, who turned and fled. Thus relieved, the young women watered their cattle, filled their urns, and, inviting me to follow them, returned to their father's tent. Warm was the welcome which I found; and there did I tarry to take rest, and ponder my future. Meanwhile, I received in marriage the hand of one of my host's daughters, who made that foreign land a home to me, for there she gave me a son.

Happy was the circumstance that I entered the tent of Jethro—so was my father-in-law called. As the priest of the country, Jethro was wise in divine things. He worshipped too, as did I, Elohim, the sole Creator of heaven and earth. Frequent were our communings on heavenly realities and earthly duties, and if he did not lay open before me the path of duty, he confirmed me in the step I had taken in renouncing the idols of Egypt, and led me with a fuller faith and a firmer trust to the adoration and service of the great invisible One who fills all things.

It was a nomad tribe of which I had become a member. Their sole treasures were their flocks and herds, and these they pastured at large over the broad surface of the district. Having in charge a certain number, I, with the members of my family, roamed almost where I would, passing from spot to spot as the

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supply of herbage might suggest. One night, while watching my flocks on a new pasture under the glittering stars of that pure sky, I heard a voice within me say, "Why not visit Sinai, that great altar of the Abrahamidae, where God specially makes his presence known and manifests his grace? there your doubts may be removed, your fears may be scattered, your path may be struck out before your eyes." Scarcely had the echoes of that voice died away, when I was on the road for Horeb.

The way was long, rugged, and dangerous. The more, however, was my mind kept on the alert, and the more desirous was I for a final settlement of my future destiny. For something high, I could not doubt, I had been born, trained, and redeemed. Was it that I, in return for favours so great, should become a liberator of God's oppressed and sorrowing people? I knew not, and yet I dared not say "No," though as little did I feel it right to say "Yes;" I knew not—but I also knew that if my thought was God's thought, the fact would in time be made clear.

The fact at length was made clear. I had come to Horeb, the very centre of that awful and stupendous group of mountains. I had dwelt there many days, bowing down in prayer, morning, noon, and night, and sometimes remaining for hours in a rapt religious meditation under the starlit canopy of those ebony skies. There was I with my face on the ground one night, when, in the midst of my entreaties, my sense suddenly became dazzled as if with a bright mass of fire. Raising my head I saw on a mound at a little distance a solitary bush in that waste wilderness, and the bush burned throughout, yet was unconsumed. I bent down my head and felt that God was there. Then, as I essayed to rise, came there forth these solemn and ever-memorable words, "Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." Thereon, filled with tremblings, I hid my face in my hands, for how durst I look on that Divine symbol? While I knelt there, filled with awe, and as if covered with light, the voice added, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and I have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey, unto the place of the

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Canaanites. Come now, therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people, the children of Israel out of Egypt?" Overpowered with the consciousness of the Divine presence, I replied, "Who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" And God said, "Certainly I will be with thee." Again I answered, "When I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, the God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?" And God said, "I AM THAT I AM; thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you; this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations. Go, gather the elders of Israel together, and thou and they shall come unto the king of Egypt, and shall say unto him, the Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us; and now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness that we may sacrifice to the Lord our God; and I will stretch out my hand and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof, and after that he will let you go." And I answered and said, "But, behold they will not believe me; for they will say, the Lord hath not appeared unto thee." And the Lord said unto me, "What is that in thine hand?" and I said, "A rod." And he said, "Cast it on the ground." I accordingly did so, and it became a serpent; and I fled from before it. And the Lord said unto me, "Put forth thine hand and take it by the tail;" I did so, and it again became a rod in my hand. And the Lord furthermore said unto me, "Put now thine hand into thy bosom;" and when I had done so, and drawn it forth, behold it was leprous as snow. And he said, "Put thine hand into thy bosom again." I accordingly did so, and on plucking it out of my bosom, it was turned again as my other flesh.

These marvellous testimonies I could not withstand. Convinced was I now that Jehovah was with me, and that he intended me to be a deliverer of his people. If I could have gainsaid the change of the rod into a serpent, how could I miss the power of the Most High when I felt as well as saw the leprosy in my hand? Yet did I shrink from the arduous task which confronted me, for instead of being eloquent of speech, I am of a slow tongue. But the Lord said unto me, "Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or

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the seeing, or the blind? have not I the Lord? Now, therefore, go, and I will be with thee, with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say." Still did I hesitate, for I felt unequal to a mission, so high, so solemn, so momentous; when at length the designation of my brother Aaron as my spokesman, determined me to yield to the divine impulses, and undertake the embassy. Thus overcome, I received a staff of office (my own shepherd's crook) from the hand of Jehovah, who finally said, "Take thou this rod in thine hand, wherewith thou shalt do signs."

With as little delay as so long and arduous a journey admitted, I returned from Sinai into Goshen—from which land I had now been absent nearly forty years—and, in company with Aaron, gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel. To them we expounded the words of Jehovah, and showed the commanded signs. The first effect produced was a calm and religious joy. They believed our testimony.

This reception gave me courage. Here was a new proof that God was with me; and who or what could resist God? Besides, the power of Egypt was at this period not altogether so great as when I quitted the presence of Athyrdis. The great Sesostris was now dead. With him passed away a glory which dazzled and fascinated as well as enslaved. Of a weaker character, and of slender renown, was Menephthes, the present ruling sovereign. Yet huge and gigantic was that force which I was about to array myself against. And with what allies! More and more every year had the people sunk in personal strength, in national sentiment, in manly spirit. Thousands of them had received into their veins the pollutions of idolatry. Tens of thousands had been artfully bound up with the Egyptian polity, by employments and interest in various shapes. The bulk were degraded by the scourge of slavery. When I looked at their stolid countenances, saw their scarred backs, heard their indecent or blasphemous words, or called to mind their evil deeds, I felt as if I saw the epithet SLAVE branded on their foreheads, and could not refrain from tears.

Resolved, however, to profit by the first outburst of a fresh and hearty enthusiasm among the elders, I sought and obtained an interview with Menephthes, with whom I imagined I might have some personal influence, since we had studied within the same learned halls and were once on terms of familiar intercourse. As if aware that *the long-foreseen* and no little dreaded *issue*

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had at length come, he received my brother and myself seated on his throne, and surrounded with all the majesty he could borrow from rows of learned priests in the most costly attire, lines almost endless of glittering courtiers, and all the parade of music and artificial fires. As I advanced along the gorgeous avenue, and felt how weak a creature I was to be thus matched against the pride and the strength of Egypt, I chanced to let my eye fall on the countenance of the high-priest, under whose immediate care I had passed my novitiate. What contempt and scorn were there! yet, accompanied withal by a hardly suppressed excitement, which passed from fear to determination, and from determination to fear. That scowl, however, revived my spirits; and bowing down to the lowest step of the sumptuous throne, I firmly announced my message, humbly but earnestly entreating leave of three days' absence that my people might hold a solemn feast in the wilderness, apart from the interruptions and offences which had long caused our Hebrew rites to be discontinued.

In reply to my request, Pharaoh pronounced a stern and decided negative; adding, "Who is Jehovah that I should obey his voice? I know not Jehovah, neither will I let Israel go."

Those words removed all doubt as to the nature of the conflict, and the source of the opposition. The national religion was considered in danger, and the stoutest resistance was to be offered to my efforts. Nor can I deny that the sacerdotal order had some ground for their fears. The conquests of Sesostris had not only introduced new and foreign ideas, but stimulated the mind of the nation. In the consequent activity of thought, there was engendered a certain freedom of inquiry and utterance which, though confined within narrow limits, had a hostile bearing on so full and heterogeneous a panthéon as that of Egypt. As birds of prey scent the carrion from afar, so did the priests show a keen sensibility in regard to the nascent heresy. More adverse was the tendency of Hebrewism in the midst of those idolators; for, after all the debasement which my people had suffered from the natives, there remained a large and powerful remnant who clave to Jehovah, and, as opportunity served, bore their testimony to his name.

Pharaoh's refusal did not, therefore, take me wholly by surprise; but for one accompaniment of that refusal I was not prepared. Alleging as the ground of my request, a love of idleness

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on the part of the people, he commanded that their burdens should be augmented. There was a peculiarity in this infliction which acted most adversely to my designs. The larger number of the Israelites were employed in making, from the mud of the Nile, those bricks which are used in numbers so vast for the huge substructions of many of the Egyptian edifices. The little consistency of the material necessitates the employment of cut straw, which, moulded with the clayey substance, gives it a firm, hard texture. Hitherto, the straw had been supplied to the labourers, or, rather, it had to be collected and brought from distant and scattered corn-fields. Now, without any abatement in the required tale of bricks, the workmen were compelled to seek and procure straw for themselves; in doing which they were dispersed abroad over the low lands, and so prevented from holding meetings, taking counsel, and forming plans, all of which were necessary as preliminaries to the execution of my mission. While the bonds of our union were thus relaxed, the people daily felt more and more the pressures of their intolerable toil. For a while they bore the load, if not patiently, yet without murmuring. At length, galled by the yoke, they burst forth in complaint against Aaron and myself, saying, "The Lord look upon you and judge, because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hands to slay us."

This new grief was the most poignant of any I was called to endure. For relief I sought the Lord, pouring out my soul before him; I even asked my discharge from a duty which, with daily increasing force, I felt I could not execute; and, in reply he said, consolingly, "Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh, for with a strong hand shall he let my people go; nay, he shall even drive them out of the land."

My spirit was revived and strengthened. I went to the children of Israel, and spoke to them the words I had heard from God; but they hearkened not unto me, for anguish of spirit and for fear of yet more cruel bondage. My purpose was thus for a while defeated, and I was in despair. Then came the word of Jehovah unto me, and laid on me a charge which left no option, but bade me and drove me to go again unto Pharaoh. Taking Aaron with me, I accordingly went, with a shadowy hope that should an impression be made on the king, it would go some way to call back the spirit of the people. Not without

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difficulty did we obtain the audience, which this time was comparatively a private one.



The Sign before Pharaoh.

Having announced our errand, and bidden Menephtes in the name of Jehovah let the Hebrews depart, we gave a sign that we spoke in the name of God. Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and it became a serpent! The king darted back, as if horror-struck, from the spot he occupied. Suddenly recovering

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presence of mind, he caused the sorcerers and magicians to be called, famed so many ages for their hidden lore and their mysterious powers. They entered the hall; they looked on the serpent, which stood there erect on its tail, with brandishing and fiery jaws. Forthwith came there from their circle one of the order called Psylli, held in high repute for the dexterity with which they train and manage serpents, even the deadliest that infest the land, and so appear to the world as public benefactors no less than men of awful power. Instead of their usual staff of office, they bore each in his hand a serpent, stiffened by their artifices. These they cast down before the monarch, and straightway the reptiles recovered animation and activity. The triumph appeared complete, when my brother's rod-serpent swallowed the rest. What consternation sat now on those countenances, which had never witnessed the like before! For a moment Pharaoh seemed shaken; the next, he commanded us out of his presence with ignominious and threatening words. Little impression did his reproaches make on me, for I knew the means by which the guile had been performed, and I had marked the amazement our sign had created. From this time I became confident that Israel would be delivered.

Despatch was now of great moment. That night I received a divine command, and, in consequence, early in the morning I stood on the river's brink, under the shadow of the everlasting pyramids, to encounter Menephthes as he came in pomp to pay his annual spring adorations to the Nile. Soon did my ears catch the sounds of the distant bands, and then my eyes were saluted with the golden and brazen arms and insignia which glittered in the clear rays of the early sun, as train after train wound forth out of Memphis, and crossed the verdant plains to the customary spot on the margin where I stood. I had chosen a slight elevation, which commanded a sight of the river, as well as of the retinue. Arrived at the spot, where a splendid canopy had been erected for the monarch, the latter knelt down and began an invocation to the river, in which all its real virtues were set forth in inflated phrase. At the moment when the king uttered the words, *Sweetest of waters, source of health and strength and life!* and when he had got to his lips the jewelled goblet filled from the stream by the hierarch, Aaron lifted his rod on high, and said, "Let the water be blood, and let the river be blood, and let all the streams of the river be blood;"

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and blood they were, and there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt. A universal shriek arose from that, till this



Blood! Blood!

moment, jubilant multitude; the cup fell from the monarch's hand, he himself hurried from his elevation, the harps ceased, the dancing girls were still, and horror sat on every face and

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roze every limb. The crowds dispersed, and the king returned to his palace.

This eventful day had not come to a close, when trumpeters announced in every part that the wise men that very evening would confound the Hebrew. At the given time and place, accordingly, the magicians appeared. Well chosen was the spot for their sinister purposes—a small lake in an immense plain, visible to those only who stood around the margin. That margin was occupied by the operators and their sacerdotal patrons. After a while, during which ceremonies were performed that I cannot describe—for I was not permitted to see them—and after long continuance of the wildest and most frantic strains of music, the cry arose from the inmost circle, the enchanters themselves, "Blood, blood!" a cry which was taken up and echoed by the next, until the whole plain rang with piercing shouts of "BLOOD, BLOOD!" which were heard in the inmost recesses of the distant city, over which now the deep shades of night were resting. The countless thousands returned to their abodes, and a feeling prevailed that one sign had been countervailed by the other—as if human artifice could equal Jehovah's might.

Again the word of Jehovah came unto me, and again I went into Pharaoh. I met him in the way as he proceeded in solemn pomp to dedicate a temple to Pthah, in acknowledgment of victories gained by him over the nations of Libya and Syria. The procession was opened by singers and musicians with drums, audible flutes and trumpets, led by a president holding in his hand a musical symbol, and bearing two books of Hermes, one of which contained hymns in honour of the gods, and the other precepts for the guidance of the king. Next came the Horoscope, with a chronometer in his hand, and a branch of palm, the emblem of astronomy; his duty lay in setting forth the four books of Hermes, on that mysterious science. After him came the Hierogrammatist, with pens, writing reeds, paper and ink; his office was to set forth the doctrines respecting the sacred utensils, weights, measures, religious usages, and specially the art of writing, and the science of geometry. He was followed by the Tolistes, with the cubes of justice and the vases of consecration; he professes all that regards education and the selection of animals for sacrifice, the prescriptive tokens of reverence due to the gods, the oblations of first-fruits, also hymns, festivals, and processions. Then came the monarch on his throne, and under

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a stately canopy, borne by princes of the realm. On the throne, wrought in gold and ivory, were the regal figures of a sphinx, a lion, and a hawk. Behind him were borne images of truth and justice having expanded wings. Fan-bearers crowded around. Intermingled with them were other officers, carrying aloft images of the deceased relatives and ancestors of Menephtes, while members of the priestly caste bore his arms and heraldry. Representatives of the warrior order, and long lines of guards, with various bands, brought up the whole, which was intended to symbolize the chief purposes of the edifice about to be consecrated. I must here specify an image which was carried by a high dignitary of state, in solemn pomp, immediately before the monarch. It was a deity, having the head of a frog, representing Pthah, the god of the newly-constructed temple. Thus do the Egyptians speak by visible signs, and thus in that symbol did they declare the object of the procession. When I saw the idol, I inwardly gave thanks to Jehovah that he had bestowed on me power to give a convincing sign before all the people. The moment, therefore, that the holy oil was poured forth, and the consecrating forms were being read, and the clouds of frankincense swelled over the altar, I arose and said, "Thus saith



Jehovah, let my people go, that they may serve me; for if thou refuse to let my people go, behold I will smite all thy borders with frogs, and the river shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into thy house, and into thy bedchambers, and upon thy beds, and into the houses of thy servants, and upon thy people,

and into thy ovens, and into thy kneading-troughs; and the frogs shall come upon thee and upon thy people."

I paused for a reply, and when no reply was vouchsafed, Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt, and the frogs came up in myriads upon the land of Egypt.

In astonishment and distress, that brilliant assembly on a sudden broke up and melted away.

The next day the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt. Thus was

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Pharaoh plagued with two plagues. Having in vain called on the magicians to remove the frogs, he sent for me, and suppliantly said, "Entreat Jehovah that he take away the frogs from me and from my people, and I will let the people go, that they may sacrifice to Jehovah." I complied with the request, trusting to the word of a king. At my supplication, Jehovah caused the frogs to die, and they were gathered into heaps and put away.

Meanwhile, fear and alarm abounded in the recesses of the palaces, and the temples, and the universities. The king was seen to vacillate. A conspiracy was hatched. Menephtes was threatened with deposition. Bad counsel gained a conquest over him, and again he refused to let the people go.

Then did it become necessary to follow up blow after blow in rapid succession. Already had two of the chief divinities been smitten and disgraced—Nilos and Pthah. Now should the god of the earth be desecrated in the experience and sufferings of the whole nation. Therefore Jehovah bade me say to Aaron : "Stretch forth thy hand with thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that it may become gnats throughout all the land of Egypt." And Aaron smote the dust of the earth, and it became gnats in man and beast. And the magicians, far from attempting to remove the painful stroke, did so with their enchantments to bring forth gnats ; but they could not. Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, "THIS IS THE FINGER OF GOD." Yet Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them.



Thus did Jehovah show himself to be the only ruler over the water, the earth, and the sun, and over the lies of Egypt connected therewith. There was another form of the sun—the sacred beetle—whose worship was general throughout the land, and whose honour was intimately associated with the glory of Pthah. Ere the idolatry of the land could be shaken in its foundations, this vanity also must be exposed in the eyes of the nation. Wherefore, Jehovah

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said to me, "Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, as he cometh forth to the water, and say to him, "Thus saith Jehovah, Let my people go, that they may serve me; for if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send beetles upon thee and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses; and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of beetles, and also the ground on which they are. But I will distinguish the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, so that no beetles shall be there, in order that thou mayest know that I am Jehovah in the midst of the land."

And Jehovah did so; for there came a very grievous swarm of beetles into the house of Pharaoh, and into the houses of his servants, and into all the land of Egypt, and the land was corrupted by reason of the beetles.

Then Pharaoh called for me and for Aaron, and said, "Go, sacrifice to your God in the land." And I said, "Should we, after our manner, sacrifice of our herds before the Egyptians, they would account it an insult to Apis, the sacred bull, and thereupon would they not stone us? We would go three days' journey into the wilderness, and there sacrifice to Jehovah our God." And Pharaoh said, "I will let you go, only you shall not go far away; entreat for me that the beetles may depart." I kept my word, and entreated Jehovah, who removed the beetles, so that there remained not one. Yet Pharaoh hardened his heart this time also, and would not let the people go.

Then Jehovah said to me again: "Go in unto Pharaoh and say to him, Thus saith Jehovah, God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me; for if thou refuse and wilt detain them still, behold, my hand shall be upon thy cattle which are in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep, a very grievous pestilence; yet nothing shall die of all that belongeth to the children of Israel."

And Jehovah did that thing on the morrow, for all the cattle of the Egyptians died, but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one. And Pharaoh sent, and behold there was not one of the cattle of the children of Israel dead. Yet the heart of Pharaoh would not relent, and he still persisted in his refusal to let the people go.

Then the word of Jehovah came to me and to Aaron yet again:

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“Take to you handful of ashes of the furnace, and sprinkle it toward the heavens in the sight of Pharaoh, and it shall become small dust, and shall be an ulcerous inflammation upon man and beast throughout all the land of Egypt.” And we did so. And the magicians could not stand before us because of the inflammation, for the inflammation was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. Nevertheless, the haughty monarch’s heart still remained hardened, and he would not hearken to our request.

Once more the word of Jehovah came unto me, saying, “Stand before Pharaoh and say to him, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go that they may serve me; for if thou wilt not let them go, behold, to-morrow about this time, I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since its foundation, even until now.” And on the morrow, I stretched forth my rod towards the heavens, and Jehovah sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along the ground, and Jehovah rained hail upon the land of Egypt: so there was hail and fire mingled with the hail; and the hail smote all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field; only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail.

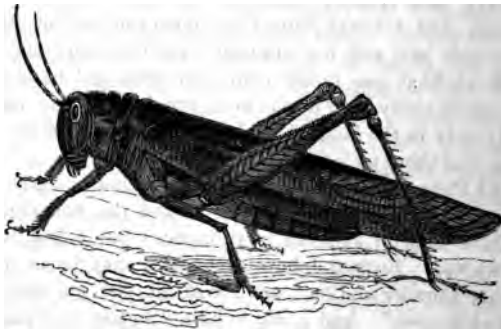
And Pharaoh, filled with consternation and terror at this new scourge, sent and called for Aaron and me, and said unto us, “I have sinned; Jehovah is righteous; but I and my people are wicked. Entreat Jehovah that there may be an end of this mighty thunder and hail, and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer.” And I said to him, “As soon as I am gone out of the city I will spread abroad my hands to Jehovah, and the thunder shall cease, and there shall be no more hail, in order that thou mayest know that the land is Jehovah’s.” But when Pharaoh saw that the rain, the hail, and the thunders had ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants, nor would he let the children of Israel go.

And another time Jehovah said to me: “Go in unto Pharaoh and say to him, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews—How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? Let my people go that they may serve me; for if thou refuse, I will bring locusts into thy borders, and they shall cover the face of the land, that it will not be possible to see the land.” And I

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stretched forth my rod over the land of Egypt, and Jehovah sent locusts over the land, and the locusts rested in great numbers in all the borders of Egypt; before them there was no such locusts as they, neither after them shall there be such; for they covered the face of the whole land, and ate every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left, until there remained not any green thing in the trees or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.

Then Pharaoh called for Aaron and for me in haste, and he said, "I have sinned against Jehovah your God and against you; now, therefore, forgive I pray you my sin only this once, and entreat Jehovah your God that he may take away from me this death." And I went out and entreated Jehovah, who cast the locusts into the Red Sea, so that there remained not one locust in all the land. But the heart of the monarch was still hardened, and he would not let the children of Israel go.



And again Jehovah said to me, "Stretch out thy hand toward the heavens, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt." And I did so. And there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt for three days; the Egyptians saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days; but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.

Then Pharaoh called to me again, and said, "Go ye, serve Jehovah your God; only let your flocks and your herds remain; let your little ones also go with you." And I said, "Thou must give us also sacrifices and burnt-offerings, that we may sacrifice to Jehovah our God; our cattle also shall go with us; there shall

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not a hoof be left behind. And Pharaoh said to me, "Begone from me; take heed to thyself, and see my face no more, for in the day thou seest my face, thou shalt die." And I said, "Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face no more."

Now Jehovah said to me: "Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt, and afterwards he will let you go; he will surely thrust you out thence altogether. For at midnight I will go through the land of Egypt, and every first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh who sitteth on the throne to the first-born of the maid-servant who is behind the mill, and to the first-born of every beast."

Then did Israel, at my command, make preparations for going forth. The preparations occasioned some delay. By that delay the Egyptians were emboldened. Yes, clearly they had won the victory! A decree went forth proclaiming a commemorative jubilee. Then joy and gladness filled the land; on all sides were music, dancing, and mutual congratulations. Pharaoh, in the midst of a long train of his great men, went in triumph to the festive hall, where they ate, drank, and caroused—meanwhile praising the gods of Egypt, who at length had delivered them out of the hands of Elohim. It grew towards midnight ere the blaspheming revellers fell upon their couches. A band of young nobles remained at the banquet, with Pharaoh's eldest son at their head. In the midst of their riotous orgies, and when, heated with wine, they cursed the apostate Hebrew who, though now happily defeated, had brought so much evil on Egypt, they all sickened, staggered, fell, and breathed their last! They were smitten by the avenging angel, who at the moment was going through the land, bearing death and woe into every Egyptian home. Scarcely had midnight passed, when the first-born male of every house shrieked, writhed, and perished.

Then a thrilling cry rent the air, bearing to Elohim the execution of his just vengeance, as well as the redemption of his people. The cry even roused the wine-oppressed monarch, who started from his bed in wild bewilderment and dismay.

The terrible blow was soon universally known. At the break of day the palace was beset. On the outside stood mothers, tearing their hair, rending their garments, and beating their breasts, who in piercing cries bade the king drive us from his borders. The interior was crowded in every part. A council

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of state was summoned. I was sent for. As I entered the hall, every one shrank from me as if I were a leper. Approaching Menephtes, I heard the words—"Go! yes, go!—go speedily—go this very morning, all of you, with all that you have—go!" Then did even the princes and the nobles of the land bend their knee to me and say, "Make no delay; our storehouses, our barns, our coffers, are all open to you—take what you need, and begone!"

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

IN the preceding narrative, the form of which has been chosen as that which admitted of the greatest condensation of fact and implication, in union with the greatest amount of interest, the writer, under the general guidance of Professor Lepsius, has combined the substance of what may be learnt alike from Manetho and the monuments, from Herodotus, Diodorus, Pliny, and other Greek and Latin authorities, together with the inspired and invaluable records of the Pentateuch. The antiquity and reliableness of the latter divine records come into prominence the more carefully and thoroughly they are compared with other sources of information, and without them it would be impossible to reproduce, in living outline, the age of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. The best justification of the narrative now submitted to the reader is to be found in its consistency. If these parts so combine as to form a living whole, we may regard that whole as representing a reality that once passed over the stage of the world.

The view which underlies the signs and wonders of the narrative is strictly the Biblical view—namely, that the plagues were inflicted by the very hand of God, and that the doings of the magicians were bungling attempts, manifest failures, and, so far as they had any accomplishment, the results of merely superior scientific skill. Believing in the Bible, the author believes in miracles, and consequently is not forced to any idle endeavours to bring about a compromise between supernaturalism and naturalism. Such compromises, while they disfigure and dishonour the sacred Scriptures, have no logical basis whatever, and instead of conciliating, are very likely to make unbelievers. Most clear is it that the signs which overcame Pharaoh were not any predictions or any exaggerations of ordinary phenomena, else where their convincing and persuasive force? Surely the wise, the learned, the powerful of the land knew very well that the waters of the Nile sometimes assumed a red colour, and that locusts sometimes devastated the country. By natural events such as these they could never have been bowed down and compelled to thrust out the Israelites; and any attempt to draw a profit from signs and wonders made up of such materials could have ended only in discomfiture and ridicule. There are two alternatives—deny or admit the Bible; either is a perfectly intelligible course; but do not admit the Bible while you deny its statements, and do not deny its statements while you profess to admit the Bible.

It would be easy to adduce authorities illustrative of several of the facts which are connected with the plagues. But to what purpose? It is beyond a doubt, for instance, that frogs abound in marshy and fenny lowlands. What then? how does this affect the narrative? Of course the fact, as pertaining to Egypt, was well known to Menephtes and his court. Where, then, the logical force of the sign? Most clearly it was of God.

The story of the Plagues of Egypt is the finest of dramas as well as the most impressive of historical episodes; such is its character as it stands in the Scriptural records. Strip it of its miracle; or, what is even worse, make Moses a mere trickster, vainly trying to gain a victory with the clogged dice of natural phenomena; and you produce a mass of inconsistencies, encumbered with which you have no lever whatever wherewith to lift Israel out of Egypt, or to lay the foundations of the Hebrew Commonwealth.

THE CAPTIVITY, AND ITS MEMENTOES.



It has been remarked that, in the reign of David the warrior, it seemed possible to lay on the hills of Zion the foundations of a conquering power—like that of Rome ; while in the reign of Solomon the sage, it seemed no less possible to establish in the schools of Jerusalem a reign of philosophy—like that of Athens.

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The remark suggests speculations more curious than profitable, as to the consequences conceivable in connexion with such a divergence of the lines of Jewish history from the course of actual facts; but the imagination is soon arrested, in this doubtful kind of employment, by the thought of the far different circumstances of Palestine from either Greece or Italy, and the far different physical and mental constitution of the children of Shem from the children of Japhet. Climate, scenery, body, mind, tradition, habit, together with other sources of influence, contribute to shape a nation's destiny; and these, in the cases under consideration, so vary as to make it difficult, when we duly ponder them, to imagine any interchange of the histories attaching respectively to these three great empires of the old world. Above these secondary causes, creating and guiding them, we recognise one infinite, supreme, and everlasting God, King of kings, Lord of lords, and Ruler of the world, who has purposes of wisdom and goodness to fulfil in all his works and ways. We take the words of Moses, in his divine song, to be a key to history in general. "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people." And the bounds of the people are like the bounds of the sea. There is a divine tide-mark. There is a power which says, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." God had a lot in store for his chosen people, widely different from that assigned to the classic nations. It was contrary to his will, contrary to his plan for the development of humanity, that Israel should break the bounds of its path, to tread the roads assigned to martial Rome, or to studious Greece.

The destiny of the children of Jacob was religious. Israel's "appointed place and course was that of witnessing in its institutions, history, and literature, for what is sometimes called the religious idea, but which a plain man may better name the fact that men stand in a real and actual relation to God, and that God is really and actually present with men to uphold that relation in all times, and to educate them through it to know him, and to show forth his image more and more." The fact may be better explained in scripture language. God has there himself revealed his purpose with regard to Israel: "all the earth is mine, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." "A kingdom of priests"—the guide and model worshippers of God, to teach and stimulate pure devotion throughout the world. "A holy nation"—the consecrated commonwealth, instinct with a deep religious spirit, to show

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mankind how religion was to penetrate their whole individual and social life. Truly was Jerusalem in this sense, as well as in a more material one, a city set on a hill; it should have been a pattern and type for all other cities.

But along with this revelation of the special office assigned to the Jewish people, we have the record of their faithlessness to their divine trust. Priests unto God by office—they were not so in heart and life. Holy in name—they were not so in truth. They became priests unto the deities of surrounding nations, and went astray after the abominations of the heathen. They renounced their fealty to their Divine King, and proved themselves utterly unworthy of the theocracy under which they had been placed. They disobeyed the law of Moses, and despised the statutes of heaven. Their appointed destiny was not to exhibit valour, not to teach philosophy, but to be ministers of true religion. Instead of this, however, they plunged into all the absurdities and crimes of idolatry. Because of this it was that God appointed them to an ordeal of captivity and chastisement. The *reason* of their captivity is as plainly declared as the fact of the captivity itself. And it is to this great event in sacred history that the present tract is devoted, in which our object will be not only to unfold the scripture account of it, but also to point out how that account is confirmed and illustrated by recent discoveries.

A few preliminary words may be proper with respect to the history of the Jewish people, from the palmy days of the kingdom under David and Solomon, to the commencement of the Captivity. It has been remarked by Mr. Layard, that the political state of the Jewish kingdom under Solomon appears to have been very nearly the same as that of the Assyrian empire. The inscriptions, in this instance again, furnish us with an interesting illustration of the Bible. The scriptural account of the power of the Hebrew king resembles, almost word for word, some of the paragraphs on the great sculptured tablets at Nimroud. "Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt; they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life. He had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphseh even to Assah, over all the kings on this side the river." The political phase, then, of the kingdom under Solomon seems to have been *in strict conformity to the oriental type* **power founded in a great city, exercising entire domin**

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a neighbouring territory of limited extent, and also stretching out its sovereignty over adjoining realms which it had reduced to the condition of tributary provinces.

The latter part of Solomon's reign was arbitrary and despotic. This served to strengthen the dislike which the tribe of Ephraim had of old felt towards the neighbouring but stronger tribe of Judah. On the great monarch's death, Rehoboam, who succeeded him, defied all the expostulations of his dissatisfied subjects, and only determined to rule with a stronger hand than even his father had done. This led to the disruption under Jeroboam. The empire of David and Solomon was rent into two parts. Rehoboam retained only Judah and Benjamin, while Jeroboam became master of the rest. This dismemberment of the kingdom may be accounted for on political grounds, such as may satisfy some historians; but the devout student of scripture will not fail to recognise, at the root of these political events, the retributive justice of the Divine Ruler of the land, who, through them, was working out his own righteous law, and punishing the royal family and court for their idolatrous apostasies under Solomon.

The two dissevered portions of the old Israelitish Commonwealth continued to remain apart, until the period when they were both for a time swallowed up by the long and lingering catastrophe which we are about to detail and illustrate. The ten tribes were more deeply tainted with idolatrous tendencies than were Judah and Benjamin. Unchecked by the prophets who were sent among them, they plunged into the foulest abominations, so that destruction came upon them 134 years earlier than upon their brethren in the south of the land. We may date the year of Jeroboam's revolt as 975 B.C. The two centuries, or thereabouts, which followed after that event, before the beginning of the Captivity, formed a period of almost uninterrupted confusion and misery—the fruit of sin—from beginning to end. Judah, on the other hand, though numbering in the dynasty of David many idolatrous kings, had yet among them some occupants of the throne who were men of pure and patriotic character and of genuine religious principles, and men who sincerely sought to correct the evils of the times in which they lived and reigned.

As might be expected, antipathies were manifested and animosities prevailed between the rival states—sometimes suppressed and temporarily healed, at periods of pressing danger, both—and then again bursting out into violent contention;

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as in the reign of Joash, king of Israel, when a terrible battle was fought between him and Amaziah, who at the time reigned in Jerusalem. Such strife and war could not fail to weaken each of these kingdoms, which, bound together in brotherhood, might have been strong and influential. Division and discord hastened their ruin; and, together with idolatry, left them without that higher help which would have rendered them invincible in the hour of peril the most threatening. Having forfeited the aid of their Heavenly King, both Israel and Judah fell at last an easy prey to the strong and godless dominion of the East, which had already so long endangered and oppressed them.

In a former tract,* we remarked how in the eighth century, before the Christian era, Assyria and Egypt were the two great eastern powers contending for the mastery of the world, and that, as Palestine lay between them, there was the great battlefield where the question of lordship was to be settled by the issues of war. That fact is a key to the relations subsisting between the Jews and the Egyptians on the one hand, and the Jews and the Assyrians on the other. The story of the Captivity brings us into contact with the last of these. For some account of their extraordinary character, exploits, civilization, and monuments, we refer to the tract already mentioned.

As early as 771 B.C. we notice Menahem, king of Israel, in a position of dependency upon the empire of Assyria. "And Pul," we are told in 2 Kings, xv. 19, 20, "came against the land; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land." From this passage it appears that the Assyrian monarch invaded the Israelitish frontier, probably for the express purpose of levying tribute on it, and that Menahem, in paying it, sought his friendly protection and help. It implies that his government was feeble, and his position anything but independent; and though this is the earliest allusion in the sacred volume to any connexion between Palestine and Assyria, Mr. Layard observes that "the Jewish tribes, as long suspected by biblical scholars, can now be proved to have held their dependent position upon the Assyrian king from a very early period; indeed, long before the time

* "The Story of Ancient Nineveh."

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inferred from any passage of scripture." This invasion, then, in the days of Menahem, may have been only to enforce the payment of a tribute imposed before, as repeated expeditions against the same country simply to exact revenue, neglected or refused, form a staple subject of history in the sculptured records of Nineveh. But, however this might be in regard to Israel, we find Pul plainly enough treating that kingdom, at the time just noticed, as a lord would his vassal. The beginning of the Captivity was now at hand. The verse just quoted rings the death-knell of the nation.

In a cursory review of the past history of the world, we often compress into a point, or generalize in one emphatic statement, some grand event which it took many years to evolve. Thus, for example, we give one fixed date to the fall of the Roman empire. We refer to the taking of Rome by Alaric; whereas a long succession of incidents must be included in any just view of that wonderful catastrophe. So the taking of Israel and Judah captive is often noticed as if it were a single occurrence, whereas it was in reality a transaction which spread itself over a century and a half.

In pursuing the subject, our first purpose is to notice the successive deportations of the Jewish tribes which took place during this extended period. It does not appear from the scripture narrative that any of the Israelites were carried away captive by Pul, when he made his inroads on the territory of Menahem. Immunity, in that respect, seems to have been purchased by the payment of tribute. The earliest account of the people being carried into exile occurs in the history of the reign of Pekah, who succeeded Menahem, next but one. Pekahiah, the intermediate monarch, who occupied the throne but two years, received the crown in 761, and formed an alliance with Rezin, the king of Syria, against the royal house of David. A war ensued. Elath, a town in Judea, was seized by the Syrian king. Pekah gained a great victory over his brethren of Israel, and led multitudes away captive. These wars were fratricidal. Brothers were slaying brothers; but a beautiful flush of compassion was felt by the relenting conquerors. Nature and religion, at least for a little while, subdued the cruel passions of jealousy and revenge, when, in consequence of the humane and pious appeal of the prophet Obed, the Israelites took the captives, "and from the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them,

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and gave them to eat and drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees, to their brethren."

This event was a prelude to another captivity, unalleviated by such touches of tenderness. Ahaz, king of Judah, and his people, trembled before the alliance of the monarchs of Syria and Israel, like "the trees of the wood moved by the winds." He sought the aid of the king of Assyria, Tiglath Pileser. The two tails of the smoking firebrands were soon quenched by the great power under whose protection the frightened prince of Judah thus heedlessly placed himself and his people. As one of the results of the collisions that ensued, a large number of Pekah's subjects were carried away captive. They were chiefly inhabitants of Gilead and Galilee. The former were of the tribes of Gad and Reuben, the latter of Zebulon and Napthali. Lying on the east of the Jordan, and to the north of Samaria, they were amongst the most exposed of the Israelitish population. Chiefly of pastoral habits, addicted to feeding their flocks on the banks of the river so dear to their tribes, and on the slopes of the mountains so hallowed in their country's songs—they were simple and helpless, and unable to defend themselves against the military forces which swept over their peaceful territories: nor had they, unhappily, that firm faith in the Divine Ruler of Israel, which was Israel's only true protection; for long had they been debased by their intermixture with the idolatrous Canaanites. As to the portion of the captives dwelling in the northern cities or towns, they must have been a poor and miserable class of men, at least in the eyes of the victors; seeing that Solomon so readily offered those cities or towns as a gift to Hiram, king of Tyre, and he so unwillingly received them. "They pleased him not," we are informed in the first Book of Kings: and he said, "What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And he called them the land of Cabul;" that is, the land of *dirt*. Such were the people who were first carried into foreign exile, out of Palestine; and it is to their calamities that Isaiah alludes when speaking of the vexation which debased* the land of Zebulon and the land of Napthali.

Twenty years after the first deportation of Israel, a far more serious one took place in the reign of Hoshea. In 721, Shalmaneser invaded that monarch's territory. He had withheld his tribute, as seems to have been common with the dependents upon the Assyrian throne; and the Assyrian king, as

* See Barnes' Translation.

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his wont, forthwith marched an army against his reculant vassal. Hoshea had sought alliance with Egypt, the great rival of Assyria—a circumstance which increased the exasperation excited by the neglect of the accustomed payments. So the great eastern sovereign came and wreaked his vengeance on Samaria, shutting up Hoshea in prison, and carrying away, in all probability, the court and the flower of the people into Assyria, where they were placed in Halah and Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. This was the end of the Israelitish monarchy after it had lasted about 270 years. Amos, who had fulfilled his inspired ministrations about half a century before, had foretold this final catastrophe, which was to subvert and demolish the commonwealth of Israel. "The Lord God," he exclaimed, "hath sworn by his holiness, that, lo! the days shall come upon you, that he will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fish-hooks; and ye shall go out at the breaches," or, according to the Syriac and Chaldee, towards the mountains of Armenia: and again, "Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus."

The figure here drawn from the practice of the angler is very striking. But there was more than a mere figure here. It was customary with the Assyrian conquerors to put hooks or rings through the lip and nose of their captives, of which there is an example in a bas-relief from Khorsabad; and other representations, while they testify to the Assyrian habit of removing large portions of the people in a subjugated territory to another and distant part of the dominions, also enable us to picture the melancholy scenes witnessed when the monarch with his nobles and inferior subjects were dragged away from the gates of Samaria. We see the victorious monarch, attended by his eunuchs and other officers, seated on a throne in a conspicuous spot within the walls of the captured city. The chief personages among the prisoners prostrate themselves before him, and receive his lordly foot upon their necks, in token of surrender and subjection. Inferior captives appear with their feet in fetters, and their hands laden with manacles. Their sluggish march is hastened by their new masters, who goad them on with their spears and swords. Women are carried away in carts, accompanied by thin miserable children, who vent their agony by tearing their hair, and throwing dust on their heads. Scribes are meanwhile employed taking an inventory of the spoil. There they stand by the gates, writing down on leather the booty *that is brought out*, and the number of sheep and oxen as well

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as prisoners. The whole of the mournful spectacle is revived; and mourning, lamentation, and woe, seem to gush out afresh as we ponder these old Assyrian sculptures, coeval with the times when the daughter of Israel was cast down by God for her idolatries, and given into the hands of her enemies for chastisement.

Sir R. K. P. Porter discovered some sculptures on the rocks of Be-sitoun, in the vale of Merdasht, on the borders of ancient Assyria, which he considers refer to the captivity of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser. A chain of captives is represented brought before the king. The skirts of the garments are covered with arrow-headed characters, and the last of the series has a flowing beard and a mitred cap, like a son of Levi.



The kingdom of Judah survived that of Israel more than 120 years. Soon after the exploits of Shalmaneser, the ambitious Sennacherib invaded Judea, in prosecution of his plans against Egypt. The siege of Lachish, and the wonderful judgment which befel the great king of Assyria—as illustrated by the monuments of Nineveh—have already been noticed. The proud warrior did not take Jerusalem, as he himself confesses; but the sacred historian, in the eighteenth chapter of the 2nd Book of Kings, states that he came up against all the fenced cities of Judah—those round about Jerusalem—and took them. This is in agreement with his own account, as preserved in the inscriptions at Kouyunjik; only that there he speaks of having led the people away captive—a circumstance very probable in itself. “And because Hezekiah”—so Rawlinson reads the inscription—“still continued to refuse to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelt around Jerusalem, with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah’s court, and of their daughters, with the officers of his palace, men slaves and women slaves.” *But this may be a very exaggerated account of the number*

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captives, but it may be received so far as it points to the fact of a captivity effected by Sennacherib from among the people around Jerusalem. Possibly hostages also might have been given by Hezekiah for the payment of tribute. Not only at this period, if we are to believe the Kouyunjik inscription, were some of the people of Judea taken captive to Assyria, but we are certain from the divine records that many were carried into exile by the Syrians, the Edomites, and the Philistines, and were even sold as slaves. This went on in the reign of Ahaz, so that when Hezekiah succeeded to the crown, he poured out his lamentations, saying: "Lo! our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our sons and our daughters and our wives are in captivity for this."

Though Jerusalem escaped the fury of the oppressor, there must have been many parts of Judea laid waste by the march of the imperious invader. Indeed, the country to the north and to the east, over which the scourge from the great city of Nineveh swept, with a malign and terrible aspect, must have been reduced to a state of great confusion and distress. Accordingly, we hear Isaiah—most likely in reference to the ambassadors whom Hezekiah had sent to Sennacherib—exclaiming, "Behold, their valiant ones shall cry without; the ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly. The highways lie waste; the wayfaring man ceaseth." So is it still in the east. "The tribes," says Layard, "who had been attacked and plundered, were retaliating upon caravans and travellers, or laying waste the cultivated parts of the pashalic. The villages were deserted, and the roads were little frequented, and very insecure." The present throws light on the past; and the devastations of oriental pashas, in our times, are as torches illuminating the picture of Sennacherib's invasion. The roads would be unsafe. The caravans would be stopped. The trains of treasure-bearing camels, from the Persian Gulf to the ports of Palestine, would be seized and spoiled of their rich loads. The traffic of merchantmen would thus be checked. The commerce which had flourished in the days of Solomon would rapidly decline, even if it did not experience entire ruin. Agriculture and husbandry would likewise suffer. It would be no time for the ploughman to break up the clods, or for the sower to go forth with the seed basket. Neither would the mower fill his hand, nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom. The olives would fail, and the vines would wither. The pastures, too, would be insecure; and the flocks and herds be carried off by the Chaldeans. A time of

great sorrow and perturbation was that, when the camp of Sennacherib stood not afar off from Jerusalem. While there was peril without, there was corresponding confusion within. The Book of Isaiah throws light on the internal politics and social agitations of the city at this mournful period. We there learn, that at the time when the faithful Eliakim and a minority were exhorting the people to trust in God, their true King, Shebna and a majority were counselling submission to Sennacherib; thus engendering a spirit of faction during a national emergency, when concert and unanimity were of the highest possible importance.

We may here just add, in passing, that in the Book of Isaiah we read much of Babylon, but nothing of Nineveh—a circumstance which has considerably perplexed commentators. But “the king of Babylon,” and “the king of Assyria,” are used as convertible titles; and it is remarkable that Sargon, in the inscription of Nimroud, describes himself as king of Assyria and lord of Babylon. Here the remains lately discovered serve—as in many other cases—to clear up a difficulty; and, moreover, it may be observed, that as Babylon was one of the cities from which inhabitants were supplied for the depopulated towns of Israel, and to which, in turn, some of the Israelites were taken to occupy their place, there was a special reason for speaking to Jews of that sister capital, even to the neglect of Nineveh, with which, at present, the people of Palestine had not been brought much in contact.

Manasseh, who succeeded Hezekiah, was carried captive into Babylon in 675, twenty-two years after his father's death. This was a chastisement from the Almighty for the flagrant iniquities of which he was guilty; but during his exile his heart was softened, and he returned to his own dominions an altered man. This circumstance, however, though it is proper to be mentioned here, must not be reckoned among the deportations of the Jewish tribes, as it does not appear that any number of the people accompanied him into his exile.

Forty-five years after this event, Judea was again assailed by its old eastern enemies; but a great change had taken place in their condition by that time. In 606 B.C. Nineveh fell, and the Assyrian supremacy was transferred to Babylon. From that city came Nebuchadnezzar to besiege and take Jerusalem. He had rebuilt his capital, though not, perhaps, on the old site; and the ruins of that magnificent centre of ancient civilization—*so very different, as yet explored, from those of Nineveh*—

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have been recently visited by Mr. Layard. Enough exists to identify the spot where once stood this wonder of the world in its power and pride. There is an isolated mass of masonry, described by that enterprising traveller, which he considers to be a portion of some magnificent terrace connected with those famous hanging gardens which we have at times been ready to banish from belief, and consign to the region of oriental fables. Nor are testimonies wanting, in the remains brought to light, to prove that Nebuchadnezzar was the builder of the new city, as represented in the Book of Daniel. The Babylonian inscribed bricks long excited the curiosity of the learned, and gave rise to a variety of ingenious speculations as to their use and meaning. By some, they were believed to be public documents; others saw in the writings, dedications to the gods, or registers of gifts to temples. The question has now been entirely set at rest by the discovery made by Dr. Hincks, that almost every brick hitherto obtained from the ruins bears the same inscription, with the exception of one or two unimportant words, and that they record the building of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. The city succeeded to the position occupied by Nineveh, and soon almost equalled her old rival. The bounds were extended; buildings of extraordinary size and magnificence were erected; her victorious armies conquered Syria and Palestine, and penetrated into Egypt. Her commerce, too, spread far and wide from the east to the west, and she became a land of traffic and a city of merchants.

The kingdom of Judah was brought to an end by Nebuchadnezzar. There were three deportations of captives effected by him and his army. The first was in 605 B.C. just after the overthrow of Nineveh, and when Babylon was beginning to rise into its brightest glory. Amidst the shifting alliances of Jerusalem, in which she appeared in a position of abject dependence—for she had lost the spirit of courage because she had lost her reliance upon God—Jehoiakim and his court just then, in a moment of revolt against Assyria, were leaning upon the broken reed of Egypt. Soldiers from Chaldea, from Syria, and from Moab, came into Judea under the banners of the mighty oriental prince, and ravaged the country and chastised Jehoiakim, who, however, was left upon his throne a humbled vassal of the Assyrian crown. The sons of some of the most distinguished families in the city were among the captives led away on this occasion, and they were intended, most likely, to serve as *hostages* for the future submission of the conquered state. &

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was at this time, probably, that Daniel and his three companions were removed from the land of their fathers, to be placed in positions, and to undergo trials, in the scene of their exile, which have rendered them, to all subsequent ages, illustrious and animating examples of faith and virtue. According to the account we have in our copies of the Book of Jeremiah, 3023 Jews were taken to Babylon in this first captivity.

The second deportation was in the reign of Jehoiachin, seven years afterwards, B. C. 598. The immediate political cause of this calamity is not apparent; the moral cause, however, is plainly stated. The king "did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord." Nebuchadnezzar came against the city and besieged it; and what a stroke of pathos there is in the record of the second Book of Kings, xxiv. 12, in connection with this assault on the city of Jerusalem: "And Jehoiachin, the king of Judah, went out to the king of Babylon, he and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers." The historian thus makes the melancholy train pass before us, in which we specially single out for pity the venerable old Jewess, weeping over her son decrowned and doomed to exile. We fancy it is some alleviation to her that she is to accompany him. Warriors, too, in large numbers (there were 7000 of them), according to the Book of Chronicles, swelled the procession of captives; craftsmen and smiths also, on the same authority, amounting to a thousand, accompanied their brethren; perhaps specially included by Nebuchadnezzar, with an eye to the progress of the works going on in his new city. Zedekiah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, was placed on the throne by the conqueror, to serve him, of course, as his liege lord. But he rebelled—encouraged to do so by the king of Egypt. This was in the year 588. Nebuchadnezzar, accordingly, again marched against Jerusalem and besieged it. An Egyptian army came to its succour. These allies, however, were repelled by the hosts of Babylon, who, immediately after chastising them, returned to the siege.

In connection with this fresh calamity, we have graphic details in the biblical annals. "The city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah; and on the ninth day of the fourth month, the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land; and the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled by night by the way of the gate between two walls, which is by the king's garden (now the Chaldees were against the city round about); and "

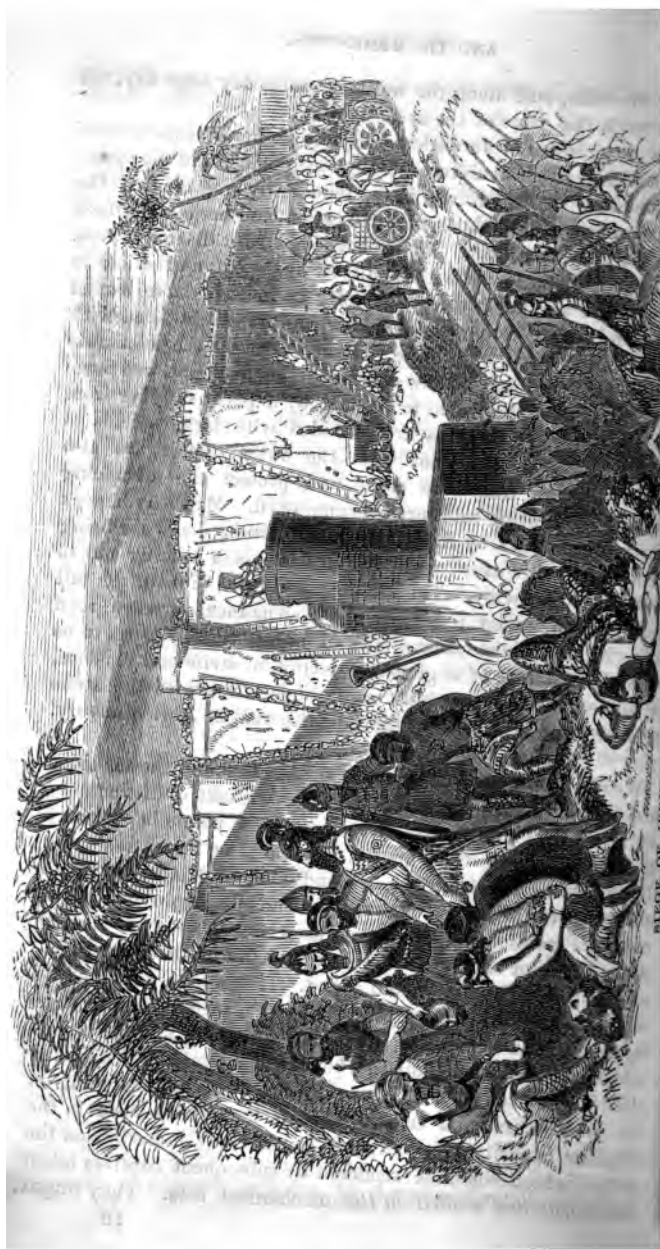
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went the way toward the plain. And the army of the Chaldees pursued after the king and overtook him in the plains of Jericho: and all his army were scattered from him. So they took the king and brought him up to the king of Babylon to Riblah." What a series of stirring pictures pass before us as we ponder these few strong graphic words! Famine in the city—no bread—men, women, and children pinched with hunger—their countenances thin and pallid, and their bodies wasting away with disease and want. Anxious inquiries are heard in the streets: "Will the siege last for ever?" while despair, and tears, and death lurk within doors. The child is breathing its last in its mother's bony arms, or she is lifeless with her little one on her cold breast. Then there is the hurried night escape—the old gate—the walls by the king's garden, palace-like houses—trees mapped in shadow under the bright stars—and the monarch and his men creeping stealthily along, and going round to avoid being seen by the sentinels of the Assyrian camp. And then we have the surprise—perhaps in the morning—the fugitives pursued, and, fleeing from the face of the brave soldiers of Babylon, hiding in clefts of the rocks and concealing themselves among trees on the Mount of Olives—the poor miserable monarch in the mean time captured and dragged in chains to Riblah, to receive upon his neck the foot of his enraged master. And then, to finish the military drama, his eyes are put out, and his sons are slain. We think, involuntarily, while all this is going on, of one holy man within the walls, who weeps day and night for the slain of the daughter of his people. The destruction of the temple and city speedily followed. Nebuzaradan, the Babylonish general, "burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house, burnt he with fire; and the army brake down the walls." All who remained of any account, after these sanguinary measures, were carried off by the conquerors; and only a few poor vine-dressers and husbandmen were left scattered over the land, to sit and mourn over the desolations, and to gather a scanty subsistence from the fields and vineyards which war had spared. Such was the third grand deportation, signalized, too, by the abundance of spoil which was conveyed to Babylon; for it was on this occasion that the golden vessels of the temple, and the pillars and ornaments of brass, and even the great brazen laver itself, were piled up and carried off: thinking of which, one follows the long line of wagons, attended by Assyrian guards, winding

over the hills, and along the military roads, day after day, till they reach the gates of the great capital.

As to the siege of Jerusalem, we may gather illustrations of it from Ninevitic sculptures, Babylonish coins, and Egyptian monuments, in which we have abundantly represented the common oriental methods of fortification and modes of attack prevalent in those days. We see battlemented walls and towers, with parapets, crowded with men, bow and spear and shield in hand, while a banner crowns the lofty keep. We have barred gates and fosses both without and within the walls, filled with water and crossed by bridges. Then we notice the assailants placing their scaling ladders against the fortifications, and some swimming over the ditch, to be met by a party sallying from the gates. The besiegers are provided with large shields to ward off the missiles shot from the walls. There are also testudos—large frames to cover and protect the advancing soldiers. Battering rams are also employed. Men may be seen climbing up rocks by the aid of metal spikes; doors are being hewn down with axes; while heralds are seen coming out to treat with the enemy. The brief notice in the Bible of the fall of Jerusalem, under the army of Nebuchadnezzar, when read in the light of these curious military antiquities, suggests to us some such picture of engineering tactics, of strife and violence, of battle and death, as must really have constituted the scene of misery and desolation at that awful period in Jewish history.

We shall now proceed to notice the location and the condition of the exiles during the Captivity. For the sake of distinctness, we would first and separately consider these points in reference to the ten tribes. The first removal of the Israelites, under Tiglath Pileser, is said, in the second Book of Kings, xv. 29, to have been to the land of Assyria; but no city or province of the empire is mentioned. The people then carried away, as already shown, were of the pastoral class, and many of them must consequently have been poor and abject. It has been supposed by some that they were conveyed to Nineveh, which city was then increasing and prospering under the energetic and ambitious rule of the renowned Tiglath; but if the capital city really was their destination, such help as they could afford, in carrying on his architectural and artistic projects, must have been in the humblest capacity as labourers—very different, indeed, from the service which could be rendered by subsequent captives taken from towns and skilled in the mechanical arts. They might



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indeed, be employed for military purposes, helping to swell the number of troops, whose lives the eastern despots held very cheap, and devoted as sheep to the slaughter.

Shalmaneser, in his large deportation of Israelites, transferred them, we are informed, to Halah and Habor by the river Gozan, and to Hara and other cities of the Medes. In these old geographical notices, it is difficult to identify the names with places at present known. Major Rawlinson, a great authority in such matters, considers this Halah to be the Calah of Asshur, (Gen. x. 11), which is said to have given the name of Chalonites, mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, to the surrounding region. Calah, according to him, is Sur Puli Zohab, situated on the high road leading from Bagdad to Kirmanshah. Jewish traditions still linger in that locality, and David is regarded by the inhabitants as their titular prophet. Habor has been taken to be the same as Athar, a city situated very delightfully on the banks of the river Kizzil Ozan—the old Gozan. Hara, according to the authority just cited, is the Atropatenian Ecbatana, one of the grand treasure-cities of the Medes. Atropatena is equivalent to Little Media, as distinguished from Great Media—a country described by Strabo as very populous, and capable of furnishing 10,000 horse and 40,000 foot. It consists, with the exception of its mountainous borders, of fertile plains and vales gently undulating and abundantly watered. The soil is described as fruitful, and Chardin says that when he visited it, the country was in a state of good cultivation.

Supposing these opinions to be correct, it must have been a pleasant region to which the Israelites, at this early period, were sent by their conquerors; in connexion with which circumstance, the following remarks by Dr. Kitto should be well considered, in order to form an opinion of the condition of this early detachment of exiles. "Media was then subject to the Assyrian empire, although still occupied by the native Medes. It seems, therefore, to have been the policy of the Assyrians to remove the inhabitants of one conquered country to another conquered country, with the view of weakening the separate interest or nationality of both, and of promoting such a fusion of races and nations as might tend to realise tranquillity and permanence to the general empire. From this allocation of the expatriated Israelites in Media results the important fact, that, whereas Judah was always subject to the conquering nation, Israel was only so for a short time, as the Medes, ~~when they were placed,~~ they were placed, were not long in asserting t

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of Assyria, which empire they (with the Babylonians) ultimately subverted, and continued independent of the great Babylonian empire which succeeded, and to which the captives of Judah were subject. So, then, the relations of the ten tribes were with the Medes, not with the Assyrians or Babylonians; and their relations with the Medes were not, but were necessarily far better than, those between captives and conquerors. It does not appear how the Medes could regard them, or that they did regard them, otherwise than as useful and respectable colonists whom the common oppressor had placed among them, and whose continued presence it was desirable to solicit and retain. It is hard to call this a captivity; but since it is usually so described, it is important to remark that the captivity of the ten tribes and that of Judah was under different and independent, and not always friendly, states. There is a vague notion, that since the Babylonians subverted and succeeded the Assyrians, the Israelites, who had been captives to the Assyrians, became such to the Babylonians, and were afterwards joined in that captivity by their brethren of Judah; but this, as we have seen, was by no means the case."

We think that the above view, on the whole, is just; but we cannot agree that it is hard to call the state of the people, a captivity; for the exiles, dwell where they might, and let them be never so kindly treated, were forcibly detained in a land distinct from their own, to which the patriotic among them would look back with strong affection. To be expatriated, would be to a true child of Israel a bitter calamity. And we may add, that if the first captives to Assyria were likely to feel being torn away from the farms and pastures of their fathers, the second and larger bands, under Shalmaneser, driven away from the cities, and including the people of a higher class, would, in all probability, be deeply sensible of their expatriation, and would pensively recur to the familiar streets and dwellings of their childhood, and to those still more endeared spots outside the walls—the place of their fathers' sepulchres.

There are few persons, perhaps, now-a-days who read the Apocrypha. Those who do, will recall to mind the connexion between our present subject and the Book of Tobit; the hero of which is described as "the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael of the seed of Assel, of the tribe of Nephthali, who in the time of Enemessar (or Shalmaneser), king of the Assyrians, was led captive." We beg to be distinctly understood, as by no means *pledging* our faith to the story of the adventures of young

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Tobias and his dog—the marvels wrought by the liver of the fish—and the driving away the devil Asmodeus by the smell of perfumed ashes; but still we feel justified in regarding the scenery and costume of the wonderful story, in which there may be after all a basis of truth, as affording interesting illustrations of the state of the Israelites during their early captivity. Tobit dwelt in Nineveh, and did many alms-deeds to his brethren, who came to him there; he was appointed purveyor to the Assyrian monarch, and is described as a man of property, for he deposited ten talents of silver—about £3750—with one of his brethren at Rages, another city of the Medes. Then he describes his wife Anna as taking “women’s works to do,” and tells us that when “she had sent them home to the owners, they paid her wages; and gave her also, besides, a kid.”

Sennacherib, probably after his unsuccessful expedition into Judea, is represented as cruelly treating the Israelitish captives, and casting forth their bodies unburied without the gates of Nineveh; whereupon Tobit performed the pious office of collecting the remains, and giving them decent sepulture; for which humane and patriotic deeds—as the story goes—he had to leave the city in order to escape Sennacherib’s wrath. On his return, after the death of that king, he heard of one of his own nation being strangled, and cast out in the market-place. Therefore, he says, “I wept, and after the going down of the sun, I went and made a grave and buried him; but my neighbours mocked me, and said, ‘This man is not yet afraid to be put to death for this matter, who fled away, and yet, lo! he burieth the dead again.’ The same night also I turned from the burial, and slept by the wall of my courtyard, being polluted, and my face was uncovered.” These particulars, with the statement that Tobit lived in Nineveh till he was 158 years old, show at least how, in the estimation of the Jews afterwards (they being of course in the possession of traditions handed down to them), the Israelites of the second captivity, located in Nineveh, were very differently circumstanced one from another; some possibly being held in slavery, others certainly being in a state of freedom; some being poor, and others rich; some treated with violence, and others held in honour; while women among them worked for wages, and received kindness at the hands of their employers. Nor should the touches of feeling recorded be forgotten, indicating as they do, not only sentiments of humanity, but the nobler affections of brotherly regard towards all ~~the~~ *were of the house of Israel.*

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It is now our duty to direct the reader to the localities and the condition of exile-life connected with the history of the people of Jerusalem and Judah during their captivity. We have seen that Nebuchadnezzar carried away the princes, the mighty men of valour, and the craftsmen, in the eighth year of the reign of Jehoiachin. It was, no doubt, the same captivity to which reference is made at the beginning of the Book of Ezekiel. The captives, we are there told, were situated in the land of the Chaldeans, by the river Chebar. There are two streams which bear the name of Chebar or Khabour. The one which empties itself into the Euphrates, by the ancient Carchemish—the modern Karkaseea—is, no doubt, the river to which Ezekiel alludes. Mr. Layard has recently explored the region watered by this stream, and informs us that the Khabour flows through the richest pastures and meadows, while its banks are covered with flowers of every hue, and its windings through the green plain resemble the coils of a large and beautiful serpent. It is a lovely and enchanting scene; and the liveliest emotions of joy seized on the traveller's party as they approached it. Trees in full leaf line the water's edge, which is skirted with flowers, reaching above the horses' knees.

In this neighbourhood there are many mounds, and the banks of ancient canals are full of indications of Assyrian civilization. At present, it is a country famous for its abundant pasturage; and the Arab, as he bounds along, passes many a flock of sheep and herd of camels. The ruins of Arban, on the banks of the Khabour, formed the objects for which Mr. Layard especially undertook his expedition to this part of Mesopotamia; and he describes them as of a character resembling those of Nineveh. The character of the sculpture is rude, and bears "the same relation to the more delicately finished and highly ornamented sculptures of Nimroud, as the earliest remains of Greek art do to the exquisite monuments of Phidias and Praxiteles." These artistic features point to an early period of Assyrian civilization; while the Egyptian relics are also of a remote antiquity, perhaps as early as the fifteenth century before Christ—a period when we know there was an intimate connexion between the two countries.

Here, around this ancient city, then, when yet in its pride and glory, it is not improbable the captives were located to whom Ezekiel refers. The flatness of the scenery about Arban corresponds with the "plain" of which Ezekiel speaks repeatedly; yet, though flat, the prospect must have been delicious.

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for even in its present almost depopulated state, we are told that "the eye ranges over a level country bright with flowers, and spotted with black tents and innumerable flocks of sheep and camels." The colour of these floral decorations, too, is ever changing. "After being for some days of a golden yellow, a new family of flowers would spring up, and it would turn, almost in a night, to a bright scarlet, which would again as suddenly give way to the deepest blue. Then the meadows would be mottled with various hues, or would put on the emerald green of the most luxuriant of pastures."

Ezekiel observes that he came to those of the captivity at Tel-Abib, that dwelt by the river of Chebar—that Tel-Abib meaning the mound of the heaps of the ears of corn. Whether this applies to a town, or simply to an artificial elevation, is by no means clear; but Mr. Layard thinks it probable that around Arban may have been pitched the tents of the sorrowing Jews; that in its pastures they fed their flocks, and drank of the same waters as are now flowing by those ruins. We agree with Mr. Layard, and picture to ourselves the great Assyrian city, Nineveh-like, with a palace-temple on the now crumbling mound; terraces above terraces; noble halls, and slabs, and statuary, crowning the spot; at the same time keeping our eye on those outspread meadows and fields, with their enamel of flowers of many dyes—the entire scene forming a background for our conceptions of Jewish exile life in that locality. It seems obvious, on the face of the Book of Ezekiel, that the Jews at Tel-Abib were a distinct people, recognising the elders among them as a superior class; and they were probably allowed to submit themselves, within limits, to their ecclesiastical authority.

The prophet Ezekiel ministered among them, it would appear, without any hindrance from the Assyrian rulers, and was evidently permitted to have meetings of the elders in his house. The people certainly look more like a band of colonists than a herd of slaves. One does not derive from the perusal of Ezekiel, any idea of those around him being in the same condition as their forefathers in Egypt. As the ministrations of the prophet relate to the remnant continuing in Jerusalem, as well as to his fellow captives on the banks of the Chebar, the allusions to manners and customs cannot be certainly employed to illustrate the circumstances of the former; but as we find no allusion to slavery, as one of the evils under which the people laboured, *this may be taken as a negative proof that they enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. Some, in*

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be in the royal service, engaged on public works, labouring after the manner of artisans; others might be occupied in humble handicraft, for masters among their brethren, or the people of the land. The employment of herdsmen and shepherds, too, seems not an unlikely one for many of the exiles; and the women we can imagine, like Anna, the wife of Tobit, doing "women's work" for hire. Of course, such persons as sympathised with Ezekiel would be grieved in spirit at the sight of Assyrian idolatries; and we can imagine him and some of the elders clothed in sackcloth, with their keen black Hebrew eyes fixed in sorrowful meditation on the triumphant mockeries of the land of their captivity, as they contrasted them with the pure service of their own loved but deserted and desolate temple; yet the bulk of the captives certainly do not appear to have left behind them the sins for which God drove them out of their cherished home. They had abandoned the coarseness of their old image worship, but their hearts were still going after their covetousness; while gusts of levity and despair in turn came over their dark and unchastened minds.

We have further glimpses of exile life in the Book of Daniel; but there the scene is transferred from the banks of the Chebar to the banks of the Euphrates—a distance of above 300 miles—a fact that serves to give us an affecting idea of the wide dispersion of this guilty and chastised people. We see Daniel and the three Hebrew youths, his companions, in the very court of the monarch at Babylon, under the care of the master of the eunuchs, with a royal provision for support, and education in the learning and language of the Chaldeans. Subsequently, we behold the first of these exiles raised to an office of pre-eminence and power in the city and the empire, while his three companions also are advanced to political stations of trust, influence, and power. The circumstance shows that the Jews could not, as a race, have been branded by the Assyrians as utterly debased, and unworthy of all honour; and that they could not, moreover, have been systematically and constantly crushed underfoot in the strange land into which Jehovah had sent them as a chastisement. There was the opportunity of a Jew rising to share in the councils of the empire, and, as we should suppose, the opportunity for him to employ some of his brethren under him in the public service. No notice is given in the Book of Daniel of the Hebrews constituting a distinct class in the city of Babylon. *Probably they were more scattered among the rest of the population, and were more intermingled with them, than in some*

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other parts of the empire; yet in cases where piety was deep, like that of Daniel and his associates, a moral distinction would be apparent, such as the dullest Babylonian could not overlook. Acts of cruelty and oppression might sometimes occur—no doubt did so—still we cannot but think that the circumstances of honour in which some of their nation were placed would reflect dignity on all, so as to prevent ill treatment from being the rule rather than the exception. It is to be remembered, too, that Jehoiachin, in the forty-fourth year of the Captivity, was released from imprisonment, and allowed to rank among the princes who sat at the royal table—a circumstance, by the way, which shows the dark as well as the bright side of the picture; how there was, at one time, harsh and rigorous treatment, and at another, favours the most flattering.

But it must be remembered that in all this, we are only speaking of the outward—of what may be called the material condition of the captives. There were still sources of grief left, calculated to agitate the bosom inspired by Hebrew patriotism and piety. The captives were far away from their own land, and that, to Jews, involved immense privation, because in Jerusalem alone could the highest rites of their religion be performed. There were, most likely, synagogues in Babylon; some, indeed, have supposed that they originated there; but how they arose is a question involved in impenetrable uncertainty; yet most certainly there was no temple or tabernacle, no priest or sacrifice, no altar or ark for the child of Abraham on the banks of the Euphrates. Hence it was, that by the waters of Babylon they would sit down and weep; yea, they would weep when they “remembered Zion.” And the pang of separation from the house of their God would be sharpened by the thought of the dishonour done to its costly utensils, by their removal to swell the spoils of an idolator; and how indignation and sorrow must have fired the breast of the faithful Jew, when he heard of the hallowed vessels of gold and silver being brought out to deck the board of a voluptuous prince, during a season of abandoned revelry.

The feelings which the expatriated people of God, under the circumstances just described, would be likely to cherish, and to which they would give impassioned utterance on suitable occasions, have been thus finely expressed by a modern poet:—

“ O’er Judah’s land, thy thunders broke, O Lord !
The chariots rattled o’er her sunken gate,
Her sons were wasted by the Assyrian sword,
E’er her foes wept to see her fallen state ;

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And heaps her ivory palaces became,
Her princes wore the captive's garb of shame,
Her temples sank amid the smouldering flame,
For Thou didst ride the tempest-cloud of fate.

"O'er Judah's land thy rainbow, Lord, shall beam,
And the sad city lift her crownless head;
And songs shall wake, and dancing footsteps gleam,
Where broods o'er fallen streets the silence of the dead.
The sun shall shine on Salem's gilded towers,
On Carmel's side our maidens cull the flowers,
To deck, at blushing eve, their bridal bowers,
And angel-feet the glittering Sion tread.

"Thy vengeance gave us to the stranger's hand,
And Abraham's children were led forth for slaves;
With fettered steps we left our pleasant land,
Envyng our fathers in their peaceful graves.
The stranger's bread with bitter tears we steep,
And when our weary eyes should sink to sleep,
'Neath the mute midnight we steal forth to weep,
Where the pale willows shade Euphrates' waves.

"The born in sorrow shall bring forth in joy;
Thy mercy, Lord, shall lead thy children home;
He that went forth a tender yearling boy,
Yet, ere he die, to Salem's streets shall come.
And Canaan's vines for us their fruits shall bear,
And Hermon's bees their honied stores prepare;
And we shall kneel again in thankful prayer,
Where, o'er the cherub-seated God, full blazed th' irradiate dome."

It will be necessary for us now to direct a passing notice to the condition of the country of Israel and Judah while the Captivity continued. We learn from the sacred books, that when the Israelites were taken away by Shalmaneser, he sent to Samaria, to fill up the devastations that had been made, colonists from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. These strangers mingled with the few melancholy relics of an exiled race still permitted to cling to their fatherland. The state of things, moral and religious, which ensued may be inferred from the circumstance, that the people, among whom the miserable remnant would be swallowed up under the general name of Samaritans, worshipped the idols introduced from Assyria, until their country began to be depopulated by wild beasts. Then, under the notion of this chastisement having come from a local deity, displeased at his worship having been neglected, they requested the Assyrian king to send them an Israelitish priest to instruct the people in the service of the God whose displeasure had been incurred. He was sent and settled at Bethel, where he restored the worship of Jehovah; but this was only one among the other religions practised by the nations who had come to occupy the territory. "They feared the Lord and served their own gods." This passage, in Israelitish story, is remarkably illustrated, as Mr. Layard shows, by the inscriptions recently discovered at Nineveh, in which the inhabitants of

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conquered cities and districts are represented as removed to distant parts of the empire, and replaced by colonists from Nineveh, or from other subdued countries. The conquerors, too, as we also learn from the inscriptions, established the worship of their own gods in the conquered cities, raising altars and temples, and appointing priests for their service. This exactly accords with the words of the sacred historian, in connexion with the facts just mentioned: "they made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made."

The fate of Jerusalem and Judea was different from that of Samaria. After the overthrow of the city, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and the removal of the principal inhabitants, together with abundance of spoil, to Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah, a person of some consequence, as a sort of viceroy over the miserable remains of the expatriated tribes. This governor seems to have been a generous-hearted man, and desirous of ameliorating the abject condition to which the people were reduced; Jeremiah was a helper in his benevolent efforts, and with him sought to reconcile the Jewish remnant to the Babylonish sovereignty, as resistance, under existing circumstances, was worse than vain.

We noticed that a few nobles, at the time of the siege, sought safety from the foe by flight. When the Babylonish army retired, such of those persons as had escaped capture, returned to the ruins of their old city; not, however, to aid Gedaliah and his illustrious companion the prophet, but to sow dissension and concoct conspiracy. Jealous of the governor, one Ishmael, a prince of royal blood, plotted against his life; and the noble Gedaliah, too disingenuous to harbour suspicions, and confiding implicitly in the honor of his unprincipled fellow countryman, was treacherously slain at a banquet, with his Hebrew and Chaldean associates, which he had provided at Mizpah. The day following the perpetration of this atrocity, he heard of the approach of eighty men, who were on their way to the ruined temple with offerings; having met them at the entrance of Mizpah, he falsely pretended a wish to present them to Gedaliah, and hypocritically expressed himself ready to join in their lamentations. But watching an opportunity, he caused them also to be massacred, excepting ten, who, having stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey concealed in pits, as it is still customary to store grain in the east, were spared, doubtless on condition of giving up their wealth to his follow-

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bodies of the victims were cast into a large excavation made by king Asa, during his wars with Israel. Alarmed at the prospect of Babylonian revenge for the crimes he had thus committed, Ishmael fled to the Ammonites; and Johanan, a friend of Gedaliah, with the few persons of influence remaining, repaired to Egypt and sought protection there—a step against which Jeremiah protested, though he was compelled to accompany the fugitives. Nebuzaradan soon appeared as an avenger of atrocities committed by Ishmael and his party; but such was the forlorn condition of the country, that only 745 individuals were found therein, who were immediately sent beyond Euphrates.

God had instituted for the Jews sabbatic years. During every seventh annual period, according to his law, the land was to lie fallow. The command, however, had long been at naught. Avarice had stifled faith; the disobedient people could not trust a righteous and unchangeable God; and accordingly, he is seen vindicating the honour of his government by leaving the land desolate, that she might enjoy sabbaths. The desolation was most literal; the land lay uncultivated and without inhabitant. The toils of the husbandman and of the vine-dresser ceased. All was a wilderness, tracked by nomadic tribes, except that here and there, in the southern parts, the bands of Edomites had taken up a settled abode. In the seventh chapter of Isaiah occurs a passage vividly describing the wild state of the land once so fertile and richly cultivated. Large tracts, formerly occupied as vineyards, rented after the rate of a piece of silver for each vine, were overgrown with thorns and briars. The thinly scattered inhabitants no longer went forth with the implements of husbandry, but carried bows and arrows to destroy the wild animals that lurked in the underwood and bushes. Gardens and fields were no longer fenced; the produce was not regularly carried to the store-house or the barn; but the few kine and sheep belonging to the occupiers were left to enjoy the full benefit of an abundant and spontaneous pasturage. The early prediction of Micah and the later one of Jeremiah,† that the land should enjoy *rest* of which it had been defrauded, are very remarkable, when we consider that, as exemplified in the case of Israel, it was the general policy of the conquerors to leave the conquered country in desolation, but to replenish it by foreign colonies by whom it might be cultivated.

* Lev. xxvi. 34.

† 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

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"The ransomed of the Lord," said the prophet Isaiah, "shall return and come to Zion." That prediction was fulfilled. But it was not one single event, any more than was the deportation into exile. History records a series of events as constituting the return; indeed, a succession of restorations—party following party homewards at considerable intervals—the whole chain of facts stretching through little short of a century. In our limited space, it will of course be impossible to dwell at large on all the circumstances of the transaction. The most that we can do is to present a popular outline of the leading facts.

Babylon was taken by Cyrus in 536 B.C., after a siege of not much less than two years. The stratagem of the Persian conqueror in diverting the waters of the Euphrates, and the occasion of riotous festivity, during which the decisive blow was struck—so clearly described by Herodotus and Xenophon—are foretold, as well as the subsequent desolation of the city, with wonderful plainness by the prophet Jeremiah, in the 50th and 51st chapters of his inspired writings. The decree of Cyrus, recorded at the beginning of the Book of Ezra, was the authority and signal for such of the Jews as longed for the home of their fathers, to adopt measures for their return. In consequence, about 50,000, including 7337 servants or slaves, under the leadership of the prince Sheshbazzar and the priest Zerubbabel, started from the banks of the Euphrates, to seek once more the land of Canaan. This was in the year 536 B.C. They assembled from different parts, and formed one great caravan, with camels, horses, and other beasts of burden, amounting to above 8000. The most precious of the treasures they bore back to their own city, were the temple vessels which Cyrus had restored. Some time was spent in making preparations, and the long and wearisome journey over the desert occupied them four months. It was the movement of a host, reminding one of the march of their fathers who had passed under the shadow of Sinai centuries before. The present caravan passed over the northern portion of the great wilderness of Arabia; and as we follow them, we mark their slow march from day to day, amidst scenery monotonous, but still sublime—the expanse of sand being, in this respect, like the expanse of waters. We see them toiling and panting under the scorching heat of the mid-day sun; we see them pitching their tents towards nightfall; we see them resting under the clear blue eastern heavens, sparkling with stars which outrival ours; and then, at day-break, or before, starting again on their j

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went in search of the old cities and towns to which their families belonged. A month after their return, they met among the ruins of the temple, reared an altar, and celebrated the feast of tabernacles. A month later, they laid the foundations of the new house for the worship of Jehovah, when there occurred the touching scene recorded in the third chapter of Ezra. The Persian governors aided the restored exiles; but the Assyrian colonists located in Samaria did all they could to hinder them. The latter, indeed, so far succeeded in their malicious purposes as to cause the work of rebuilding the temple to be stopped for a while. Thus thwarted, the zeal of the Jews also flagged. They thought more of providing houses for themselves than a suitable place for the worship of God. Zechariah and Haggai reproved and exhorted them in reference to this matter; in consequence of which they resumed their hallowed enterprise, and under Zerubbabel, the work begun in earnest in 520 B.C. was finished in 516 B.C. The feast of the dedication was instituted to celebrate the event, and that festival became a permanent memento of the Captivity and the Restoration.

It was not until the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that the people began to surround Jerusalem with walls, in which employment they were again molested and interrupted by their old enemies, the Samaritans. It was about this period, probably, that there occurred the striking events recorded in the Book of Esther—that beautiful episode in Hebrew history—and it was through the favour of Artaxerxes that the Jews were at length relieved from their troublesome and malignant neighbours; though it is remarkable that his decrees relate only to the building of “the house of the God of heaven,” not to the fortification of the city. This decree belongs to the seventh year of his reign, and may be dated 458 B.C. It was the period, too, when the second great caravan of exiles marched to their own land. They amounted, in this case, to 5000 persons, including 113 who had married heathen wives in their captivity. This party, too, was four months going to Jerusalem.

The year 445 B. C. is another memorable date in connexion with the return, for then it was that Artaxerxes gave Nehemiah, his cupbearer, permission to journey to the “land of his fathers’ sepulchres,” and to make Jerusalem a walled city. The history of his adventures in the progress of the work so long suspended is recorded with great simplicity by himself; and he also informs us of the impoverished condition of the inhabitants of the city through mortgage and debt, from which he relieved them by

procuring from their creditors either the total remission of their liabilities, or at least exemption from the payment of interest. Nehemiah, after a time, revisited Babylon, probably on business connected with his country, but before long returned again to Jerusalem. Numerous families, no doubt, accompanied him. Though we have not a detailed account of numbers, and other circumstances in connexion with Nehemiah's expeditions, as we have in the case of Ezra, yet most likely he was a leader of parties to Judea, succeeded perhaps by others at different times, until the whole of the old country was repopulated.

It has been remarked by Jahn, that the invitation of Cyrus to rebuild the temple was addressed not only to the Jews in Babylon, but also to the exiles scattered over the Persian empire. From this he concludes that not a few of the ten tribes returned to Palestine. We apprehend he exaggerates the number, but certainly it is probable that some might attach themselves to the caravans of their brethren proceeding to the fatherland; the old animosities between the different tribes being subdued by long years of separation and distance from the country of their ancient common faith and worship. It is possible even that there were Israelites in the company of those who followed Zerubbabel, but most, we consider, would follow afterwards at different times; at any rate the history of later periods mentions Israelites as settled in Galilee and Perea long before the time of Christ. Many, however—the great majority we should suppose—of the people forming the nation of Israel never returned at all, and the subsequent history of the lost tribes, as they are termed, has been of late, especially, a subject of much enquiry and speculation.* We cannot enter upon it here, yet it will not be foreign to our purpose to observe, that not only did a large proportion of the ten tribes remain in foreign lands, but a considerable number of the Jews in Babylon actually declined to avail themselves of the Persian decree of liberation. We know that the Jews of Babylonia, in after ages, included some of the elite of the Hebrew nation, and were regarded with much respect and honour by those who dwelt in Palestine. Among those who remained under the Persian dominion, some even submitted to torture rather than deny their religion by assisting in the erection of a heathen temple. We trace Jews in Babylonia under the Roman supremacy, and we find them involved in rebellion and civil war.

* At an early period, it is our intention to place before our readers, in a separate tract, the curious speculations and opinions that have been entertained upon this subject, together with a rational explanation of the probable destination of these "lost sheep of the house of Israel."

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Hebrew travellers visited Babylon in the third century, and recorded their observations. The Babylonian Talmud belongs to the sixth century, and contains notices of the Jews at that period, mentioning not less than 200 towns, in the Persian empire, inhabited by Jewish families. In the twelfth century, Benjamin of Tuleda found 20,000 Jews dwelling within 20 miles of Babylon. "According to their own tradition," observes Layard, "those Hebrew families were descended from the Jews of the Captivity. They still preserved their pedigrees, and traced their lineage to the princes and prophets of Judah. Their chief resided at Bagdad, and his title was "Lord Prince of the Captivity." He was lineally descended, according to his people, from king David himself. Even Mohammedans acknowledged his claims to this noble birth, and called him 'our Lord, the Son of David.' His authority extended over the countries of the east as far as Thibet and Hindostan. He was treated, on all occasions, with the greatest honor and respect, and when he appeared in public, he wore robes of embroidered silk and a white turban encircled by a diadem of gold."

Some very curious relics, connected with this Jewish remnant, have been discovered by Mr. Layard. They are terra cotta cups or bowls, found on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the ruins of ancient Babylonia, having on the inner surface long Chaldean inscriptions. These have been deciphered by Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, who says that they are amulets or charms against evil spirits, diseases, and every kind of misfortune. In one of the bowls, the parties for whom the charm was intended are styled "people of the Captivity." The bowls, Mr. Layard shows, must either have been brought to Babylon from other places which are named, or must have been prepared for some of the inhabitants of those places by Babylonish Jews. The relics are conjectured by Mr. Ellis to be of different dates, some as early as the second or third century. They are certainly mementoes of the Captivity, and tend to confirm the scripture history of that event, while they illustrate the fact of many Jews remaining in the land of exile, and also indicate the superstitious practices into which they fell.

That so many refused to return to their own land, when the opportunity was offered them, is a clear proof that their condition in Babylonia and elsewhere was not one of oppression and sorrow, but rather a state of comparative ease and comfort. It confirms the view we have taken of the captives, as a sort of colonists in the empire of Babylon, getting their livelihood

there like other people, and some forming alliances in marriage with the neighbours among whom they dwelt. Still, however, as before intimated, patriotism and piety in Hebrew breasts would produce a deep yearning after the land of promise—of mystery and miracle—of angelic visitations and of Divine abode. Jerusalem in ruins would be still beautiful. Judea, though desolate, would still be glorious as Emmanuel's land; and here we think, and not in low temporal considerations, was to be found the motive which impelled the pilgrimage of the thousands who, at the end of the divine chastisements, wended their way to Zion—a circumstance, we would add, which shows that the remnant who went back to repair the waste places was composed of the men of strongest faith and bravest hearts.

We have not yet touched on the chronological question of the SEVENTY YEARS, nor can we now enter upon it at any length. As both the carrying captive and the return of the Jews were events involving a succession of circumstances, and as each of them covered a considerable period of time, some learned men have fixed upon one date as the commencement of the Captivity, and some on another; these authorities varying accordingly in opinion as to the date when the calamity might be said to close. It is remarkable that the destruction of the first temple was in 588 B.C., and the finishing of the second was in 516 B.C., thus giving just seventy years between the two events. But the conclusion in which we are disposed to concur is, that the seventy years commenced at the time when Jeremiah uttered his prophecy. It was in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, synchronizing with the fourth of Jehoiakim, king of Judah,* that the prophet declared: "Because ye have not heard my words, behold I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about," &c. "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." (See Jer. xxv. 8—11.)

In the same year, Daniel says that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came unto Jerusalem and besieged it; and he also informs us, it was at that time that he and his companions were

* Daniel, indeed, calls it the third year of Jehoiakim, but Dr. Hales has shown that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was partly the third, and partly the fourth of Jehoiakim; so that an event occurring in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign might be reckoned by some as the third, and by others as the fourth of Jehoiakim.

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taken away captive. Reckoning from this period, which Hales considers to be 605 B.C., the seventieth year current will correspond with 536 B.C., the epoch of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, and of his decree for the return of the Jews.† This corresponds with the account of Josephus, who identifies "the first year of Cyrus" with "the seventieth from the day of the removal of our people from their native land to Babylon."

Here, then, we have a plain fulfilment of prophecy, and one which of all others is the most convincing; because, in reference to the future, there is nothing more remote from human ken than the exact period of time when any line of events—such as those before us—shall have run out their course. And while the pillar of Divine prophecy stands at the head of that pathway of calamity, through which for seventy weary years we track the steps of the sinning Jews, the hand of Divine providence is no less plainly seen in the whole treatment of the nation. Nor should this chapter of Hebrew history be read as if it exhibited a phase of the Almighty's government belonging only to an age of miraculous or extraordinary interpositions. We miss the most important practical instructions of the annals of our holy bible, if we do not remember that the displays of righteousness and mercy they contain are not *exceptional*, but *representative*—representative of what the Lord and King of all the earth is ever doing among the children of men. To us, as well as to them, the story of Israel's chastisement speaks with a voice of warning, and shows how great privileges increase responsibility and aggravate punishment. It shows how in wrath he remembers mercy, and how he makes suffering a means of correcting his people. According to the beautiful words of the prophet, "He stayeth his rough wind in the day of his east wind. By this, therefore, shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged; and this is all the fruit—to take away his sin."

† From the commencement of the Captivity, 605 B.C., to the first of Cyrus, 536 B.C., is 69 years complete, or 70 years current. The Jews reckoned part of a day or year.

THE DELUGE—ITS EXTENT & ITS MEMORIALS.



It is only by a most vigorous exertion of the power of imagination, that we can invest distant events with anything like the interest that spontaneously arises in the case of those which occur near to us. *The whole of Pekin, for instance, might be*

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destroyed by fire, or swallowed up by an earthquake, and we should be incomparably less affected by the calamity than by the conflagration of a single dwelling in the street in which we happen to dwell. It is the same when the distance is not that of space, but of time. The disaster which befel us last week—even though the actual consequences of it may have ceased to operate for injury—influences us in every hope and fear, in each recollection of the past and anticipation of the future. Another event which happened years back, and at the time of its occurrence shook every fibre of our frame, is now nearly forgotten, or is thought of with indifference. We tremble even now while we hear the wild shrieks of the French Revolution of 1789, and the terrible pulsations of the guillotine; but we can call to mind the scenes of carnage which attended the destruction of ancient cities and empires, and our blood is hardly quickened in its flow! Nay more, a general interest is experienced in investigating the causes and the development of phenomena of which we are at present cognizant, while too much inattention prevails respecting those which are remote. Especially is this the case, if such objects of research are encumbered with difficulties, and enfolded within theories of interpretation which are false, and yet venerable because of their antiquity. For such wrappings must be stripped away, when the facts come to be reinterpreted under the advantages derivable from the light of more enlarged knowledge. Many of these obstacles have hitherto lain in the way of a popular elucidation of the subject of this tract. These we shall endeavour to surmount, as well as seek to present such a view of the whole subject as the present state of knowledge and science will permit. At the same time, we cannot pretend to disentangle it of all its bewilderments, or to throw light in every dark corner and intricate avenue. In some cases we shall be able only to state the difficulties, and offer what has been suggested by the ablest thinkers, leaving it to the judgment of our readers to decide upon the most reasonable and probable solution.

Had it not been for the use of letters, many of the great events now forming epochs in the world's history would, doubtless, have perished altogether from human memory. But we can well conceive that such a stupendous visitation as the destruction of the world by a flood of waters, would have left some imperishable traces of itself in the national traditions of mankind. For we well know that when written records fail as our guides

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he historic stream of ancient nations and races, we find uable guidance in their mythologies, and in a comparison eir languages. Indeed, we may frequently, by following apparently dim light, trace a people to their very fountain-, and see them on the very soil which gave them birth; yea, ay discover their primitive style of life, as agriculturists, mads, or as hunters, notwithstanding that they are now ed into many nations, each having its own distinctive mal character and varied kind of civilization. Much also is natically contained in the traditions and vocables of a le. Words in abundance are to be found among all the ns from the shores washed by the Atlantic to the Caspian and the Persian Gulf—among that people belonging to the : Indo-Germanic race—which prove that they were nally nursed in the same district, and that their present ities of tongues and dialects sprang from the same parent . So we apprehend that in many of the traditions, and, as learned men have contended, in the mythologies current g different people, vestiges are to be found of the deluge, vent which, at the first, “moved” the soul of the pious arch with “fear,” but afterwards was the means of enlarg- is acquaintance with God, and of strengthening his trust : over-ruling goodness and love.

r object will be, in the first instance, to ascertain what nce we have of the FACT of the deluge collateral with the d writings, and then to examine the question of its NATURE XTENT.

I.

Invaluable evidence of the truth of the scripture narrative nished by TRADITION. We might judge, *a priori*, that the deluge, the great fact would be interwoven for ages the thoughts which the postdiluvians entertained con- g God and his providential rule over the world; and that n objects, standing most prominent in their recollection e event—such as the ark, the water, the bow in the cloud, rhaps the raven and the dove—would be clothed with a of sacred interest. At length, some of these might even been worshipped, or, if they did not become actual objects rship, might have been associated with their devotions. e are assured by Mr. Bryant, in his “System of Ancient ology,” that “men repaired (for worship) in the first ages, : to lonely summits of mountains, or else to caverns as

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rocks, and hollows in the bosom of the earth, which they thought were the residence of the gods. At the entrances of these, they raised their altars and performed their vows. When they began to erect temples, they were still determined in the vicinity by these objects, which they comprehended within limits of their enclosure. These melancholy recesses were esteemed the places of the highest sanctity; and so great did this notion prevail, that, in after times, when the practice ceased, still the innermost part of the temple was denominated a cavern." Mr. Bryant attempts to show in his work, with amazing amount of learned labour, that the primitive gods of Egypt were eight in number; that they were the eight persons who were saved in the ark; and that almost all the heathen deities had, one way or another, reference to Noah.

This writer was followed by Mr. Faber, who strives to make out a case, with no less learning and ingenuity than his predecessor, that Noah was worshipped in conjunction with the sun, and the ark with the moon; and that these were the principal deities among the heathen. These laborious researches into the mythologies of the East, of Greece and Rome, were pursued with a similar design by Davies among the Celtic races with remarkable perseverance. The last labourer in this field was the Rev. J. V. Harcourt, whose "Doctrine of the Deluge" is more of a compilation from the preceding works than an original production. With respect to the general value of these works, excepting the latter, it may be remarked that they were written before any true principles had been applied to the study of ancient mythology, and before scarcely anything was known of the gods of Egypt. And more fatal still for these works, the science of comparative grammar not having been placed yet upon a true scientific foundation, their etymologies are consequently entirely without value. These remarks apply almost equally to "The Doctrine of the Deluge," because its author has, without proper discrimination, followed the earlier works of Bryant, Faber, and Davies. Etymology and mythology are, however, the two pillars on which the huge fabric of these authors rest. Their labours have been severely criticised, and their theories pronounced improbable, from the absurdity of supposing that all antiquity should be so "mad after Noah and the ark."

It has, however, on the other hand, been the opinion of the most accomplished scholars of our day, that traces of the flood

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waters are to be found mingled in various ways with the traditions of almost all ancient nations. Each national tradition having retained its own separate individuality, yet all at same time possessing certain characteristics in common, are circumstances which prove an identity of origin, analogous to unity of descent observable in the diversities of the human itself. The traditions of which we speak are to be dispersed among the Egyptians, the Hindoos, and the Persians; Greeks and Romans; the Celtic and other northern tribes; also among the Mexicans and Peruvians. We shall proceed to give a brief outline of some of these traditions, beginning with those found in the east.

The remarkable account that follows has been handed down through two different channels. One of them is Abydenus, who collected the main facts from the archives of the Medes and Babylonians, and whose account has been preserved by Eusebius. For the more full details, however, we are indebted to Berosus, who lived in the time of Alexander, and wrote a history of the Babylonians. He relates that a general deluge happened in the time of king Xisuthrus, who, like Noah, was the tenth in descent from the first created man. "Warned in a dream by Mercurius and Saturn of the approaching calamity, he was commanded to build an immense ship, and embark in it with his wife, his children, and his friends; having first furnished it with provisions, and put into it a number both of birds and four-footed animals. As soon as these preparations were completed, the flood commenced, and the whole world perished beneath its waters. After it began to abate, Xisuthrus sent out some of the birds, which, finding neither food nor resting-place, returned immediately to the ship. In the course of a few days he again sent out the birds, but they came back to him, having their feet caked with mud. The third time of his sending them, they returned no more. Concluding from this that the flood was ceasing, and the earth again appearing, he made an aperture on the side of the vessel, and perceived that it was approaching a mountain, on which it soon after rested, when he descended with his family, adored the earth, built an altar, and sacrificed to his gods. Xisuthrus having suddenly disappeared, his family heard a voice in the air which informed them that the country was Armenia, and directed them to return to Babylon."

In the writings of Sir William Jones, we have the version of the event as preserved among the Hindoos. "~~The destruction~~

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Hayagriva having purloined the Vedas from the custody of Brahma, while he was reposing at the close of the sixth Manwantara, *the whole race of men became corrupt, except the seven Rishis*, and Satyavata, who then reigned in Dravina, a maritime region south of Carnata. This prince was performing his ablutions in the river Critamala, when Vishnu appeared to him in the shape of a fish, and thus addressed his amazed votary. 'In seven days all creatures which have offended me shall be destroyed by a deluge, but thou shalt be secure in a capacious vessel, miraculously formed; take, therefore, all kinds of medicinal herbs, and esculent grain for food; and, together with the seven holy men, your respective wives, and pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear; thou shalt know God face to face, and all thy questions shall be answered.' Saying this, he disappeared; and after seven days the ocean began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to be flooded by constant showers, when Satyavata, meditating on the Deity, saw a large vessel moving on the waters. He entered it, and Vishnu, in the form of a fish, suffered the vessel to be tied with a great sea-serpent, as with a cable, to his measureless horn. When the deluge ceased, Vishnu slew the demon, recovered the Vedas, and instructed Satyavata in divine knowledge."

Proceeding from the East, the source whence these ancient traditions were derived, we arrive at Greece, and there we meet with the celebrated flood of Deucalion. This ancient story possesses so many points of similarity to the great event recorded in the scriptures, that we can scarcely doubt its being the same event preserved in both accounts. Deucalion was the son of Prometheus. He was king in Phthia. His wife was Pyrrha. After the ill-treatment which Zeus had received from Lycos, he resolved to destroy the wicked race of men upon the earth. Prometheus intreated Deucalion to build a ship, and carry into it stores of food. When Zeus sent a flood all over Hellas, which destroyed all its inhabitants, Deucalion and his wife alone were saved. The ship floated about for nine days, after which it landed on Mount Parnassus. Some accounts, however, state that a few other persons were likewise saved. When the waters had abated, Deucalion offered sacrifice to Zeus Phyxius, or the helper of fugitives; and, after this act of worship, Zeus sent Hermes to him to promise that he would grant any wish which Deucalion might make known. He prayed that God would restore the race of man. The tradition adds, that while Deucalion and

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his wife were in the sanctuary of Themis, the goddess bade them cover their heads as they walked away from the temple, and throw the bones of their mother behind them as they went along. They were greatly perplexed as to the signification of this singular request. They at length interpreted it to mean, that they were to throw stones behind them, the earth being frequently called their mother. When they proceeded to obey the goddess, according to this explanation of her request, those stones which were thrown by Deucalion sprang up into men, while those which were thrown by his wife were converted into women.

Though the preceding account of Deucalion's flood differs in many particulars from that of the sacred historian, yet the points of agreement are very remarkable. Both coincide in representing the deluge as a punishment of sin from God—in the salvation of a pair of human beings—in the ship or ark as a means of preservation—its resting upon a mountain—and in the sacrifice offered to God after the removal of the waters. Indeed, in most of these circumstances, *all* the traditions agree with more or less precision. And these points of agreement are the more important since they are almost the only incidents in which naturalness is preserved in the traditional accounts; while the discrepancies, on the other hand, are exactly those which are evidently the additions of human fancy. These latter being a departure from fact, there consequently could be no agreement among them. Strabo relates, that near the coasts of Phthistis there are two small islands of the name of Deucalion and Phthia. The author of "The Doctrine of the Deluge" would tell us that this was in commemoration of the fact that the ark, or mountain on which the ark rested, was surrounded by the waters of the deluge like an island. We must leave it to the judgment of our readers whether or not to accept such an interpretation of this circumstance, and numerous similar facts. To us, the whole theory which led Mr. Harcourt to attach such a meaning to this fact seems too fanciful, and the evidence on which it rests too uncertain, to warrant belief.

Before quitting Greece, we must just, in passing, record the beautiful reference to the promise and sign of which the bow is the symbol, contained in the Iliad. It is as follows:—

"Like to the bow, which Jove amid the clouds
Placed as a token to desponding man."

From the classic isles we turn to the ice-bound regions of the far north. "*The Crees*," says Dr. Richardson, who accompa-

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Franklin in his journey to the shores of the Polar sea, "spoke of a universal deluge, caused by an attempt of the fish to drown Woesachoolchacht, a kind of demigod, with whom they had quarrelled. Having constructed a raft, he embarked with his family, and all kinds of birds and beasts. After the flood had continued some time, he ordained several waterfowls to dive to the bottom; they were all drowned; but a musk rat having been dispatched on the same errand was more successful, and returned with a mouthful of mud."

Let us now leave the old world, in quest of what is to be discovered among the transatlantic tribes. And we shall be gratified by finding here some remarkable traces of this great catastrophe. The resemblance which these vestiges bear to those we found among the peoples of the old continents, serves to show that the inhabitants of the old and new worlds must have been nourished on the same soil, as members of the same original family, although they are now separated by vast seas and lands. In different parts of Mexico, the tradition varies in many of its particulars. Among some of the tribes, paintings are to be found representing the deluge. Some accounts state that a vulture was sent out of the ship, and that this bird, which preys upon dead flesh, did not return on account of the great number of dead carcasses with which the earth was strewn after it was dried from the deluge. It is further stated in some versions of the story, that a humming bird alone, out of many that were sent from the ship, returned with a branch covered with leaves in its beak. These birds differ from those mentioned in the scripture narrative, but the change is naturally enough made from birds unknown to such as were well known where the tradition prevails. These details were made known first by Pedro de los Rios, a Dominican monk, who in 1566 copied all the hieroglyphical paintings of Mexico he could procure. More recently they have been examined afresh by Humboldt.

The last-named distinguished traveller relates that on the savannas bounded by the Cassiquiare, the Oronoko, and the Rio Negro, there is now scarcely a trace of human habitation; yet rude figures, representing the sun, the moon, and different animals, are traced in the hardest rocks of granite. These carvings demonstrate the existence of tribes long since removed. By his intercourse with the natives themselves, and with intelligent missionaries, Humboldt learned that similar figures upon rocks abounded through a large district of the country,

particularly on the whole of the Eucaramada range of rocks. "The nations of the Tamanac race," says Humboldt, "who were the ancient inhabitants of these countries, have a *local* mythology and tradition relating to these sculptured rocks. Amalivaca, the father of Tamanac, that is, the creator of the human race (for every nation regards itself as the root of the other nations) arrived in a barque against the mountains of Eucaramada in the interior of the land. All mankind, or, to express myself better, all the Tamanacs were drowned, with the exception of one man and one woman, who saved themselves in a mountain near the banks of the Asiveru, called Cuchivero by the Spaniards. This mountain is the Ararat of the Armenian or Semitic nations, and the Tlaloe of the Mexicans. Amalivaca, sailing in his barque, engraved the figures of the sun and the moon on the *Pointed rock* of Eucaramada. Some blocks of granite piled upon one another and forming a kind of cavern, are still called the *house* or *dwelling* of the great forefather of the Tamanacs."

The Tamanacs account for the repeopling of the earth by saying, that a man and a woman saved themselves in the time of the great flood on a high mountain, called Tamanacu, situated on the banks of the Asiveru, and casting behind them, over their heads, the fruit of the mauritia palm-tree, saw the seed contained in those fruit produce the men and women who re-peopled the earth.

The hieroglyphic figures to which reference has just been made, being found at great heights on the walls of the rocks, the traveller concludes that the sculptors must either have been drawn up, or have stood on immense scaffolding erected in order that they might inscribe their figures thereon. Such suppositions are heard with smiles by the natives, who, from a great depth of self-complacency on account of their superior knowledge, illumine the darkness of the stranger by informing him that, at the period of the great waters, their fathers went to that height in boats! Humboldt states that these stories, thus related by the Tamanacs, were learned from the people who inhabited the same region before them, and that the name of Amalivaca is held in honour over an extensive region.

We conceive that these traditions of antiquity, which might easily be multiplied, collected from the most widely separated races of mankind, point with the highest degree of probability, and may we not say certainty, to that great event which is recorded in our *sacred scriptures*. The recent researches of

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Wilkinson, Lepsius, and Bunsen, have shown that Osiris, Thoth, and other Egyptian deities, are not, as have been asserted; different names for Noah; and that in the mysteries connected with their worship there is no reference whatever to the ark and to the flood. These deities are symbols of cosmological ideas, and of religious sentiments, which lie far deeper in the nature of man than the mere remembrance of the deluge. Thus the arguments of Mr. Bryant and his followers are rendered nugatory. But our reasonings drawn from *traditions* remain unshaken. We conclude this branch of our subject with the deeply suggestive words of Humboldt, which will be highly interesting to every thoughtful mind:—"Like certain families of the vegetable kingdom, which, notwithstanding the diversity of climate and the influence of heights, retain the impression of a common type, these traditions of nations display everywhere the same physiognomy, and preserve features of resemblance that fill us with astonishment. How many different tongues, belonging to branches that appear completely distinct, transmit to us the same fact! The bases of the traditions concerning races that are destroyed, and the renewal of nature, scarcely vary, though every nation gives them a local coloring. In the great continents, as in the smallest islands of the Pacific Ocean, it is always on the loftiest and nearest mountain that the remains of the human race have been saved; and this event appears the more recent, in proportion as the nations are uncultivated, and as the knowledge they have of their own existence has not a very remote date."

2. ARE THERE ANY TRACES OF THE ACTION OF THE DELUGE UPON THE EXISTING SURFACE OF THE EARTH? This question brings before us greater difficulties than any we as yet have had to encounter. While examining into the traces of the deluge among the traditions of antiquity, quite pleasantly to ourselves, we found the opinions of the learned were in harmony with popular notions and theories. On entering, however, upon the investigation of the *physical* foot-prints of the same event upon the surface and conformation of our globe, while we find the most perfect agreement among men of science—who alone are competent to form a correct opinion upon the subject—we fear that the popular mind is not at present fully prepared to hear their verdict. Until lately, it was usual, even with men of science, to ascribe ALL the organic fossil remains which were occasionally dug out of the earth to the action of the deluge.

How otherwise, in the imperfect state of knowledge which then prevailed, could they account for the existence of marine shells on the tops of the highest mountains, and far away from the ocean? or for the remains of animals of tropical climes embedded in the rocks of polar regions? They saw the evident action of water. *What* water could it be, if it were not that of the universal deluge? They proceeded a step further in their hasty conclusions. Many of these remains were taken from very great depths below the surface of the earth; it was, therefore, asserted that the earth, almost to its centre, had been disturbed by violent convulsions and upheavings beneath the waters, and by forcing eddies and rushing torrents. But when men ceased to theorize upon what they imagined to be fact, and betook themselves to the calm investigation of the phenomena, they found that these various deposits could not have been produced by any such violent convulsions as they had previously supposed; for the utmost *order* prevails in the deposits of shells and other remains. The various specimens of a cabinet are not more methodically and precisely arranged than are the successive strata of the earth. These must, therefore, have been formed by agencies which were slow and orderly in their operation. Nor is this order confined to such as lie near the surface; but it extends to the very lowest beds. These strata, it has been estimated, extend to the thickness of six miles in depth! The calculation has been conducted upon such a principle, that the result is no doubt tolerably near to the truth. It will not be supposed from this that any one has actually descended to that depth into the bowels of the earth; for the deepest mines are not greater than 2500 feet, and the average depth of the ocean is probably only about three miles.

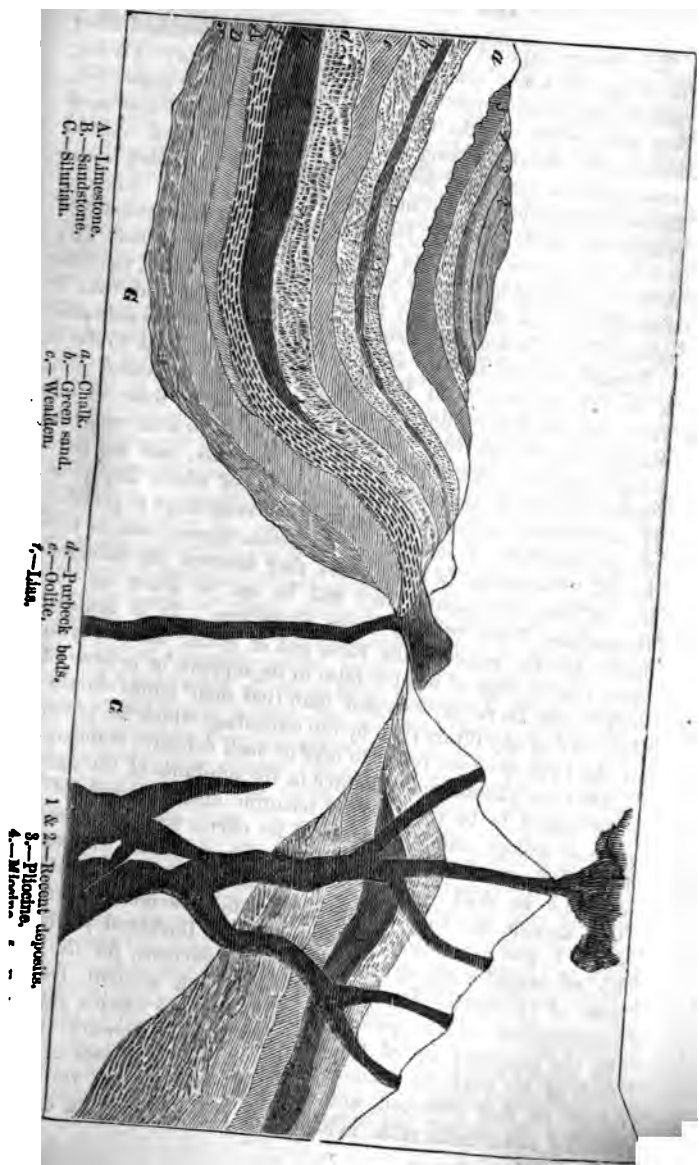
It must be understood that the various strata lie superimposed the one upon the other, like piles of books; or are arranged in concentric layers, similar to the flakes of an onion. Geologists divide the fossiliferous strata into three general periods: the *primary*, which is the oldest and lowest; the *secondary*, or intermediate; and the *tertiary*, or upper formation. Each of these consists of numerous subdivisions. Now it is a remarkable fact, that wherever these have been examined—and this has been the case in numerous parts of the globe—these series of stratification always occur in precisely the same order of succession. For the sake of making our remarks intelligible to our unscientific readers, we have given a kind of ideal section of the earth's crust.

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In this it may be seen how the different strata rest upon their foundation of granite—one of the unstratified rocks. Let *A, B, C*, represent three principal strata of the *primary*; *a, b, c, d, e, f*, six of the more common of the *secondary*; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, five of the *tertiary* periods; then, as we are informed by the geologist, there *never* is any transposition of this order of arrangement. That is to say, not only is *C* never in the place of *a*, or *f* in the place of 2 or 3; but 3 never precedes 4, or *c, d*; and so we might observe of all the possible changes of the rest. Sometimes, indeed, a particular stratum is missing; but the *disposition* of the series, when found, is always the same. It will be palpable, therefore, to the common sense of our readers, that if these deposits of strata, together with their fossil organic remains, had been formed by such violent agitations and upheavings as were once supposed to have attended the Noachian deluge, this orderly arrangement could never have taken place.

From an inspection of our section of the earth's crust, the reader may learn the manner by which the thickness of these various strata has been estimated. Each of the formations, from the highest to the lowest, in some parts of the globe, has been forced up to the surface by the violence of volcanic action; and the measurement of these, as they have presented their thickness to the surface, raised from their natural horizontal position to every degree of inclination to the perpendicular, has afforded a basis for calculation more or less correct. When we consider, therefore, this orderly deposition of strata, and that it extends in thickness to the depth of six miles over the whole globe, we may well ask whether it is *possible* that this could have been the work of one universal deluge, lasting only twelve months.

There is another class of facts equally fatal to the hypothesis of the present conformation of the earth's rind being the work of the deluge. There are about five distinct races of animals and plants, and these mostly of a tropical character, contained in these formations. Those remains which are found in the lowest strata all belong to the inferior tribes of organised beings. Higher up in the series we meet with remains of superior types—advancing towards existing species the higher we ascend. It must be especially remarked, that we find only an *approximation* to existing species. Now, had these fossil animal remains been the wreck of the deluge, as was once believed, how came the change of species to take place, from those which are found in these deposits to those which now exist on the earth?



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This theory requires the earth to have been replenished after the deluge by a *new creation*, instead of the previously existing races to have been perpetuated by those which were preserved. Nay more, where are the traces of the human beings who were destroyed? Surely, among the vast deposits of fossil animal remains which have been preserved, there must have been some traces of human bones. But such have never been found. And our readers will smile when we tell them what shifts the advocates of the theory we are combating were put to in order to meet this difficulty. It has been gravely asserted by some of them, that the antediluvians ate such highly peppered and heated food, that it rendered their bones more liable to rot than those of the animals!

Absurd as such notions seem to every one qualified to form a correct opinion upon the subject, it is to be feared that these exploded reasonings are still employed in some of our Sunday-schools and Bible-classes. Nor can these evils cease so long as popular commentaries on the scripture, and our textbooks, continue to supply the materials out of which they grow. If our children are taught to regard such reasonings as proofs of the great facts of scripture, a dangerous consequence is to be feared. For when, in after years, they discover the fallaciousness of such arguments, they will be apt to doubt the facts themselves, if not to deny them altogether. It is infinitely better for the cause of the Bible and of truth, that our youth should never hear of what is false in its support, or to hear of it only to see its fallacy exposed, than that their minds should be disturbed at any future time by the advantage which the enemies of the Bible are ever ready to take of such defective training.

After the phenomena presented in the substance of the earth's crust ceased to be regarded by scientific men as proofs of the general deluge, ample evidence of its effects was still thought to be left on the surface of the earth, in what was called *diluvium* or *drift*—consisting of sand, gravel, and boulders. This deposit lies immediately under the *alluvium* or surface-soil. It was as recently as 1823, that Dr. Buckland published his celebrated work, entitled *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, for the purpose of vindicating the truth of the Mosaic account, from a consideration of the present condition of the earth's surface. In the summing up of the evidence brought forward in the body of his work, he enumerates ten or twelve classes of facts which he had observed, and which to his mind, at the time, afforded insurmountable evidence of the truth of the deluge.

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"These facts," he says, "establish the universality of a recent inundation of the earth, as no difficulties or objections that have hitherto arisen are in any way sufficient to overrule." As many of his reasonings would make too great a demand upon the scientific knowledge of some of our readers, we shall venture to state only two of the most important.

The first proof is drawn from "the immense deposits of gravel that occur occasionally on the summit of hills, and almost universally in valleys over the whole earth, in situations to which no torrents or rivers, that are now in operation, could ever have drifted them." As an example of this class of facts, we may mention those huge blocks of granite which have been transported from the height of Mont Blanc to the Jura mountains. These could not have been moved from their parent mountain, which is the highest in Europe, had not that mountain been below the level of the water by which they were so transported.

The second proof is derived from the nature of the gravel, which is composed of the wreck of the neighbouring hills, and fragments apparently transported from distant regions. Professor Sedgwick has ascertained that the gravel on the summit of Gogmagog Hills, near Cambridge, and on the hills in the vicinity of Bedford, as well as that in the valleys, contain not only the wreck of chalk shells, but also fragments of almost every formation that occurs in England; amongst them he found the joint of a basaltic pillar, between one and two feet long! Let us follow some of these huge masses of stone from the point at which they were broken off from their original rock to the places where they are now found distributed, in some cases hundreds of miles distant. Starting from Wasdale Crag, near Shap, as the parent rock, let us suppose that by some at present unknown cause, these immense blocks were broken off. They have travelled over the steep ridge that extends from Orton Seat to Knipe Scar, and there they lie scattered upon the lowlands beneath. "Many of these blocks, however," says Professor Sedgwick, "have been floated to a height of several hundred feet above that rise, against the steep sides of the great Cross Fells-ridge; and in one or two places near Dafton the blocks almost cover the ground, and have been mistaken for the decomposing surface of the great mass of undisturbed granite." Other blocks from the same source, many of them of several tons weight, have taken a more easterly direction, and were pushed over the ridge of Stainmoor, and are diffused over the region of Yorkshire.

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Some have been driven over the Hambleton hills, and have been deposited in the valleys near Scarborough. Professor Sedgwick has found boulders from the same Wasdale Crag in the valley of Kent and the head of Morecombe Bay. The Professor then asks the astounding question : By what power were these erratic blocks scattered over the north of England, and lodged in positions that seem so utterly strange and anomalous? Although he *now* assigns them to an altogether different cause, yet he some few years ago, together with Dr. Buckland, would most enthusiastically have ascribed them to the action of the deluge, and would have seen therein a most conclusive proof of that catastrophe. But both these gentlemen have long since renounced their once fond conviction as no longer tenable. And now, strange to say, among the geologists of the present day, the opinion universally prevails, that there are *no* facts in their science which can be clearly referred to the scripture deluge!

This verdict was anticipated by Linnæus, who plainly stated it as his conviction that no proofs whatever of the deluge are to be discerned in the structure of the earth. Many of the objections which are of force against the hypothesis that the *three* great geological periods are to be ascribed to the deluge, apply with equal power against the supposition of the drift, or diluvium, being caused by that agency. There are proofs that the formation of the drift must have been anterior to the existence of the human race. For whilst the drift, or diluvium, contains numerous varieties of animal remains, even here are to be found no human relics.

Thus we have seen, by this brief review, one theory after another in succession displaced, as knowledge and science have advanced. First, *all* the strata of the earth, from the highest to the lowest, with their vegetable and animal remains—even after it became known that these extended to a vast depth beneath the surface of the earth—were almost universally looked upon as effects of the waters of the deluge. And although it seems to us almost incredible that scholars and *savans* have conceived that the waters of the deluge could have deposited their traces so deeply in the earth's interior, and that they could have left shells and bones embedded in the hardest rocks; yet a vague supposition of currents and upheavings enabled them to silence alike the objections of others, and such as must have arisen in their own minds. This theory at length gave place to a *second*, which was advocated by Sharon Turner and others.

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By this, it was supposed that the *primary* and *secondary* series were formed during the period intervening between the creation and the deluge, and that the *tertiary* formation alone was to be ascribed to the flood. As this theory was open to all the objections of the first, and introduced new ones, it did not gain much acceptance. A third, which seemed to be based upon a scientific induction of facts, was regarded for a time as ultimate. This was the theory of *drift*, or *diluvium*, as expounded by Dr. Buckland and other eminent men. But this was finally abandoned; and the verdict has now been given, that *no* traces of the action of the waters of the deluge are to be discovered on the general surface of the globe. Our readers will naturally inquire, If the quantities of drift, scattered over such large portions of the earth, are not the effects of the universal deluge—to what agency are they to be ascribed? It would lead us too far astray from our subject, if we were to attempt a reply to this question. We refer those who desire information on this matter to the works on geology by Lyell, Richardson, and others.

II.

In speaking of the *causes* of the deluge, we shall refer only to those antecedents which are sometimes—and perhaps improperly—termed *secondary* causes. We shall take it for granted, that all who read these pages are agreed as to the close connexion existing between the spiritual and the physical worlds. The frequent coincidence of great crises in the spiritual world—or, if our readers like it better, in the moral and spiritual history of our race—with great events in the outer world, or nature, has been remarked by the most profound historians, both of ancient and modern times. The relation between these is too subtle for us always to trace out; and we oftentimes err, when we observe certain facts in the physical hemisphere, in determining what are the corresponding ones in its spiritual counterpart. In the scriptures, however, we find the veil occasionally lifted, and are able to see these two departments of God's universe mutually operating upon each other—the facts of the one correctly classed with the related facts of the other. Thus, when God “saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually; the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air.” The physical calamity

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is thus referred to the wickedness of man, as its corresponding fact in the spiritual hemisphere. But our purpose, as we stated, is not to deal with supersensuous facts; but with such as come within the cognizance of our faculties of sense.

A more curious history can hardly be conceived, than that which might be written of the various theories that have been framed to account for the Mosaic deluge. How men—and really great men too—would speculate, and weave out of their fancies hypotheses upon this subject, is one of the most singular instances of the manner in which the intellect worked before the true method of induction was applied by science. A brief summary of some of these notions will be appropriate here. Dr. Burnet, in his "Theory of the Earth," maintained that, previously to the deluge, the rind of the earth was perfectly round and equal, without mountains and valleys, and destitute of seas, and that enclosed within this crust was an abyss of water. This outer crust in the course of time was heated by the sun, and became dry and chinky, until, by the expansion of the water beneath, it burst and fell into the abyss, and thus drowned its inhabitants. The mountains, gulfs, and other inequalities of the present face of the earth, he explains by the tumbling together of the ancient crust. And the present ocean he conceived to have been formed by that portion of the water which could not make its escape into the interior abyss. He, like many of his followers, who enlarged upon his system, was driven to this extraordinary supposition, because he could not otherwise account for a sufficient quantity of water to envelope the whole globe to the height of the highest mountain-tops. He calculated that, to accomplish this, it would require a body of water equal to eight times that of our existing oceans and seas!

The hypothesis of Mr. Ray was somewhat similar, excepting that he supposed the escape of the water from the internal sea to have been caused by the shifting of the earth's centre, and so drawing after it the water out of its channels.

The notions of the earth's form entertained by Dr. Halley were essentially the same; but, astronomer-like, it was more in his line to account for the issue of the water from its secret reservoir by the shock of a comet, whereby, he conceived, the polar and diurnal rotation of the earth was instantly changed. "The great agitation," he says, "that must have been occasioned by it in the sea, would be sufficient to account for all those strange appearances of heaping vast quantities of earth, and

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high cliffs upon beds of shell which were once at the bottom of the sea, and raising up mountains where none existed before. Such a shock as this, impelling the solid parts, would occasion the waters, and all fluid substances that were unconfined as the sea is, to run violently with an impetus to that part of the earth where the blow was received, and that with force sufficient to take with it the very bottom of the ocean, and remove it to the land." It is surprising a mind like that of Dr. Halley did not perceive that, in this case, the difficulty is not so much in understanding how all creatures were destroyed, as how Noah and his family could possibly have been *preserved*. Moreover, such a shock would have brought an instantaneous deluge; whereas we are informed that it was gradual.

This ingenious theory was followed with various modifications by Whiston, in his work entitled, "A New Theory of the Earth." The writer of this treatise first propounded his views hypothetically; but afterwards, upon calculating that the comet of 1680 actually appeared on the 28th of November, B.C. 2349, he published his tract with the title, "The cause of the deluge *demonstrated*."

Sir H. Englefield communicated to Dr. Geddes the following solution of the difficulty, which was subsequently published by the learned doctor in his "Critical Remarks on the Deluge." "The diameter of the earth," he says, "is about 8000 miles, and the highest mountain is four miles above the level of the sea. The quantity of water requisite to cover them would be a hollow sphere 8008 miles in diameter and four miles in thickness; in round numbers 800,000,000 cubic miles. Let us now suppose the globe of the earth to consist of a crust of solid matter 1000 miles thick, including a sea, or body of water, 2000 miles deep, within which is a central nucleus of 2000 miles in diameter; the contents of that body of water will be 109,200,000,000 cubic miles, or about 137 times the quantity of water required to cover the surface of the earth. Now, water expands at about one twenty-fifth of its whole magnitude from freezing to boiling, or one-hundredth for 45 deg. Fahrenheit. Suppose, then, the heat of the globe previously to the deluge was about 50 deg. Fahrenheit, a temperature very near this climate; and that a sudden change took place in the interior of the globe which raised it to 83 deg.—a heat no greater than marine animals live in, in the shallow seas between the tropics;—those 23 deg. of augmented heat would so expand the internal sea, as to cause it "

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more than cover the surface of the globe. If the causes of heat ceased, the waters would return to their original condition."

It is perfectly amazing that in the nineteenth century any such monstrous suppositions should have been held even by a solitary thinker; yet this anomaly presented itself in the late Rev. W. Kirby, the celebrated entomologist, and author of one of the "Bridgewater Treatises." He advocated the notion, not only that there existed a subterranean abyss of water, but also a subterranean "metropolis of animals," where the huge leviathans, the gigantic saurians, dug out of the rocks by the geologist, still survive! These extraordinary opinions he attempted to prove from texts of scripture.

Mr. King and De Lue developed other theories, which were afterwards adopted and modified by Grenville Penn and Fairholme. The two latter gentlemen supposed that between the creation and the deluge—a period of about 1656 years—all the present fossiliferous rocks of our continents—which we have seen are more than six miles in thickness—were deposited at the bottom of the ocean. By the flood they were raised from beneath the waters, and the previous continents sunk down and disappeared; so that the land now inhabited was formerly the ocean-bed, and the present oceans were then land. But if we maintain that the present continents are not the same as existed before the deluge, then we shall be compelled to deny the account which is given in Genesis respecting Eden. The latter alternative was accepted by Mr. Penn and Mr. Fairholme.

Other thinkers, on the other hand, have felt that the speculations of these philosophers have imposed too heavy a tax upon their credulity; but being unable to supply their place with such as would be less unreasonable, they at once, and very unceremoniously, cut the knot. They regarded the subject as out of the range of scientific inquiry, and referred the whole operation of the universal deluge to Divine omnipotence alone. Their supposition implied the immediate creation, by the Almighty fiat, of the requisite quantity of water for the occasion; which, according to Dr. Burnet, we have seen was equal to about eight times that contained in our ocean beds. But this, in truth, is not all. If we admit this mode of solution, then this miracle requires the supposition of a series of attendant miracles of so stupendous a character as would throw the fabulous miracles of the Hindoo mythology entirely in the shade. The addition of *such a vast* quantity of water to the earth's mass would so

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increase its weight, that it would disarrange the whole of the solar system, in which our globe is balanced with such beautiful precision. Not only would it require the readjustment of the relative distances of all the bodies composing our solar system; but a like rearrangement must be extended to the whole of our starry cluster; yea, doubtless, to all the nebulae systems likewise. Then, again, as this addition of water to the volume of our globe was designed to be for a temporary period only, to attain a specific object, it must have been *annihilated* as soon as the purpose for which it was sent had been answered. But this creation of new matter, and its subsequent annihilation, is contrary to all our knowledge of what takes place, or has taken place, in the physical universe. It is not probable that, since this stupendous system of worlds came first from the hands of its Maker, a single atom has ever been added to or taken away from the sum of the whole. In popular language, we say a thing is destroyed when it is only burnt. It is destroyed only as that particular thing. Every particle of which it is composed remains. The *form* only is changed; the *substance* still exists. This consideration, together with the overwhelming magnitude of the attending miracles which would be necessary, apply with irresistible force against the hypothesis that the waters of the deluge were created by an act of omnipotence, and subsequently extinguished by the Almighty will. And, especially so, when the whole may be accounted for by simpler and more rational means.

Nor does the impossibility of conjecturing whence a sufficient quantity of water to submerge the globe could have been derived, constitute the sole difficulty. Another arises, which is equally formidable. If the entire globe had been enveloped in liquid for 380 days, then the whole of the animal and vegetable worlds, excepting those preserved in the ark, must have been destroyed. We remember a learned Professor being once asked, "whether he thought *all* the animals were destroyed by the flood?" "Yes," was his unhesitating reply. His interrogator continued—"And the fishes too?" "Why—no—not the fishes," was his hesitating answer. But we are prepared to maintain, that most species must have perished, if the deluge had covered the whole globe. For if the water, supposed to have been created, was salt, it is plain that the fresh water species must have died; but if the added water had been fresh, then *all*, both salt and fresh water species, must have been des-

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In this case, those species which had thus become extinct must have been recreated; for we do not read that any of the finny tribes walked two and two into the ark to be preserved.

Other difficulties, of a similar nature, beset us when we give credence to the idea of the destruction of all the races of animals and vegetables upon our world. Some of these are stated with such force and brevity by Dr. Pritchard, that we cannot do better than quote from him. "There must," he says, "have been several centres of creation, from which the animals and plants radiated only so far as the climate and food were adapted to their natures, except a few species endowed with the power of accommodating themselves to all climates. Certain it is they are now so disposed; and it is inevitable death for most species to venture beyond certain limits. If tropical animals and plants were to migrate to the temperate zone, and especially to the frigid regions, they could not long survive. We have reason to suppose that the ark was constructed in some part of the temperate zone. Suppose the animals of the torrid zone, at the present day, to attempt, by natural means, to reach the temperate zone, who does not know that all must perish?"

Another class of facts, which tell against the hypothesis of the *universality* of the Noachian deluge, has been urged with much force by the late Dr. Pye Smith, derived from the actual existence, at the present moment, of many individual trees, in Africa and America, which are proved to have been growing from a period long prior to the flood. These could not have survived that event had they been covered with water for the space of time during which the waters are said to have prevailed upon the earth. It is now commonly known, that the age of trees may be ascertained from the number of rings formed concentrically around the pith, a new one being added every year. Individual trees are still living, which, according to this method of calculation, have been growing from a date anterior to the deluge. De Candolle, in his *Physiologie Végétale*, assigns the age of the baobab of Senegal at 5230 years, and the taxodium of Mexico at from 4000 to 6000 years. These calculations have since been confirmed by Professor Henslow.

Further, there is a district in the southern part of France, more than forty miles in length and twenty in breadth, comprised in the ancient provincial divisions of Auvergne and Languedoc. In this district are a vast number of extinct volcanoes. The peculiar interest belonging to this region arises

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from the circumstance that it never has been submerged beneath the sea, or any other body of water, throughout the entire period of its geological and geographical structure, during which it has undergone a great succession of changes. The great antiquity of these cones of land is demonstrated from the fact that since the activity of the volcanoes has ceased, rivers have worn for themselves new channels; some of them having, during a long course of ages, cut a way for themselves through masses of columnar basalt of no less than 150 feet in thickness, and have even penetrated into the granite rocks beneath. But the most conclusive evidence of the remoteness of the period at which the cone and lava of Tartaret (one of these volcanoes, which has been most minutely examined) originated, is derived from the age to which the bone deposit immediately under the lava belongs. It was stated by Mr. C. Lyell, in a paper read at the Royal Institution in April, 1847, that over these deposits have been poured a mass of lava to the thickness of 30 feet. Mr. Owen examined some of these animal remains for Mr. Lyell, and recognised among them the *Equus fossilis*, and others of extinct species. Mr. L. thinks it probable "that the deposits of red argillaceous sand, under the lava, containing these remains, were derived chiefly from volcanic matter, which the eruption of Tartaret threw out, and that the fossil animals perished by floods occasioned by that outburst." Now, since these volcanic cones consist of pumice-stone and other loose and light substances, "it is self-evident," says Dr. Smith, "that these could not have withstood the action of a flood: they must have been broken down and washed away with the first rush of water."

But those who are determined to maintain their opinions in the face of all sound reasoning, will, doubtless, meet all the objections we have hitherto brought forward, by referring the whole to miraculous interference. Can they, however, with a brave face, resort to that mode of escape from the following problem: how to provide for the pairs and septuples of all the species of animals, birds, and reptiles, together with food, &c., for each, within a vessel not more than 450 feet long by 75 feet broad and 45 feet high! Those arithmeticians who lived a little nearer to the antediluvians than we do, reckoning the species at about 300 or 400, did not see the problem in its true dimensions. But zoologists of our times state, that the number of *species* of living creatures is more than half a million! On the authority of the fifth edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," we give

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the following approximate estimate of the number of species living creatures at present in existence;—

	Species.		Sp
Mammalia	1000	Conchylia and naked }	5
Birds	6000	Molusca	560
Reptiles and amphibious }	1500	Insects	2
animals		Vermes, &c.	2
Fishes	6000	Zoophytes, &c.	2

Besides these, there exist innumerable hosts of infus. Will any one believe that the pairs and septuples of all the species could have been provided for, together with suit food for each, in an ark the size we have described, for time they were destined to be located therein? But unless could have been the case, the deluge could *not* have been versal, and, therefore, the whole of the animal creation *not* have been destroyed.

Surely when such a formidable army of objections, nay, possibilities, rise up against us, it is time that we begin to what we should have done before—and that is, simply inquire, whether the word of God really demands of us the b that the deluge was universal. Are we wise in shutting eyes against sound inquiry, and regarding it beforehand settled thing? Are we so sure that we have arrived at right meaning of God's book? Especially is it incumbent t us to consider this question calmly and patiently, since th one of the objections made by the infidel denier of the fa the deluge. "We see no apparent necessity for a unive deluge," he says, "when the same result might have l accomplished by a partial one." It would not comport v our limits to do more than cite two or three authorities show that the opinion of the *universality* of the deluge was only doubted, but even denied, by pious men and biblical positors long before modern geologists began to methodize t facts into a science.

"No reason obliges us," says the learned Vosius, "to ext the inundation of the deluge beyond the bounds which v inhabited; yea, it is altogether absurd to aver that the effe a punishment inflicted upon mankind only, should exten those parts where no man lived. Although we should, therel believe that part of the earth only to have been overflowed water which we have mentioned, and which is not a hundre part of the terrestrial globe, the deluge will nevertheless *universal*, since the destruction was universal, and overwhel

the whole habitable earth." Again: "I see no urgent necessity from scripture to assert," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "that the flood did spread over all the surface of the earth. That all mankind, those in the ark excepted, were destroyed by it, is most certain, according to scripture. The flood was universal as to mankind; but from thence follows no necessity at all of asserting the universality of it as to the globe, unless it be sufficiently proved that the whole earth was peopled before the flood, which I despair of ever seeing proved." Further: "It is not to be supposed," writes Matthew Poole, "that the entire globe was covered with water. Where was the need of overwhelming those regions in which there were no human beings? It would be highly unreasonable to suppose that mankind had so increased before the deluge as to have penetrated to all the corners of the earth. It is indeed not probable that they had extended beyond the limits of Syria and Mesopotamia."

If we turn away from these mere human authorities to the word of God itself, we shall find ourselves—with one exception, to which we shall presently refer—absolutely relieved from all difficulty upon the subject, simply by applying a canon of interpretation to the history of the deluge which we are obliged to apply in numberless other cases, in order to avoid contradictions and absurdities. The canon to which we refer is, that we should frequently understand only a large amount in number and quantity, when *universal* terms are employed.

We stated that there was one difficulty in the scripture narrative, which the application of this rule of scripture interpretation would not meet. The sacred historian states, that on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat. Now, if the ark rested upon the mountain which now goes by that name in Armenia, and if that mountain was really covered with water, it is evident that it could have been no partial deluge. An inundation which rose to the height of 17,700 feet, must, by its flux and efflux, have overspread all other portions of the globe. We shall adopt the same method of approach to this as we have done to several other difficulties in these pages, and inquire if ancient authorities are uniform in opinion about the locality of the ark's resting-place. In doing this we shall find that an agreement has by no means prevailed upon this subject. Jerome bears testimony to the fact that Ararat was a name given *generally* to the mountainous region of Armenia, and *not* to any particular mountain. The *Mosaic*

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account states, that the ark reated "*upon the mountains of Ararat*"—and not upon one particular mountain, according to the popular notion. All the Greek interpreters render the Hebrew word Ararat, by the name *Armenia*. The Vulgate translates the terms, *Montes Armeniæ, Terra Armeniorum*.*

Suckford suggested that some locality more easterly coincides better with the scripture account of the place where the ark rested; for it is said that the families of the sons of Noah, as they journeyed from the east, found a plain in the land of Shinar. Gen. xi. 2. But Shinar, which corresponds with Babylonia, lies nearly south of the modern Ararat. It is, therefore, probable that the true resting-place of the ark lies further south. This harmonises well with several traditions.

Bryant quotes a part of the song of the Sybil: "On the frontiers of black Phrygia rises a lofty mountain called Ararat." It is a remarkable fact that the Phrygian city, called Apamea, was anciently named Cibotus, which signifies, in Greek, an ark, and is the very word employed by the LXX, and also by the apostle, to designate the ark (Heb. xi. 7; 1 Pet. iii. 30). All over this region are found remarkable memorials of the deluge. A medal, or coin, of Phillip the Elder was struck at this place, which bears on its reverse a representation of the ark, with a bird bearing the olive branch in its beak. The name Noe, which is the Greek for Noah, is seen written on the rude vessel represented as floating in water. This coin receives additional interest from the custom which prevailed of embellishing



* In Jer. ii. 27, Ararat is named where evidently Armenia is meant.

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ancient coins with figures which related to the traditions and mythologies of the place where they were struck. And on the authority of Mr. Bryant we learn that there was a tradition that the ark itself rested upon the hill of Celænæ, where the city of Cibotus was founded.

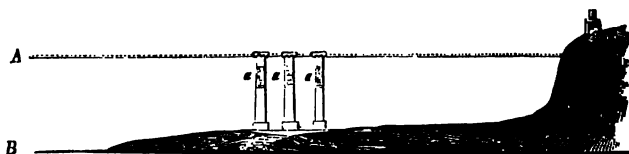
Before we leave the subject of Ararat, we must refer to another objection, urged with great force by Dr. Pye Smith, against the notion that the mountain which now goes by that name was the true resting-place of the ark. It is argued by this eminent biblical scholar that it would have been impossible for Noah and his family to have made a descent from that mountain. An ineffectual attempt to ascend the loftiest peak of Ararat, which rises far above the limits of eternal snow, was made by Tournefort in the year 1700. The Turkish pasha of Bayazeed subsequently fitted out an expedition, and built huts at various stations, supplied with provisions; but his people suffered so much amidst the snows and masses of ice, and were unable to endure the rarified atmosphere of that altitude, that they were obliged to abandon the project. An ascent, however, was made by Dr. Parrot in 1829. He published an account of his enterprise some time afterwards. We have had our minds lately familiarized with the perils attending an ascent of Mont Blanc, but this mountain is not so lofty as the Armenian Ararat by near 2000 feet! When we remember, moreover, that for about 5000 feet this mountain is covered with perpetual snow, can we conceive the possibility of the descent of four men and four women, together with all the animals enclosed within the ark, without having recourse to another miracle? Nor are we helped in the matter by supposing the ice and snow all dissolved by the waters of the flood, for in that case the precipitous pinnacles and naked rocks would have been exposed, from which the difficulties, if possible, would have been increased. The safer plan will be to refrain from fixing upon any particular mountain, until more decisive evidence is adduced; and to keep to the simple terms of scripture, which speaks of the ark resting upon "*the mountains of Ararat*," by which is signified, as we have seen, the mountains of Armenia.

It has been questioned by a learned biblical scholar, in Dr. Kitto's "*Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*," whether the *resting* of the ark is to be understood in the sense of *grounding*, as is generally supposed. And we think there is great force in his remarks. He conceives that the ark was greatly tossed and driven

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been abundantly sufficient to have introduced that awful catastrophe, are precisely similar to many that have been in activity in more recent times, and such as are in operation at this moment in many parts of the earth. Sir C. Lyell has arrived at the conclusion, from observations which he himself has made, that a great portion of Sweden stood higher above the sea at the period of his last visit than it did twenty or thirty years before. It is well known that the frequent effect of earthquakes is to cause oscillations and changes of level. The visitations of 1822 and 1835 along the whole coast of Chili, from the Andes far out to the sea, comprising an area of 100,000 square miles, are to be ascribed to this cause; the effect of which was to raise the level on the north side two feet higher above the high-water mark; and on the north side to leave it two feet lower than it was previously to the catastrophe.

But the most remarkable phenomenon, and one which will best serve to illustrate some of the causes which produced the Mosaic deluge, is the submergence and the subsequent elevation of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Serapis, in the bay of Baia, near Naples. This temple was erected long before the commencement of the Christian era. A marble column was dug up in the neighbourhood, on which was carved an inscription which dates as far back as 105 B.C. All that now remains of the fabric, beside the pavement, is several pillars, each about forty feet in height. The surface of these pillars is smooth and uninjured to the height of twenty feet above their pedestals. Above that altitude, upwards for about nine feet, there are remarkable perforations of considerable size and depth. On examination, these piercings were found to have been formed by a species of marine perforating bivalve, *Lithodomus*. These *Lithodomi* live only in the sea, and bore their habitations in calcareous rocks.



A, B, The two different sea levels. a, a, a, The Perforations made when submerged.

From this, and other facts which we need not here detail, it has been demonstrated that these columns have, since their erection,

been submerged beneath the sea to a depth above these perforations, or equal to thirty feet. And they must have retained this position for a great length of time before they were again raised to their present level above the sea. And so gently and gradually must these successive alterations of the level of the land have taken place, on which these pillars stand, that they have been only slightly declined from the perpendicular.

We need, then, only to conceive of similar causes to these being brought into activity, to be followed by similar effects in the region of Syria and Mesopotamia, and we have all that we require to explain the great deluge of waters which destroyed the race of man. And it has been proved that the whole of that locality abounds with traces of volcanic action. May we not then give an unhesitating affirmative to the question so forcibly put by Professor Sedgwick, in one of his letters to Humboldt: "If we have the clearest proofs of great oscillations of natural level, and have a right to make use of them, while we seek to explain some of the latest phenomena of geology, may we not reasonably suppose that, within the period of human history, similar oscillations have taken place in those parts of Asia which were the cradle of our race, and may have produced that destruction among the earlier families of man which is described in our sacred books, and of which so many traditions have been brought down to us through all the streams of ancient history?" A calm consideration and review of the whole subject has brought us to the conclusion, that if we admit the theory which we have now been explaining and illustrating, we have all the facts of geological science on one side; but if we deny it, then they are all against us.

All that now remains to complete our argument is, to ascertain if such natural operations as we have described would have manifested themselves during their activity in a manner that would harmonise with the brief but very graphic language of the sacred writer. Let us suppose, then, either the bed of that inland sea which we have seen once existed to the north of Syria or Mesopotamia, or that of the Indian ocean, to have been gradually elevated by volcanic action; then, in the first case, the waters would gradually have submerged the plain to the south, and, in the second case, a similar effect would have followed; for a rise of water must immediately have taken place in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, which would have gradually swollen *in the great valley* of the Jordan and of the river

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Euphrates, and have been followed by the inundation of the low lands and plains south of the high table mountains of Syria and Armenia.

We can scarcely conceive of more appropriate language to describe these phenomena than that employed by the historian, when he says, "all the fountains," or "fountains," as we read in the margin, "of the great deep were broken up." This is precisely how the thing would have appeared to the senses of those who witnessed the scenes. And the style of scripture language, when speaking of the deluge of nature, is not according to scientific accuracy, but according to the way they appear to the senses.

Other natural phenomena would have attended these wonderful subterranean agencies. For instance, as is well known," says a distinguished geologist, "that in volcanic eruptions, drenching rains are often the result of the condensation of the aqueous vapour." In addition to these, therefore, to the rains which visit our earth from ordinary causes, we may suppose the inundation occasioned by the breaking up of "all the floodgates of the great deep," to have been attended with extraordinary rains from the condensation of vapour emitted from the bubbling, boiling, and seething volcanoes—fully justifying the strong metaphorical language, "the windows of heaven were opened." And these processes would also continue as long as the causes were in action, until the high lands and mountain-tops of the district would be completely covered from human sight.

Thus, in the foregoing pages, we have not appealed to the fancies of our readers, but to their reason and judgment. We have exercised no ingenious arts of exposition, but have placed the phenomena of the awful event and the statements side by side; and we think it cannot but be obvious that the language of Moses exactly corresponds to these phenomena, when he says that "all the floodgates of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."

THE EXODE: OR, ISRAEL'S DEPARTURE FROM EGYPT.



A dark day for Egypt was that which dawned after the
nightr of the first-born. No sooner had the earliest rays
the sun fallen on the land, than Aaron and myself were
road. The sights that we saw and the sounds that we heard
led our hearts with deep sorrow; and as the hours went on,

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disclosing to us more and more of the terror of that b
felt ourselves weighed down as with an oppressive lo
entire population was in a state of intense excitem
dismay. Fathers and brothers ran to and fro in wilk
ment. Mothers and daughters beat their breasts, t
hair, and threw dust on their heads. Ever and anon,
piercing shrieks burst forth from some Egyptian h
then straightway there rushed from the door a franti
of whom one exclaimed, "He is dead! My son, my f
my only son, has been smitten in the night, and I knew

The words of this Egyptian mother were taken up
neighbour, also bereaved, who was bearing from her l
dead child, nestling it in her bosom as if she would :
to life by the kindling warmth of her fondest love. '
and passionate grief of that woman had in it someth
lime, and for a moment or two rivetted my attention. '
she exclaimed—"what is your woe compared with
Saying these words, she looked at her child sudden
stopped, and fixed her eyes on the child's features ;
bent her ear toward the child's mouth, and seemed for s
as if she had caught the sound of a breathing ; next
down, and pressed her face close to the child's face ; s
fixed her eyes on its frame, as if she would look into i
then she put her hand there—first gently, then with
"He is not dead!" she suddenly shouted, with inde
delight ; "no, he is not dead ; not a bruise, not a mark
and sweet is he as when I put him into his cradle l
by my own bedside ; he cannot be dead. Wake, d
wake! Yet, oh, Ra! he is cold, how cold ; ah! that t
chilled my heart. What! is he indeed gone? and yet
tiful. Is this death? Whence then the blow? And v
hand? It cannot be." She again listened for a bre
listened long—but, alas! listened in vain. At length sh
seized by the conviction that her beloved infant was i
more. Then she placed him on the back of a sphin
which she was, and stood bending over him, while :
floods of silent tears, interrupted only by sobs, whic

* Reference is here made to the slaying of the first-born in every Egyp
as narrated in the tract entitled, "The Plagues of Egypt." For the circ
under which this narrative is supposed to be recited, and the persons t
was addressed, see the explanation in page 27.

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terance. After indulging for a while in this quiet grief at once started from her stupor, and burst into an agony row, uttering wailings, now low enough to reach the ears of the dead, and now shrill enough to pierce the skies. Lamentations of this afflicted mother, however, were soon drowned in the noisy torrent of grief that came up, and on by in a wide and unbroken succession of mourning, who hurried along, rushing hither and thither with demonstration of distress, as if movement gave relief, and each one's own misery were abated by hearing the calamities of others. More quickly than I can describe the event, the whole city was alive, swarming with woe-begone counsellers, all hurrying to the chief temple, to seek there the place which, as they imagined, could be found nowhere else. A huge multitude pass up the long avenue, and press toward the entrance, when the frantic crowd of a sudden divided as if a gulf had opened before them. What was the result? A band of priests, clad in long white robes, appeared on a platform before the hall of pillars, chanting a dirge in the most solemn and lugubrious tones, the burden of which was, "Woe! woe to the land! Ra and Thom are prostrate in dust!" Then suddenly the strain changed into the wildest lament, and, "Victims! victims! to appease the offended deities," burst from their lips. The demand met with no success. Already victims enough, the people seemed to feel, perished, and the requirement of human blood for an expiement converted their grief into fury; they rushed on the priests, trampled them down under their feet, and pouring into the temple, broke in pieces the images of stone, alike of gods and kings. The outbreak, thus began, ran like flame over the whole city, and spread around with almost the rapidity and destructiveness of lightning, defacing monuments, destroying temples, and, in a word, sparing nothing sacred. Priests were fleeing in all directions; religious books perished in the flames; the holy animals wandered at large. When universal destruction seemed imminent, the king appeared, and, at the head of his chosen troops, restored some order by the effusion of his blood.

These terrible scenes, which passed under my own eyes at On, (Heliopolis), were enacted as well in other cities as in Ramesses. The statue of the famous monarch who was its founder

THE EXODE: OR, ISRAEL'S

was subjected to gross indignities, and almost levelled the dust.

The confusion afforded a favourable opportunity for our ture, by which I failed not to profit to the utmost. and distressed though I was to witness those sorrows, I y not help lifting my heart in gratitude to Him whose a hand had struck the blow; nevertheless, in no way wholly relieve my heart from apprehension, so often I nephthes broken his word, and so firmly set against or ation was the will and determination of the priests; a now I cannot but think that we should not have been p to go forth, had not Jehovah proved the nullity of the E divinities, by laying their images low, even in the seats majesty and power. When, however, those lying vaniti prostrate in the dust, and even their worshippers pour contempt on their broken and helpless shapes, then wa with his own lips the Almighty said, "Against all the Egypt I will execute judgment; I am Jehovah:" * and h who can withstand?

In hope of being the instrument in God's hands of a the liberation of my people, according to his revealed ; I had long been engaged in making preparations. The t arduous, and required the strictest secresy and circums as well as constant care.

The people had rapidly and greatly increased. Fo years everything conduced to their increase. The s favourable; the land was abundant; the flocks and th multiplied; a generous diet augmented the natural vi the Hebrew temperament, to which the change of t seemed to give an extraordinary impulse. Then, the in which Joseph so long stood at court shed its benig: ence on his fellow countrymen, who from a family gr a clan, and from a clan into a nation. As one of the of that favour, intermarriage with the natives of the became only too easy; our young men each took to the several Egyptian wives; and the mixture of the race those unions very prolific. Soon did the people cover tl Such was their growth and expansion, that they seemed to supplant the half effete Egyptians. The fear was Pharoah's palace, and was the ground of the persecuti

* Exod. xii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 4.

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endured. Exaggerated, doubtless, were the words of Miamun—exaggerated expressly to excite his subjects against us—nevertheless they had a broad foundation of truth: “Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we.” *

The nature, extent, and consequences of this increase tended to loosen the ties of blood and abate the claims of nationality. In proportion as the people spread over the land and occupied it as their own, they became less and less Hebrew. The very marriages which multiplied their numbers and augmented their strength, lessened their coherence, wore away their national peculiarities, and specially undermined their religious convictions. Impelled by their national ardour and enterprising spirit, they migrated into all parts of the country, entered many professions, crowded the markets, and even competed in the schools and colleges. A gradual amalgamation of the two races seemed taking place, and an amalgamation would have been inevitable but for the days of sorrow and labour which Rameses brought on Israel. Strange but wise and merciful dispensation of Divine Providence! the attempt to extirpate the Hebrew people preserved their nationality and perpetuated their existence. Thus is wickedness scourged with its own thongs. Those persecutions set a dividing line between the two nations. No longer was there any doubt who belonged to Israel and who to Egypt. The line became deep and broad—in process of time very deep and very broad. Even mutual hatred arose between the Egyptians and ourselves. The oppressor and the oppressed at last stood in open hostility and bold defiance the one against the other. Yet was there something in these adverse relations which augmented the difficulty of my undertaking. My people, in sinking into slaves, were of necessity intermingled with the Egyptians. How could I separate the wheat from the chaff? The sundering was the harder because the Israelites had been scattered over the surface of Egypt, partly to make their enslavement the easier and the more certain, and partly to make it the heavier and the more exhausting. Wherever oppressive or ignominious labour had to be performed, Hebrew hands were set to the task, and Hebrew sinews were overstrained. From Buto to Elephantine, the Israelites worked in gangs under an inspection which never slept, and a discipline which never relaxed. The amount of the labour performed, as well as the

* Exod. i. 7, 9.

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numbers of the labourers, multiplied and tightened th in which the Lord's people were held. Yet how could redeemed, unless they were first separated?

A mere bodily separation would not effect the purpos Jehovah had in view. Nor was a separation of person until a thorough separation of mind had taken place when Israel should know itself as Israel, and be pro character and its destiny, could I expect to find it pre deliverance. Well, indeed, was I convinced that Jehovah alone could bring salvation; but not less was I aware t on emergencies and great occasions, Jehovah employ ments for the accomplishment of his gracious designs; it in my heart to tempt Jehovah by calling on him fo which he had given me power to find in the ordinary of human nature. I was, therefore, fully assured tha train and prepare a people for the Lord. "A horde of I said to myself, "can never be a nation of freemen. I God, I am to be the honoured instrument of founding the commonwealth, I must first form and educate a Hebrew And how could I have ever led them out of Goshen, I previously made them into one whole? Without an a power, the drops would never have run together; and an impelling power, the waves would not have move command.

Much, however, was there to assist me, in the spirit mutual relations of the people. They had one God, c one hope, as well as one blood and one history. These ag powers had been weakened rather than destroyed. A the worst the embers were there, and might with care b into a flame. Nor was that process without special; Who were those swarming myriads but the immet scendants of the patriarch Jacob? And Jacob, while side he was connected with Joseph, was on the other c with Abraham—alliances held in the highest honour a people. Here, then, was a powerful spring, and in every hand had I a means for setting it in action. A unity gave me a network of organization which spread as fa nation spread. By safe as well as very numerous chan every word of mine conveyed to Hebrews the most dis the most widely sundered. The suggestion I made and mand I gave, under the Divine guidance, were comm

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from father to son, from brother to brother, from cousin to cousin, and so passed from the centre to the remotest extremities of the circumference, as the ever-widening circles spread over the surface of a lake when struck by a stone. Of these channels I made free and constant use, and through them I poured the life-blood of a new social existence. The sons of Jacob became so many heads of families, and those families, with the increase of the people, became so many rudimental tribes. As the numbers multiplied, the organization became more multiform. Yet did the organization remain simple, as well as prove effective, since it was domestic in its essence. By nothing, perhaps, is the Hebrew more distinguished than by the depth and strength of his domestic affections. These equal, if they do not almost surpass, his religious sentiments. Israel has never ceased to be a family. By the nerves and sinews of family affection have I wrought, in order to build up a nation. My labour in the Lord has not been fruitless. Witness the scene you see there in the plain. Oh, happy day! oh delightful sight! to see Israel lying there, encamped as an army, yet peaceful as a family—a whole nation rescued from thralldom the most galling and the most ignominious.

When, with due caution and the utmost diligence, I had prepared the people's minds, and concentrated their sympathies on the precious truths of the old family religion, I indicated a gathering-place, and quietly encouraged the gradual concentration of their scattered members in Goshen. Thither, accordingly, they repaired week after week and month after month, as opportunity served or could be made; till, by insensible degrees, and as if unconsciously, large aggregations took place, and the north-east of Egypt swarmed with a Hebrew population. The several members of the family of Israel as they flocked around Rameses, the appointed centre, fell into the place to which they were entitled by their birth, and in which they found themselves surrounded by fostering national influences.

These preliminary operations were greatly promoted by the social confusion and domestic distress occasioned to the Egyptians by the signs and wonders which God performed by my hand for the deliverance of his people. Then were their bonds loosened; their chains fell off as if of their own accord. Their Egyptian masters were too intent on their own personal interests to cast one thought on their slaves, who accordingly hastened, like

waters of the swelling Nile, to the general rendezvous, glad of escape and full of hope. As they assembled in Goshen, they felt all their national and religious sympathies glow, and swell, and superabound. But what words can describe their wondering delight, when they found that the blows which smote the Egyptians, left themselves unharmed and untouched? Scarcely could they at first believe the reports of their own senses. When they saw their masters tortured under God's retributive hand, they almost fancied that they suffered themselves. But Jehovah put a division between his servants and their oppressors; and when instance after instance of his sparing mercy had been experienced, the Israelites, full of the most assured confidence, had no bounds for their joy. Truly they were God's people—a peculiar people—a highly favoured people. What! were they not free from boils when the natives were suffering from the loathsome distemper? The gnats passed them by as if guided by a Divine hand. They had light in their abodes when a dismal darkness covered the whole country. Doubt, fear, and distrust gave way, and were succeeded by pious confidence. With a proneness to idolatry which they had all but unconsciously acquired in that idolatrous land, they would have worshipped Aaron and myself, had we not given unmistakeable signs of our stern disapprobation.

Great and gratifying as was the change, and full of promise as it appeared to be, I could not fail to consider it as, at least to some extent, superficial. At any rate it needed corroboration. Might it not be largely the result of impulse? And would impulse endure in the day of trial? Devoutly thanking Jehovah for the happy issues of my efforts, I felt that something more, and, if possible, something very decisive, should be done. I sought the Lord; in earnest prayer I laid my hopes and my fears at the footstool of his mercy; I implored his guidance; whole nights did my brother and myself spend in deep communion with his Spirit. At length he made my way clear before me, and I accordingly took my course. Two things were of special necessity; one was to sunder Egyptian sympathies from Hebrew sympathies; the other was to confirm and consolidate the latter so that they might have strength for the final issue in Egypt, and for the fearful discipline of the desert. And these two objects had to be combined with a blow so terrible as to break the hard heart of Menephtes, and extort from him our eman-

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111 cipation. Meditating on these aims, I received counsel from on
112 high, and soon found a specific plan laid out in my mind, in all
113 its details.

114 The season of the vernal equinox was at hand, when the full
115 moon would call on Egyptian and Hebrew alike to engage in
116 religious festivities, which, replete with sacred meaning, were
117 venerable and impressive by the recollections of youth and child-
118 hood, and by the associations of ages. To both nations the festival
119 was a season of hilarity and joy. Among the Israelites, indeed,
120 the brightness had grown dim, nay, had nearly vanished. But
121 over Egypt the sun shone full and unclouded. The last festival
122 in honour of Pasht (Diana) had been distinguished for unusual
123 brilliancy; never had the crowds been more numerous; never
124 the processions so splendid; never the music so rapturous; while
125 the display of beauty, as well as the manifestation of devotion,
126 had, by universal admission, exceeded all bounds.

127 To convert that joy into mourning, and to lift up the hearts
128 of the Hebrew people, while at the same time I subdued
129 Pharaoh, and threw open a great gulf between his subjects and
130 my brethren, I slew the first-born in every Egyptian home, and
131 instituted the Paschal sacrifice. Reviving a rite observed from
132 ancient days by the whole Hebrew race, and which, in its very
133 nature, could not fail to set the people longing for the land
134 of their fathers, I bade every householder slay a lamb and eat
135 the whole thereof in his family circle, having first marked the
136 door-posts of his abode with its blood; so that when, on the
137 night preceding the full moon, the destroying angel should pass
138 through the land, bearing death to every home, he might spare
139 the people of God, and leave them to rejoice, with the coming
140 light, over their smitten and desolated foes. The command was
141 obeyed; and the angel of death accomplished his task.

142 I will not pause to describe in detail the terrific darkness of a
143 day which Pharaoh and his people had expected to shine with
144 unusual splendour. Suffice it to add that, instead of dances, and
145 processions, and choral songs, the Egyptians, so soon as they
146 had recovered their senses, were seen occupied in burying their
147 dead,* by the myriads of Hebrews who triumphantly streamed
148 forth out of captivity—the redeemed of the Lord.

149 The blood of those lambs was full of import and full of effect.
150 I have spoken of it as a sign of sparing mercy. It was also an

* Numbers, xxxiii. 4.

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emblem of everlasting separation. The sheep and the goat were objects of worship with those idolaters. To shed the blood of the young of either was to sunder the last link between the two nations. Never could the Egyptian grasp the hand that had made that sacrifice; never could the Egyptian receive a blessing from the mouth that had eaten of that flesh. In consequence, all that belonged to Egypt was driven from our camp. Till then, many idolaters had lingered among us; some held by domestic ties, some by selfish hope, and some by the mere dislike of change. But that blood called forth a horror in Egyptian hearts, which stood up as a mountain between the people of sin and the people of God. Hesitation was no longer possible: for Jehovah, or for Osiris, every one had to decide.

While Israel was thus cleansed of abomination, it was also sanctified and prepared as a holy people to serve the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The latent significance of that sacrifice was made clear to every one. It was a great sin-offering presented by the people, and for the people, in order to put away transgression and secure the favour of the Almighty. By that one act, Israel owned its allegiance to Jehovah, besought his forgiveness, and ratified with him a covenant of mercy. Equally by that one act, in which every master of a family took part, did Israel, in becoming a nation of priests, set itself in direct opposition to the Egyptians at large who, individually, had no religious position, and could approach their divinities only through the appointed sacerdotal medium. Still more important was the confirmation of family bonds effected by that family observance in every Hebrew home. The head of a house is the only true priest. Religion, to be powerful, must be domestic. Our Hebrew organization, domestic from its very origin, demanded a domestic rite. And well did I see that only by the cement of a domestic religion could the families of Israel be held together under the divulsive influences of travel and conflict. Against those influences, too, did I prepare the people, foreshadowing the trials they would have to encounter, in well understood symbols; for, by Divine direction, I enjoined on them to eat the lamb with bitter herbs, their loins being girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand, as men that hastened on their way out of danger and death into safety, life, and peace.*

* Exod. xii. 3 seq.

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My commands were rigorously obeyed. And now the entire nation was assembled in and around Rameses, the city which they had built with their sweat and their blood—built to be their prison, but destined to witness their redemption and their triumph. Employing the heads of houses as my instruments, I had secretly marshalled the whole nation, so that when the moment for departure came, they all, as if by a divine impulse, fell into their several places and ranks, and to the number of 600,000 men, beside women and children, were prepared to march by fives,* by fifties, by five hundreds, by five thousands, and by five myriads, presenting a well-ordered and compact mass, ready to receive and to repel attack, whether made on the front, the rear, on either flank, or on the centre. Within the square thus formed were borne all the sick, the infirm, and the young; there we carried all our goods, and there too were our herds and our flocks. Our property, indeed, was inconsiderable; you may see the bulk of it lying accumulated there on that eminence; for, alas! what possessions are secure in servitude? Yet not without spoil did we quit that battle-field; for in their eagerness to thrust us out of their land, the Egyptians loaded us with jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment;” and we had but to ask† in order to receive whatever else we needed

* In the English version “harnessed,” literally “by fives;” the marginal reading, “by five in a rank,” indicates the correct idea. Exod. xiii. 18; comp. Josh. i. 14, iv. 12, 13; Judg. vii. 11.

† “Ask”—the proper meaning of the Hebrew word *Shal*, in Exod. iii. 22, xii. 35 and 36, where it is rendered by “borrow” and “lend;” compare Gen. xxxii. 17, xliii. 7, xliv. 19, &c., &c., where the same verb is translated “ask.” *Nasel*, the word rendered “spoiled,” is in other places rendered “delivered,” (Jer. vii. 10) “preserved,” (Gen. xxxii. 30) “stripped off,” (2 Chron. xx. 25) &c., &c. The nearest approach to the proper meaning in Exod. xii. 36—“and they spoiled the Egyptians”—may be found in the passage Exod. vi. 6, where we read thus: “Wherefore, say unto the children of Israel, I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm and with great judgments.” By their departure and by the preliminaries of that departure, the Israelites *relieved* the Egyptians, who thereby were *rid* of those from whom they had lately endured so much. Nothing more is of necessity implied than is conveyed in our idiomatic phrase, “I would be rid of them at any price.” The Egyptians were so eager to be *relieved* of the presence of the Hebrews, that they gave them all they asked, and even forced presents on their acceptance. This idea is conveyed in the text, where we have used the word “spoil” as denoting the gain made in a contest, whether as a gift bestowed or a price paid. In the east, parting presents are still common, and sometimes the giving and the asking on both sides may not inaptly be represented by the word “spoiling.” Yet the whole transaction remains a manifestation of favour, as were the bestowals made

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for our journey. So impatient of delay were the afflicted idolaters, that they would not give us time to complete the preparation of the bread which would be immediately required for food on our march. In order to spare time, we had abstained from the use of leaven, but the operation of baking we were for the most part obliged to postpone; neither was it possible in the short space of a few hours, and amidst the awful confusion that everywhere prevailed, to make due provision of other kinds of food.* We took with us, indeed, a large number of animals, though I was not without anxiety in view of the insufficiency of our supplies; yet did I reproach myself for this want of faith when I thought of the wondrous acts by which the deliverance had been achieved. "Surely," I said, "the hand that has bowed Pharaoh and the gods of Egypt down in the dust, can and will supply all our wants."

In the midst of the universal turmoil, where failure and omission were unavoidable, one object I did not overlook, nor would I have left it behind for all the wealth of Pharaoh. "Dear and venerable shade of the patriarch Joseph, the benefactor of Egypt, the refuge of Israel! long didst thou spread thy sheltering wings over thy brethren and descendants, and they were at peace. Surely thou wast there, when those swarming myriads, thy children rather than thy brethren, rent the skies with a shout of joy as they set their first step in advance out of the land of bondage and sorrow. Surely thou wast there, a witness of, and a sharer in, our exultation! Certainly, thy honoured remains were there; for deep in my heart had I treasured up thy commands to convey thy bones to the land thou didst love; nor was I deterred by the difficulty of obtaining them from the vault of thy wife's relatives, where, far from Goshen, they were deposited. Yes, thou object of so much solicitude—the ark of the covenant between Joseph and his people, and between that people and Joseph's God—thou bond of happy union—thou token of the Divine Presence, and pledge of final success—the sight of thee gives courage to my soul and delight to my heart. The sacred ashes thou containest shall not be scattered abroad

by the Egyptians: "and the Lord gave the people *favour* in the sight of the Egyptians" (Exod. xii. 36). Josephus, in a few words, describes the exact fact: "They (the Egyptians) also honoured the Hebrews with gifts, some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood and the friendship they had with them." *Antiquities*, ii. 14, 6.

* Exod. xii. 39.

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by the insulting enemy, but shall repose under the sword where Jacob's favourite son was wont to gambol and meditate."

As I finished this apostrophe to the bier which bore the remains of Joseph, and which, in the inmost centre of our array, stood ready to move forward, carried in a species of ark, or boat, on the shoulders of young men, princes in Israel, my eyes were struck as with a flash of lightning, and for a moment I lost my sight. Shortly looking up, somewhat timidly, I beheld a vision of celestial beauty and transcendent splendour. It was an inverted pyramid (an emblem of the overthrow of Egypt) of pure and translucent light—the apex touching the earth, the base spreading abroad over the heavens in all the colours of the rainbow—every particle of which was in movement, as if alive, ascending and descending like the angels in Jacob's dream. This heavenly token stood at the head of our armies, and seemed to motion them forwards. Wonder and delight filled my soul. Here was the Divine hand for which I had prayed. The pointings of that hand, how glad was I to follow!

For I had not been without difficulty as to the route we should pursue. You just now expressed surprise that I should have led the people into this peninsula, so distant from the land of promise. And, in truth, the readiest way was to cross the desert into Philistia, and so pass to the hills of Canaan. But those parts bristled with war. Southern Syria, conquered by Rameses-Miamun, remains in the hands of Menephtes, and from El-Arish to Pelusium, the country is held by the fortifications and the troops of Pharaoh. Had I taken that course, I must have cut my way through disciplined hosts, and subdued many strongholds, and overcome numerous tribes. Could I hope for success? Doubtless the Lord's arm is of resistless might; yet having no promise of his special aid, I could rely only on the human resources he had put at my disposal. The people, so recently escaped from the yoke, were unequal to so arduous an undertaking, and indeed required the discipline of years if ever they were to become qualified for such military operations. Had I then attempted to force my way directly into Canaan by its south-western border, in all probability I should have been driven back;* and even had I succeeded in making my way into the land, I could scarcely have hoped to see the object of my ambition and the fruit of my life's labours, in the establishment

* Exod. xiii. 17.

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of a widely-framed and firmly-settled government. Besides, my mind ever remained under the bondage of a word spoken by Jehovah to me when I received from his lips the commission to deliver the people. That word ran thus: "When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain."* The word seemed the more important, and certainly was to me the more impressive, because its substance was directly assigned as a token of the Divine presence and sanction. A visit, then, to the secret recesses of Sinai was an indispensable step in my career. Yet why? Why make the all but impossible attempt of conducting thither myriads of human beings? Why traverse barren and trackless deserts in order to reach the fruitful vales and protecting hills of a neighbouring land? My mind was perplexed at first—sorely perplexed. But in course of time the difficulty abated. Sinai, I knew, was the cradle of our race, and Horeb, in Sinai, their great natural altar. There you Arabs worship from remote ages to this hour, and there every Hebrew, as he passes, descends from his camel, and falling with his face in the dust, worships Elohim, the maker of heaven and earth. There is no school equal to Sinai for training a Shemitic tribe; and by degrees I began to see that results of the utmost value might ensue from my conducting Israel to the foot of Horeb. Yet how difficult the enterprise! At my age, and with my approaching infirmities, could I hope for a happy issue? In this distraction of mind, which was fully shared by Aaron, I again asked counsel of Jehovah. His answer was clear and positive: "In Sinai shalt thou receive the law, which shall be the foundation-stone of the temple I will build in Zion."

There still remained a momentous and urgent question: should I leave Egypt by the direct and nearest road to this peninsula? The question could not be answered without reference to the state of Pharaoh's mind. Never could I bring myself to believe that the Egyptians would part with slaves so numerous and so valuable, except from an absolute impossibility to retain them. The number of times that Menephtes had changed his mind—the disappointment and rage of the priests—the utter helplessness of the princes, the nobles, and the people at large—the hope of renewing the religious conflict and extorting a victory even from the despair of defeat—would, with other influences, I was sure, combine to urge the king to attempt our capture. Hence

* Exod. iii. 12.

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arose a necessity; I must leave him with a false impression as to the direction of our route. Accordingly I resolved to commence our march as if Canaan were our goal; and that the rather because Pharaoh had, with astute reserve, given us permission only to go a journey of three days, to sacrifice in the wilderness to Jehovah.* By directing our faces to Canaan, we seemed as if we had accepted his concession in its restricted import. Besides, we should thus be sure to gain time; for with full confidence would Pharaoh rely on the sufficiency of his arms to repel any attempt we might make to force our way through Philistia.

Nevertheless, I could not but feel that my proposed tactics were attended with peril; for the further we went from Rameses—the centre of our strength—in a north-easterly direction, the more should we be entangled in the web of the Egyptian power, the longer as well as the more formidable would be our peril, and consequently the less our probability of success. And then I was constantly haunted by the fear, that when it became necessary to change our route and make for Sinai, the people would be refractory, if they did not actually rebel.

“Now, however, led by that glorious symbol of Jehovah’s presence, I have lost all apprehension, and am relieved from doubt.” Such were the decisive words I employed to Aaron, when, leaping into a chariot, I hastened to the van to give the order to march. As I went, I saw the pyramid fade in its brightness until it became of the dimness of a lustrous cloud. Such it remained by day, but by night it was lighted up with a brightness like the splendour of the sun.

With joyful lips did I utter the word which set those dense and widely-spread columns in movement. The moment the march began, numerous bands of music burst forth in exulting strains. For this accompaniment of our march I was unprepared; but the people, by nature fond of harmony, having profited by the skill of their oppressors, had secretly prepared for me this surprise, and for themselves so exhilarating a means of recreation and support. How quickly beat the hearts of hundreds of thousands! how glad their steps! how bright their countenances! what congratulations did eye exchange with eye, as the several bands poured forth, one after the other, melodies which were sweet and soft like the air of Canaan whence

* Exod. xii. 31, compare x. 26.

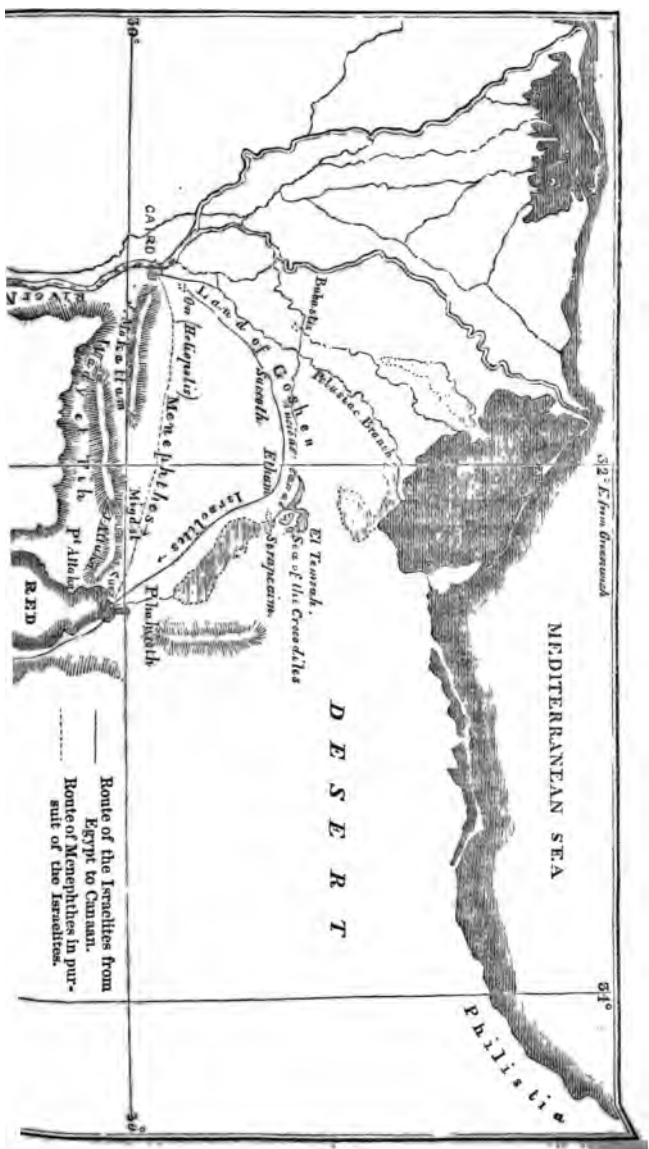
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they had been inspired, and whither they bore every Hebrew soul!

Great was the contrast between the joyousness of our hosts and the dreary and distressing spectacle of Egypt and every thing Egyptian. And yet the heavens shone with unusual splendour, and the air was soft with the breezes of spring. But on the earth, woe! woe! was written, as if in characters of blood. There were the towering palms broken in twain by the hail; there the spreading sycamores riven by the lightning; while the shrubs still bore sad traces of the devouring locusts. Most pitiable of all was the sight of the funeral groups which darkened on the eye in every direction, and during the first day's march thickened at every step—families hurrying in dismay to lay their dead beneath the sand, without the aid of priest or embalmer, lest death, multiplied everywhere, should bring an additional scourge in pestilence.

Commencing our journey, we were incessantly joined, as we went on, by bands of our Hebrew brethren, who dwelt, or had gathered together, at various spots near the line of our march. During the whole of the first day, our steps passed through what might be almost called a Hebrew district; and when we encamped in the evening for a few hours' repose at Succoth, I could have yielded to the illusion that the place as well as the name (in Hebrew, *tents*) was our own; for by our hands had it been erected, and by crowds of Hebrew faces were we met as we entered its precincts. Receiving here a very large addition to our numbers, we on the morrow resumed our march, which we continued through a bare and rugged district, until at night-fall we found ourselves at Etham, on the edge of the wilderness which intervenes between Egypt and Philistia. All that day, and all the ensuing night, hosts continued to pour in from various sides. As they came, they occupied their allotted posts, and added alike to the compactness and the strength of the whole embattled mass.

Now, however, came the dreaded crisis. We had proceeded as far as was safe and practicable in a north-easterly direction. We must break off from the road to Syria, otherwise we should have run into the lion's mouth; and the mountains of stony Araby stopped our flight on the south-east. The only route lay down the bed of the canal, which in the last reign had been cut by Hebrew hands. At its termination is the sea, which of old ex-



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tended southwardly far into the vale. Between the sea and the highlands, there is an open space along which I could conduct the people unto Sinai, and lead them to the mountain of God; where, amid associations the most venerable and impressive, we could safely celebrate our escape, and listen to the revealed will of the All-wise. But would that open space be unoccupied? Might it not be in the hands of the Egyptians? Doubtless, as an inlet to their land, it was fortified. Yet a free passage might be had, if Pharoah had not heard of our change of route. Dispatch, then, was of the utmost consequence. Should the Egyptians have seized the only open road, a return into slavery seemed inevitable, unless Jehovah bared his arm for our deliverance; since vain would it have been to attempt, with my undisciplined hordes, to force a way through the serried ranks and destructive war chariots of our oppressor.

The difficulty of the passage was known by the leaders of the people: would they obey my command to turn to the south? At the second watch I summoned all the heads of tribes, and laid before them the facts and considerations I have just recited. Having completed my statement, I implored their concurrence. A general feeling arose in favour of my plan. The feeling, however, was deficient in ardour, nor were signs of opposition wanting. Observing the hesitation, I added: "It is Jehovah's word; obey, or you perish: it is Jehovah's word; I appeal to his angel and representative—that pillar of fire which has hitherto marshalled our way." At that moment the pillar of fire took the direction I had indicated. "Forwards," I shouted; "forwards," was the reply from ten thousand voices; and within a short time all our armies were in movement.

Under the circumstances, dispatch was of the utmost consequence. We hurried southwards, and by forced marches reached the plain which stretches out from Migdol, by the close of the third day. Alas! what was our dismay, when we found every advantageous post in the district occupied by Pharoah's troops. Terrible disappointment! It seemed at first as if we had been led into an ambush. On our right frowned Migdol, backed by huge mountains. On our left frowned Pi-hahiroth, equally backed by huge mountains. On our rear stood Pharoah, his forces ready for the attack; while in front of us was the impenetrable wall of the Red Sea. I will confess that, being well acquainted with the localities, my heart misgave me in

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view of our position. When at length the real nature of that position became known in our ranks, a universal wail arose, which smote my soul with dismay. The actual facts exceeded my worst apprehensions.

It appears, as I learnt from an Egyptian captive, that the day of our departure had not ended before Menephtes resolved to force us back into bondage. Even in a few hours that luxurious and idle race, his subjects, had found that without their slaves, life was almost impossible. What should they do? The promise of the year was destroyed; destroyed too was very much of its actual produce. Ruin prevailed on every side; hunger and thirst were felt universally; and absolute destitution seemed inevitable. Where were hands to minister? Where feet swift to remove the rubbish, to inter the dead, to fetch water from the river or the cistern, to bear messages to friends, to implore medical assistance? Never before had there occurred such an exigency of social and individual existence—never any approach thereto; and not one slave was at hand to render service!

Menephtes had caused scouts to hang on the rear of our march. Very soon they discerned signs that we intended to effect our escape. This impression they conveyed to the palace. Pharaoh affected surprise and indignation. As the intelligence reported to him made it more and more clear that flight was our purpose, he became more and more determined to compel us to return. In this state of mind he was confirmed by the inconvenience and even distress occasioned everywhere by our absence. Before the day of our departure ended, Menephtes had given orders to prepare and equip a large body of war chariots. A council was held in the evening, and a long debate ensued. Much was said of the disgrace incurred by Egypt in thus suffering itself to be mocked by gangs of vile slaves. The claims of domestic service were urged; special stress was laid on the prevalent want even of ordinary means of sustenance. Pride and necessity equally demanded our restoration. Menephtes arose as if to give the final order for that purpose, when the high priest of Osiris, casting himself at the foot of the throne, said, in tones of the most earnest entreaty: "Bring them not back, O Son of Heaven and descendant of the gods! bring them not back, as one word of thine would do; but let them go to perish in the wilderness—a holocaust to the infernal Typhon; so shall the land recover its prosperity, and thy throne

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be established for ever." The speech excited universal awe. In truth, fear had seized the priesthood, which, under the thunderbolts of Jehovah, felt humbled and resourceless. The council, accordingly, broke up in confusion and perplexity.

On Pharaoh's lofty palace shone
The first bright beam of eastern day;
But in its halls, with stifled groan,
Pale on his couch the monarch lay;
Deep grief had left its recent trace
On each sad feature of his face;
But Resignation did not throw
Her calmness o'er his gloomy brow,
Where, lowering dark, sat brooding Care,
And Pride still struggling with Despair.
"Am I then baffled by a slave,
Shall I my vengeance thus forego—
The dupe of a designing knave?
No! by my father's sceptre—no!
'Vengeance!' ten thousand mothers call,
In frantic accents fierce and wild;
Ten thousand slaves shall quickly fall—
A man for every murdered child.
By Egypt's gods!—the king of light,
Osiris, and the queen of night,
Fair Isis—by their sacred fires,
And by the tombs of all my sires,
And the great deities that keep
The chambers where those monarchs sleep,
Vengeance shall bare its naked sword."

The day was spent in preparation. Some degree of hesitation and delay might indeed have been described by a penetrating eye, for the high priest continued his opposition. After hours, however, he gave way, having been assured that he and myself should be put to death the moment the troops captured our comparatively unarmed bands. The only impediment being removed, forces were immediately dispatched. Readily was it conjectured that if escape was our object, the direction we had taken was a mere feint, and that we should, of necessity, attempt flight round the northern extremity of the Bay of Heroopolis (Suez). The forces accordingly directed to seize all the passes in the north and south of that district, so as, with the aid of the natural obstacles of the localities, to intercept our passage.

The morning of the third day brought Menephtes positive information of our real design. Exasperated beyond contri-

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once put himself at the head of his body-guard, and commanded every disposable soldier to follow him, he hastened directly across the country, and reached the scene of struggle by nightfall. On his arrival, he instantly issued orders the most remptory, that our march should be stopped, and our leaders led to the sword.

The presence of the monarch filled the Egyptian ranks with enthusiasm. Overflowing with wrath at the recollection of the injuries they and their friends had suffered, his soldiers lusted for the assault as the eagle lusts for his prey. In their thirst for vengeance, they as one man uttered a cry of exultation, succeeded by a shout of defiance. The voices struck terror into Israel, for they were the voices of their masters, and Israel had all the feelings of slaves in their bosoms. In haste, and almost in dismay, several heads of tribes sought me out and reproached me with their condition, saying: "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? Wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt? Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness." *

This resistance was the only thing I now feared, for I was very confident that a way of escape would be made for us by Jehovah; only the people lost not heart. In this assurance I answered: Fear ye not; stand still and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show you this day; for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace."† The expression of the elders' countenances changed from dismay to amazement. "What," they exclaimed, "dost thou mean?" "You have," I replied, "heard the command of Jehovah from my lips; I feel his spirit swelling my bosom, and prompting my words." The inspiration of my manner subdued them all, and they asked, "What then shall we do? the Egyptians array their chariots and draw their swords." "I will," I said, "go to the Lord and bring you his message; wait here." Thereupon I retired within a cleft of the mountain, and asked counsel of God; and God said: "Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.

* Exod. xiv. 11, 12.

† Exod. xiv. 13, 14.

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But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it; and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea. And I, behold I, will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots and upon his horsemen."* Bending for a few seconds in rapt and lowly adoration before the Divine Presence, I hastened to the princes and reported the words I had received. "Praise the Lord!" they exclaimed; "let the Lord's name be praised." Instantly hurrying away, they gave the word to our companies to advance; and each head of a tribe, each head of a house, each head of a family, was soon in the front of his people, leading them forward to the margin of the sea.

At the moment, Aaron hurried into my presence, full of solicitude, for he had found disaffection in many of our ranks, and had failed in his efforts to restore confidence. I communicated to him the Divine command. Entering fully into its import and animated by its spirit, he rushed to the head of the advancing mass, with his prophet's rod raised aloft, led the way down the beach to the very brink of the water. With equal speed I placed myself on the top of a rock that projected into the gulf, having one of the elders by my side, and, as I smiting the sea with my uplifted staff, I said, "Divide."

Forthwith a strong east wind fell on the waters and sundered them straight across, as the earth is split by an earthquake, forming, on the north and on the south, a wall as of crystal, and leaving a dry pathway between.

The wonder astounded the armies of Israel. "The sea divides," exclaimed the foremost. The words were, like lightning, borne from rank to rank to the extreme rear. Every heart bounded with joy; every eye became bright; every foot became firm. Aaron entered the bed of the sea, and each division eagerly followed, while I stood with hands upraised in prayer, full of holy rapture, beholding the passage.

Meanwhile the pillar of fire of a sudden passed from our van to our rear, and taking a position in the face of our pursuers, dazzled every eye with its awful effulgence, and confounded

* Exod. xiv. 15-18.

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ty mind with its novelty. There, before it, stood Pharaoh's
riot, the king himself panting for the pursuit. Bewildered
he sight, the monarch madly exclaimed, "Make way for the
of Osiris, the lord of the world!" "Impious mortal!" a
et voice thundered through the skies, and the monarch fell
f struck by a deadly spear. "An assassin! an assassin!"
eked out his attendants. The next moment, "Silence! con-
the fact! advance!" were given as watch-words.

ark night soon settled down on those waters, through which
el went dispatchfully, yet without hurry, uttering no word,
ng no fear, merely pressing forward to the opposite shore.
the morning dawned, their rear had left an open space, the
s on either side remaining firm, the bed remaining dry.
ning with rage, the Egyptian host dashed into the channel,
r arrows on their bows, their scimitars uplifted. The entire
s had gone down into the gulf, when

"The waters saw thee, O God,
The waters saw thee; they were in pangs;
Even the depths were troubled.
The clouds poured out water;
The skies uttered a sound;
Thy arrows also went abroad.
The voice of thy thunders was in the heaven:
Lightnings enlightened the world:
The earth trembled and shook." *

hat dreadful hurricane, the Egyptians were overwhelmed;
perished—every one of them perished. Oh! what a
nn and awful spectacle did I then behold, as I stood on that
nontory, and saw the storm rage and the soldiers vainly
gling therewith.

Short was the struggle! o'er them all,
Dash'd into foam, the torrents fall;
Their dying shriek is heard no more
Amidst the ocean's louder roar,
Which stifles, as they faintly rise,
Their gasping bosoms' latest sighs;
Till where proud Pharaoh's army stood,
In all his pow'r's collected might,
Wide rolls the broad united flood,
And hides them from the searching sight.
Not one of all that countless host
Is left to tell the mournful tale;

* Psalm lxxvii. 16—18.

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Thy hand, O Jehovah, is glorious in fight,
And none can resist its omnipotent might :
The foe that rose up in his pride against Thee
Thou has scatter'd, and drown'd in the depths of the sea.
As stubble dispers'd by the wind, so the breath
Of Thy wrath in a moment hath swept them to death ;
The monarch himself, his chief captains and hosts,
Lie entomb'd in the Red Sea that washes their coasts.

The blast of Thy power divided the flood,
And the billows, ascending on either side, stood
Like mountains of water, unscalably steep,
High walls of defence in the midst of the deep.

Exulting in triumph the enemy cried,
" I will follow—o'ertake—all the spoil will divide :
My lust in their ruin shall riot its fill ;
The sword I unsheathe—the slaves I will kill ! "

The breath of Thy spirit blew strong on the waves,
They cover'd that host in their fathomless graves ;
Like lead they sank down in the depth of the sea,
And Israel, redeem'd from her bondage, is free.

O Jehovah, our God, who with Thee can compare,
'Midst the gods of the earth, or the gods of the air ?
Whose glory, or greatness, is equal to Thine ?
Whose deeds are so glorious, whose power so divine ?
Thou stretch'd out Thy hand from the gloom of the cloud—
The earth deep engulph'd them—the sea was their shroud.

The nations shall hear, and, with trembling, shall own
Almighty the Power which our foes has o'erthrown :
The arms of the valiant unnerv'd shall decline,
And hosts stand in motionless dread, Lord, of Thine.
The princes of Edom in terror shall quake,
The knees of thy mighty men, Moab, shall shake,

order to overtake the Israelites ere they could pass round the Gulf of Suez Menephtes himself is expressly said to have "made ready his chariot." These war chariots were driven by a charioteer, while the warrior stood therein ready to hurl destruction on his foes. Similar was the method of chariot-fighting among the Greeks. The warrior in the chariot may be intended by the word *Rekeb*. Their the words may be rendered, "the horse and the warrior;" or reference may be made to the charioteer, in which case we should have to translate the words, "the horse and his driver." Luther has *ross* and *wagen* De Wette also has *rosse* and *wagen*, that is, *steed* and *chariot*.

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Thy sons, Palestina, droop helpless in woe,
And Canaan melt from His presence as snow.

Thou hast rescued Thy people from slavery's yoke,
Thy mercy the chain of their vassalage broke;
Thou wilt lead them triumphant thro' desert and sea,
To the land fix'd as theirs in Thy changeless decree—
The land of long promise, where, placing Thy throne,
Thou reignest Almighty, and reignest alone !

The horse and the rider are cast in the sea,
And Israel, escaped from her bondage, is free.
Jehovah has conquer'd ; to Him I will raise
The song that bursts forth from my heart in His praise.

NOTE ON THE ROUTE AND THE PASSAGE.

For the reason why the preceding narrative is thrown into an autobiographical form, the reader is requested to consult the note appended to the tract, entitled, "The Plagues of Egypt," of which, as well as of the tract entitled "Israel and the Pyramids," the present piece is a continuation. A fourth tract, completing the subject, will follow, under the title of "Life in the Wilderness." The four essays are intended to present a complete view of Hebrew History from the migration into Egypt to the final approach to Palestine, and will embrace, together with the lives of Joseph and Moses, the history of Israel and Egypt during the period, so far as they are intimately connected together, and so far as they can be now known or reasonably conjectured.

In order thoroughly to understand the present narrative, the reader is to suppose that Moses, now on the eastern side of the Gulf of Suez, and on the point of commencing his perilous journey into the heart of the peninsula of Sinai, recites the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, to an Arab Sheikh and his company, whom he found on the spot, and who is desirous of receiving an explanation of the activities which he had witnessed the day before in celebration of the passage of the Red Sea.

The point at which that passage took place, the narrative may be understood to be at a spot north of the promontory of Attaka, where the gulf has a width of about three miles. The passage at a higher or a lower point seems to have been rendered impossible, partly by the conformation of the country, and partly by the forces of the elements. The depth of the water at the chosen spot is such as to render the passage an impossibility, except by the interposition of the Divine hand. That interposition the scriptures plainly set forth ; that interposition consequently the writer acknowledges.

A passage more to the north, where the water is considerably more shallow, and where a ford still exists, would not have been unattended with peril, especially if made in the night ; for even in the day time, Bonaparte, on returning from a visit to the peninsula, was there (at the ford) overtaken by the incoming tide, and

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would, with his suite, have, in all probability, perished, but for the determination and energy with which he pushed forward, when fear had taken possession of his companions, and to which he so often owed his self-preservation as well as his victories.

As this incident may not be without interest and instruction to our readers, we take the opportunity, *en passant*, of quoting the following account of it from a work by Dr. Aiton, who visited the spot in 1851, when he took a deep interest in examining the different parts of the shore from which the passage of the Hebrews has been supposed to have been made.

"My next object, as a mere matter of amusement, without reference to the important question of the scene of the exodus, was to find out the exact spot where Napoleon was overtaken by the waves near Suez. Actuated by latent rationalism, and desirous to contradict the miracle, or at any rate to render it easier of belief to unbelievers, by proving that it was conformable to the ordinary laws of nature, he one day waited for the ebb of the tide, and made an attempt to follow what he supposed were the footsteps of Moses in passing the creek. In regard to his effort in this way, it has been remarked by the author of 'Eothen,' that he and his horsemen managed the matter in a manner more resembling the failure of the Egyptians than the success of the Israelites. The tide came up, regardless of him and his staff, and it was with great difficulty that any of them reached the land. Some of the people at Suez told me, that Napoleon fell from his horse into the sea, and was only dragged out by the assistance of the natives on shore. Others said that he spurred his horse through the water, breast-high, back to the beach in front of the English hotel; and that his faithful steed manifested more firmness and sagacity than its rider, by speeling up the stairs like a cat. According to the French account, Napoleon got out of the difficulty, when the waters began to accumulate around him, by his warrior-like presence of mind, which often served him so well when the fate of a battle and of nations depended on the decision of a moment. He ordered his officers around him to disperse like a fan, in order thus to multiply the chances of finding shallow water, and in one way only was he enabled to make his escape from instant death. When the water was still dripping from Napoleon, he smartly remarked that, had he been drowned, the circumstance would have furnished texts for all the preachers in Europe.

"Infidels argue that the sea and tide at Suez are like those of the Solway Firth, between Scotland and England; and that from the level beach and great flow, the water retires very far seaward, and then comes rapidly back towards the land far past Suez. It is said that Moses, from having herded his father-in-law's sheep so long in the neighbourhood, knew accurately both the times and the tides of the Red Sea; and that he waited the exact moment, and succeeded in carrying over the host of Israel before the flood. It is also said that Pharoah and his followers, more ignorant of the localities, came up too late for the tide, and were destroyed merely by physical and natural causes, without there having been any miracle in the matter. It was in trying to accomplish this feat that Napoleon and his staff were nearly drowned. But on this, as on many other occasions, 'God makes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of that wrath he restrains.' Napoleon's object in making the attempt to perform again the miracle of Moses was to disprove it, but the Almighty turned the event so as to settle its authenticity beyond doubt: simply because, if half a dozen well-mounted warriors had not time to cross the head of the gulf in broad daylight, between the ebb and the flow, how could two millions of men, women, and children have done it, during the dark, all on foot, and heavily encumbered with baggage?"

If it is asked why the dangers of the Red Sea were incurred, the answer is easy. A place of refuge, a natural stronghold, was indispensable. The only one that

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offered was the bosom of Sinai. The destination being determined, the route also was determined. There was but one way for so large a host when they had reached the margin of the desert. Had they continued their route there, they would have marched into territories subject to Menephtes. Had they attempted to climb into the mountains of Arabia Petræa, they must have failed; but had they succeeded, they would have been scattered abroad, and for the most part have perished for want of wood, long ere they could have made their way over the table-lands of that barren region into the southern vales of the peninsula.

On the view taken of the route pursued by the Israelites in their exode, depend the natural possibilities connected with the enterprise as they appear in the sacred record. For instance, that record implies that the route was accomplished in three days. Hence, in regard to any alleged route, the question arises, could the distance be gone over in three days? The view supposed in the text is believed to labour under no difficulty in this respect. On the contrary, it has recommendations which other theories lack. A few remarks of a more minute and scholarlike character than the narrative admitted of, may enable the student to appreciate the real facts of the case. Such remarks seem required, the more so because the view here put forth has in it (so far as the writer knows) no little novelty. Let it be premised that until the district on the east and north-east of the Delta has been carefully explored, a veil more or less thick can hardly fail to hang over the subject.

Three sources of information offer themselves to our notice: first, names of places; secondly, the formation of the country; and thirdly, special expressions in the scriptural account. We begin with the last, because we think that there are in the record intimations which at least go far to determine the locality and the direction of the route. It may be considered as proved and admitted that Goshen, the general district where the Israelites abode, and whence they issued, lay along the east of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. What direction then would Moses be likely to take under the circumstances? There were only three principal routes that he could pursue. One of these ran pretty nearly direct from Cairo to Suez, being the road down which Menephtes is supposed in the text to have dispatched his forces, and being also the road by which the Indian mail is at this hour transmitted. This, the *Derb-el-Ankebiyeh*, now travelled in 18 hours, is the shortest and most expeditious way across the desert. But, in order to strike into this road, Moses must have led his people southward into the very midst of their enemies, and so made their flight all but impossible.

The second road (down the Wady et Tih) runs still more to the south, namely, along the southern ridge of the Mokattam range of hills, which extends from the apex of the Delta to the Red Sea. Had Moses determined on taking this route, he would have led the fugitives into the very heart of their masters' country, and entered on a journey which he could in no way have performed in three stages. If the former route is improbable, the latter may safely be pronounced impossible.

There remains only another. The third possible route is the highway between Egypt and Syria, travelled during all ages, the most ancient not excepted. Along this route, then, the Israelites must have fled. That this route was actually taken may be safely inferred from the clear intimations of the Bible, to the effect that as Moses had asked, so did he receive, permission to go a journey of three days, so as to offer a sacrifice to Jehovah out of the sight, that is, beyond the land, of the Egyptians. The words of Scripture are very explicit. The request ran thus:—"Let us go three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the Lord our God." (Exod. iii. 18). "Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." (v. 1, 3, 8; vii. 16; viii. 1, 8.) At first Pharaoh attempted to give a qualified permission, saying, "Go ye, sacrifice to your God in

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the land." Moses replied, "It is not meet so to do, for shall we see the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not slay us?" (viii. 25, 28). At length came the concession in full, "Go serve the Egyptians, as I have said." That concession was the concession of the favour requested, the words, "As ye have said" (xii. 31). Beyond a doubt, then, the Israelites leave to go from where the main body abode, a journey of many days, and that journey was to be in such a direction as to lead them into a desert or wilderness. But no desert lay in relation to the Hebrews a direction and within such a space, except the south-western part of Arabia Petræa, or the desert which united Palestine (Idumæa) toward that desert, then, the Israelites must have gone. The conclusion is corroborated by other words of Scripture. The land of the Philistines, to the south-west of Canaan, was *near* (Exod. xiii. 17) to the district where the Hebrews marched. Here, then, we have two fixed points—Goshen in the north, and Philistia in the south, and these two are near each other. Consequently the desert, which lies between the two, is the only desert in question. To that Moses had permission to go—there was no other desert near—toward that desert would Pharaoh have permitted him to go: that, then, is the desert which he actually went. In order to proceed thitherward he must have entered into the line of the ancient canal, down which lay the customary route from Egypt into Syria. Having pursued that route as far as the point where the canal touched the wilderness, Moses turned southward: in other words, he followed the canal to its termination. In general, then, the line of his march may be considered as identical with the line of the ancient canal intended to unite the Nile with the Red Sea. On the western side that canal entered the Pelusiac Nile at Bubastis. Thence it passed in a north-north-easterly direction for many miles to Wady Abaseh, through a country now cultivated. From Wady Abaseh the canal passed for forty miles in a direction east by south down Wady el Ghor, flanked on both sides by hills. Thus running, the road reached the Crocodiles (el Temsach), and struck out so as to touch Serapeum, where it turned, and ran along, the west side of the Natron lakes (el Mamleh), two miles long and six miles broad, which lie in a basin, or depression, fifty miles from the level of the Red Sea. Thence the canal proceeded through a valley for many miles and a half long, to the north-eastern end of the gulf, terminating at the ancient city of Arsinoë. In pursuing this route the Israelites marched from first to last down a succession of vales, and, consequently, in an open, unenclosed road. At its termination the road was (is) shut in equally on both sides; on the west; the high lands on the east terminating at the head of the gulf, broken there from the chain (Jebel Attaka) which rises on the south plain of considerable extent; while the high lands on the west sink reaching Jebel Auewet they rise into its masses, and form the back of the front of Suez. It must be added that the distance between Bubastis and the Red Sea is seventy-five miles, though the canal, compelled to follow the windy country, extended for ninety-two miles. A distance of seventy-five miles accomplished in three days by a multitude whose safety depended on it.

Having then followed the high road into Syria to "the edge of the wilderness" (xiii. 20) the children of Israel, at the express command of God, "turned back" (xiii. 20) "encamp by the sea" (xiv. 2)—words which can have no other meaning than that when they arrived on the border of the desert, they suddenly turned in an easterly direction, and proceeded to the margin of the Red Sea, at the northern head of the Gulf of Suez; in other terms, that, instead of proceeding across the wilderness, or keeping on in the high road to Syria, they followed the remainder of the canal route, and so came to the northern end of the arm of the Red Sea.

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So far we have trod on sure ground. Scarcely less satisfactory are the intimations we find under the third head of our information—the names of places. Let us premise that we have ascertained two points, namely, that *from* which, and that *to* which, the Hebrews went. They went from Goshen to Suez. The latter point is defined by the nature of the country. The former point is left vague. Where Goshen was, indeed, we know; but the exact spot in Goshen, whence they set out, is as yet undetermined. An approximation to that spot is made by geographical traditions. The country near the western end of the canal still bears traces of the Israelites in very ancient names. There, at Tell Jehudeh or Jews' Hill, and Vicus Judæorum, spots so deeply impressed on the Hebrew memory as to have, for very many centuries, been regarded as sacred, and where, in consequence, the Jewish temple of Onias was afterwards erected—there, not far from that, *Pithom*, which the enslaved people was compelled to build, and of which a trace still remains in the *Thoum* of the maps—somewhere in that vicinity beyond a doubt, and at no great distance north-east of Heliopolis, was the spot where Moses assembled his people, and from which he struck into the canal bed. Now, in this locality, was that other stronghold, Rameses, which the same hands were forced to build, and where the Scripture (Numb. xxxiii. 3) states the Hebrews began their flight. The place has been identified. We cite the words of Professor Lepsius.* “That we may really seek for Rameses in the ruins of Abu-Keshed is most decidedly confirmed by a monument which was found upon those very ruins as early as the time of the French expedition. It is a group of three figures cut out of a block of granite, which represents the gods Ra and Tum (Thom, whence Pi-thom), and between them the king Ramses II, Ramses-Miamun, who began the canal). The shields of this greatest of the Pharaohs are repeated six times in the inscriptions on the back.

These statements and indications enable us to fix the starting-point with certainty. This point being ascertained, and the point of arrival being ascertained, the whole route is known. In the route two stations are given in the Bible—Succoth (*tenis*; is this the *Vicus* Judæorum, the Hebrew Succoth being modernised, so to say, into Vicus?) and Etham. Etham (Hieropolis?) was on the edge of the wilderness. Consequently, Succoth must have stood in the curve between Etham and Rameses (Ramses). While then we are unable to determine with certainty the exact spots where Succoth and Etham stood, we are justified in placing them at some points in the wadys or vales through which ran the canal; and we are also confirmed in the view which makes the line of that canal identical with the line of the Israelites' march. Now, the line of that canal issues on the eastern side of the Gulf of Suez, where a range of mountains, forming the eastern boundary of the valley of the canal, comes to a termination. On reaching the end of the canal, the Israelites would have high lands on their left hand; they would also have high lands on their right hand. They, doubtless, intended to turn due east, and strike into the present Hadji, or Pilgrim road, to Mecca, and so gain the open desert of the Sinaitic peninsula. When, however, Menephtes learnt that they had marched into that depressed and enclosed vale, he felt that they were entangled in the mountains, and that he had only to hurry across the country and seize the district on the north-east of Suez, in order to turn their van, and cut off their sole chance of escape; for, by so doing, he would drive them on to the sandy plains on the west of Suez, and so shut them in by the gulf in front, the mountains Taber and Auewet, as well as (probably) the fortress Migdol on the south, while the main body of his forces hemmed them in on the west. A glance at the map will make our description clear, and show that the transit of the sea was the

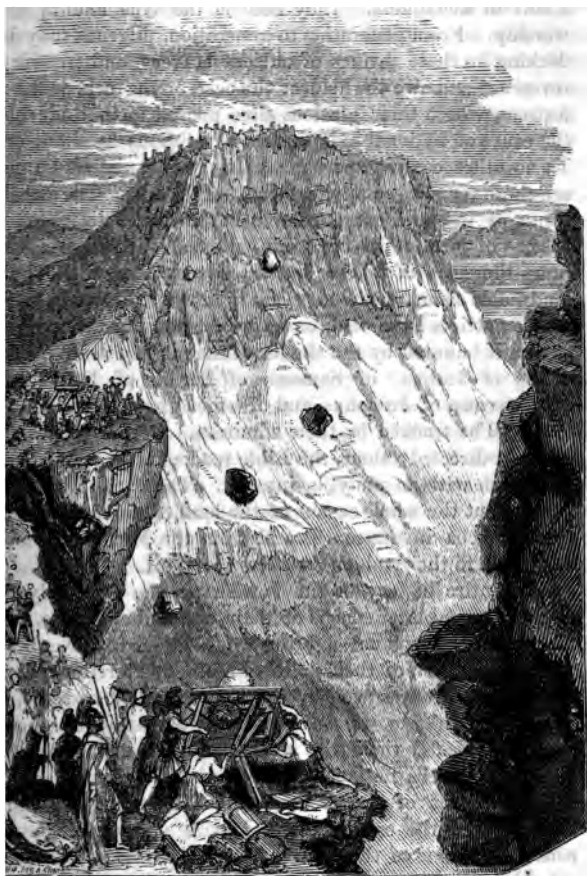
* “*Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai, translated by L. and J. B. Horner.*” (Bohn's Edition), p. 438.

gulf somewhat more to the south, and, consequently, at a narrower shallower water :—"In order," he says, "to profit by the ebb to cross the sea, which separates Suez from the Arabian shore, we began our journey in the morning. We rode one hour directly to the north, then once into the gulf, which owing to the ebb was done without difficulty, and again in a direction south-south-east; at the end of which we had Suez near on the opposite shore. Had the tide been in, we should have been obliged to ride round the head of the gulf, and have required double the time for our purpose. The ground over which we passed is a muddy sand covered by a crust of salt and partly with water left by the last flood; into which I repeatedly sunk knee-deep, and by which their movements were much retarded." (Exod. xiv. 25). The imprudent and fiery Pharaoh of old entered this sea a little more to the south in his attempt to capture the Hebrews; he was there overtaken by an ordinarily strong tide, the destruction of him is explained, without our having recourse to any special causes, in the account for the same."

Thus leading the Israelites from Abu-Keshed (Rameses), along the coast down to Arsinoe, we bring them on to the sandy plain in front of the gulf somewhere north of Attaka, where, with the Divine aid, their passage was effected in a few hours, and so fulfil all the conditions of the problem, those of the Mosaic account or those of the localities. Had we here the space, we could confirm the view both by geographical details and by ancient authorities. We must leave it, however, in this mere outline-form. To the writer's approbation it owes much force, and he is conscious that if he has any success in this difficult matter, he owes it chiefly to the attention he has given to the Biblical intimations—intimations clear and decided, but hitherto little studied.

In looking back on the whole composition here offered to the public, I am impelled to plead for indulgence. The facts actually recorded, the intimations supplied by the monuments, are comparatively few and fragmentary. To weave such materials into a readable narration is not an easy task.

MASADA, AND ITS TRAGEDY.



There is scarcely any land, whether ancient or modern,
; any pretensions to historic renown, that does not con-
pots consecrated by the struggles, the valour, and the
n of its inhabitants. Few countries are without their
pylæ, where patriotism has rallied its last forlorn band
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of champions, reared its great altar, and piled up its sanguine oblations. Localities so signalized are evermore invested with a sort of sacredness. They become the true haunts of his worship. From generation to generation, pilgrims may be seen flocking to these shrines of ancient bravery, and treading with reverence and awe the field, or the pass, or the rock, or the ruin of the fortress, where their glorious sires poured forth their blood for the cause of national independence, religious freedom, or for the sake of no other country, perhaps, of the same narrow boundaries. To these are these remarks so applicable as to Palestine. The sanguine stains of war and carnage have left ineffaceable traces on the bosoms of most of its beautiful valleys. Well nigh every rock bears the scars of feud or battle. Every acre of the hallowed land holds some traditional glory-spot, where heroes have fought, where patriots have bled, or where foemen have raged. Every cavern is haunted by the shades of the mighty dead. The footprints of Joshua, of Samson, of Barak, of David, of the Maccabæans, of Josephus, and of other great Hebrew captains may still be tracked by their admirers. To the scenes of this divinely-directed valour, the Bible readers of successive generations turn with an undying interest. They are to be met with throughout the whole extent of the land, from Dan in the north to Beersheba in the south, and from the Mediterranean coast westward to the Arabian frontiers eastward.

The entire history of the Jewish people, especially during the earlier and later epochs of their national existence, was one of conflict. Perpetual fighting would seem to have been the normal condition of their political life. The territorial heritage of Canaan that was won by the sword, had, it appears, under Divine Providence, to be kept and defended by the same weapon. Nearly the entire male population was, from the very outset of Israel's national career, trained to arms. From the commencement of the Conquest to the settlement and consolidation of the empire under David, military achievements constituted some of the main features of Hebrew history. The splendid era of peace and luxurious repose that succeeded, under the dominion of the courtly Solomon, was unhappily of but brief duration. Upon the death of that remarkable monarch, a fatal schism split the chosen people into two rival monarchies—schism which could only be extinguished by the calamities of the Captivity. During this melancholy portion of Jewish history,

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extending over a period of about four hundred years, few consecutive years ever passed away without witnessing either fratricidal wars between the hostile tribes, or the hosts of the invader crossing their borders, seizing their treasures, and, like a swarm of locusts, desolating their fertile land. From the return after the Captivity, to the extinction of the nation by the Romans, the Jewish annals are full of the records of invasions, massacres, sieges, and fiercely-contested battles, in which Jewish bravery and valour rose to a grandeur never surpassed by their fathers, and whereat subsequent generations have never ceased to wonder and admire.

At first sight, remembering the special mission with which the Hebrew commonwealth was charged, we are apt to be startled on contemplating such a historic panorama of strife, and agony, and blood; but on further consideration we come to see that, after all, just such a career of active antagonism with surrounding peoples was absolutely necessary, if God's chosen people—his witnessing nation—were to be preserved from amalgamation with aliens in blood and in religion. Had any lengthened period of unmolested quietude, political security, and social ease, fallen to their lot, it is to be feared that their character would speedily have so deteriorated as to have disqualified them to be any longer the custodiers and guardians of God's truth and God's worship in the midst of an idolatrous world; while by subjugation, or by the imperceptible influences of international intercourse, they must gradually have become assimilated to the people by whom they were encompassed. This process was from time to time arrested, and its natural result averted, by keeping alive the patriotic feelings of the Jewish people, and, by external assaults, rallying them around their gorgeous temple and their national altar.

Under such circumstances, it is only reasonable to expect that the entire land would wear somewhat of a military aspect. Secluded spots of sylvan beauty and tranquillity there would undoubtedly be in abundance; verdant slopes, too, clad with the empurpling vine; plains echoing with pastoral sounds and waving with agricultural wealth; and olive-shadowed glens, whose inhabitants would seem never to have been startled from their reveries of peace, or their pursuits of quiet industry, by the alarms of war or the din of intertribal strife. Yet no one could come up from these calm retreats to the great b

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of the land, or could gaze upon its towns and cities, girt as they were with ramparts and towers, without being imbued with a conviction that war was no stranger to the expanse of Palestine was, in fact, during its Hebrew occupation, only a small fortress, designed not only to overawe its own turbulent population, but also and chiefly to resist the inroads of the military and ambitious powers that incessantly pressed its frontiers. Turn which way you might, you would find massive bulwarks and defences that looked impregnable. Especially was this the case in the hilly regions of the land, almost every commanding elevation was fortified, where holds of tremendous strength rose frowningly on the surface of rocks well nigh inaccessible by reason of the awful precipices by which they were encompassed. In such positions of admirable isolation stood the celebrated fortresses of Jotapata, Gamala, and Tabor, in Galilee, whose reduction tasked the skill and bravery of the Roman army under Vespasian, during his campaign; that of Modin, the retreat, rallying-point, and place of the Maccabæan patriots; as well as those of Herodium, Machærus, and Masada, which were the last places to fall beneath the power of the Roman conquerors, and that until after Jewish independence had been extinguished. The fall of the capital, the slaughter of myriads of victims, the captivity of nearly the entire surviving population of this ill-fated land.

The fall of Jerusalem, in which city all the prowess of the Jewish nation had been previously collected for the last desperate struggle, sounded the death-knell of its political existence. Nearly all the lingering wrecks of Jewish liberty perished in the conflagration of their doomed temple. Three strongholds alone were daring or rash enough to prolong the contest with the world's victors and spoliators. Of these, Herodium—a city, strongly fortified and embellished by Herod the Great, and where his interment took place, situated some miles south-east of Jerusalem*—shortly afterwards capitulated.

* The position of this superb assemblage of palaces, fortresses, and towers has been of late years identified by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Wolcott with a small hill, now known by the designation of the Frank Mountain. Ancient passages, and vestiges of the "ascent," consisting of 200 polished steps ascribed by Josephus, have been discovered, while the whole site is strewn with Roman ruins.

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the approach of Lucilius Bassus, who had succeeded Titus in the command of the Roman forces. The other two fortresses, however, relying on their impregnable position, resolved to defy to the last extremity all the power of the enemy. The exasperated legions directed their march in the first instance against Machærus.

This asylum of despairing Jewish warriors stood on the eastern side of the Jordan. Its gigantic battlements surrounded the summit of a lofty crag, protected on all sides by ravines of such frightful depth, that, we are told by the Jewish historian, the eye could not penetrate to the bottom of their abysses. Those chasms could neither be crossed nor filled up by the assailants of the citadel. One of these ravines, on the western side, it is asserted, ran down to the Dead Sea—a distance of nearly eight miles. The town and citadel had been originally constructed by Alexander Jannæus, during the patriotic struggles of the Maccabæans, as a check upon the incursions of the Arabian freebooters. Demolished by one of the Roman generals, the fortress was afterwards restored and greatly beautified and strengthened by Herod, who, with his wonted magnificence, adorned it with noble palaces, and amply supplied it with water and the munitions of war, so as to enable it to withstand the most protracted siege. To gain possession of this place was the task now imposed upon the subjugators of Palestine. The following account, condensed by Mr. Milman from the narrative of Josephus, graphically describes the means by which the capture was effected.

Bassus, the general in command, “determined to form the siege on the eastern side; the garrison took possession of the citadel, and forced the strangers, who had taken refuge there from all quarters, to defend the lower town. Many fierce conflicts took place under the walls; the garrison sometimes surprising the enemy by the rapidity of their sallies; sometimes, when the Romans were prepared for them, being repulsed with great loss.” These desultory conflicts, however, it appears, had in themselves little influence upon the fate of the fortress. Its eventual surrender arose out of a singular and affecting incident connected with one of these sallies. “There happened to be among the besieged a young man, named Eleazar, of remarkable activity and valour, who greatly distinguished himself in these attacks, being always the first to charge and the last to retreat,

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often by his single arm arresting the progress of the enemy, and allowing his routed compatriots time to make good their retreat. One day, after the battle was over, proudly confident in his prowess, and in the terror of his arms, he remained alone without the gates, carelessly conversing with those on the wall. Rufus, an Egyptian, serving in the Roman army, a man of singular bodily strength, watched the opportunity, rushed on him, and bore him off, armour and all, to the Roman camp. Bassus ordered the captive to be stripped and scourged in the sight of the besieged. At the sufferings of their brave champion, the whole city set up a wild wailing. Bassus, when he saw the effect of his barbarous measure, ordered a cross to be erected, as if for the execution of the gallant youth. The lamentations in the city became more loud and general. Eleazar's family was powerful and numerous. Through their influence it was agreed to surrender the citadel, on condition that Eleazar's life should be spared. The strangers in the lower town attempted to cut their way through the posts of the besiegers; a few of the bravest succeeded; but of those who remained, 1700 perished. The treaty with the garrison was honourably observed."

Thus fell the last refuge but one in which the forlorn remnant of a proud and indomitable nation had sought shelter from their exterminating foes. Having dismantled the stronghold, Bassus proceeded to surround the forest of Jarden, where a large number of homeless fugitives from Jerusalem and Machærus had collected. He invested the unhappy outcasts with his cavalry; and on their attempting to break through and escape, they were repulsed, and 3000 put to the sword. During the course of these military operations, Bassus died, and Flavius Silva assumed the command of the Roman forces in Palestine—which now lay utterly desolate, while Cæsar had actually issued his imperial orders that Judea should be exposed for sale. Alas! for the "delightful land."

But MASADA still stood in sublime isolation, and frowned defiance upon the irresistible masters of the world. It was held by a brave and desperate band; who, though they had heard in their eyrie the resounding fall of fortress after fortress, and the crash of city after city, as they crumbled into dust beneath the engines of their assailants, were unappalled by the impending perils of their solitary position. Though their compatriots had all failed, and hundreds of thousands of their

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countrymen had perished in the unequal strife, yet no thoughts of surrender relaxed the stubbornness of their courage—no feelings of fear fluttered at their heartstrings. Their proud resolve—the offspring of wedded conscientiousness and passion—was formed: taking their stand on the last mighty altar of Patriotism, they would, all lonely as they were, either reconquer the lost liberties of their bleeding brethren, or die the martyrs of their country's cause. Against this forlorn hope Flavius Silva, the new procurator, undertook an expedition immediately on his arrival in Palestine. But before we narrate the tragical incidents of this expiring paroxysm of Jewish valour, it will be desirable to make the reader better acquainted with the position, the history, and the character of this celebrated stronghold.

It will be recollected by those who have followed us in our excursion round the shores of the Dead Sea,* that on the western coast towards the southern extremity of the lake, and facing the peninsula, our attention was directed to a remarkable mountain, standing out in stern and rugged grandeur from the range of hills to which it belongs. There is no longer any reasonable ground of doubt that this enormous rock is the true site of the ancient Masada. The history of its recent discovery and identification will be related in a subsequent part of this tract. Meanwhile, we proceed to furnish such particulars concerning the fortress as have been preserved to us in the writings of Josephus. How far these seemingly romantic descriptions have been authenticated by modern investigations will be afterwards seen.

Military genius never, perhaps, selected a more fitting position for safety and defence, and for hurling defiance at a foe, than Masada. The lofty rock itself, the upper surface of which comprised a considerable area, was surrounded on all sides by chasms and defiles of such depth that the sun had never reached the bottom. So fearfully precipitous were the sides, that even the wild goats could scarcely find a footing. The summit was accessible only by two narrow and perilous paths, from the east and from the west. That on the eastern face of the hill, leading up from the shore of the Dead Sea, was little more than a broken ledge, called, from the winding and circuitous course

* See "The Dead Sea, and its Explorers," page 17. The position of the mountain will be found indicated on the map accompanying this volume.

which it pursued, the Serpent. This dangerous path the verge of frightful precipices, which made the hero look down, and struck terror into the boldest heart. For destruction, it was necessary to climb cautiously so for if the foot slipped, instant death was inevitable. Winding in this manner nearly four miles, the hero the adventurous climber upon an esplanade, which, of celebrity, was remarkable for its cultivated beauty. The mode of ascent, on the western side, what more practicable.

So invulnerable a position was sure to be seized and turned to advantage in a land subject to perpetual invasions. Accordingly, we find that during the successful struggles of the nation against their oppressors, a citadel was built by Jonathan, the Maccabæan brothers, on the brow of the rock. In times of political commotion and violence, when the king of Israel often a discrowned fugitive on the morrow, it was a season of power to provide an asylum for the hour. Thus Masada was designed as a repository for the sanctuary for the gentler sex, during the hazards of a war, as well as a last resting-place where the dead should be inviolate.

For a century and half after this period, history respecting this fortress. At length it fell into the hands of the ambitious Idumean, during whose long reign the Israel witnessed a transient revival of the splendor of its earlier history. By Herod the Great, formidable as he made to its fortifications. His keen eye at once perceived its importance as a rampart on the south-eastern boundaries of his dominions. Vast sums were expended by him, throughout his entire reign, in strengthening, embellishing, and enlarging the fortress. In fact, to Masada he had always attached a place of unassailable security, either in case of foreign invasion or the revolt of his own subjects. Especially was he apprehensive of the intrigues of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who took little care to conceal her covetous designs; he urged Mark Antony, the vassal of her beauty, to her death, and confer the kingdom of Judea upon herself.

The first work of this monarch was to enclose the fortress which was nearly a mile in circuit, within a mas-

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lished stone, twenty-two feet high and fourteen broad. The wall was flanked by thirty-seven towers, eighty-seven feet high, which communicated with buildings resting on and continued along the line of the interior wall. The area thus enclosed retained a soil, it is said, more productive than any in the vicinity. This space was chiefly appropriated by Herod to purposes of culture, so that, should provisions be no longer procurable in the time of siege from extraneous sources, the garrison might have independent resources that would save them from the horrors of famine.

In addition to other constructions, the prodigal king built a strong and magnificent palace within the fortifications, on the eastern cliff, protected at each of its four angles by a lofty tower. This princely edifice was connected, by means of an underground passage, with the citadel. Within it were contained many spacious apartments, porticoes, and baths, supported by columns formed from a single block of marble. The pavements and the walls of the chambers were inlaid with mosaics.*

Every habitation, on the esplanade, around the palace, and before the walls, were immense cisterns, excavated in the rock and lined with coarse marble, where copious supplies of water were preserved almost as effectually as if there had been natural springs on the spot.

As regards the interior resources of the place, their abundance was even more surprising. Corn was stored up in granaries in vast quantities. These secret magazines contained also provision of wine, oil, vegetable seeds, and dates, equally ample. According to the singular account of Josephus, the air of Masada was of such a temperature that, although some of these stores had been laid up for nearly a century since the time of Herod, they were found to be still sound and fresh at the time when Eleazar and his freebooting companions obtained possession of the fortress. Even when the Romans themselves

length became masters of the place, they are said to have found the remains of these supplies, which were still unimpaired by lapse of time. This extraordinary preservation of food is probably attributable to the extreme purity of the atmosphere, arising from the elevation of the fortress, which lifted everything exposed to the action of the air far above the deleterious vapours that hovered over the plains.

* See pages 31 and 32.

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Nor was this vast accumulation confined to articles of consumption. Within the citadel was the famous armoury and arsenal of Herod, in which was treasured up a sufficient quantity of arms to equip ten thousand men, besides large stores of unwrought iron, brass, and lead. "The walls of this gigantic hall," writes the powerful and gorgeous author of 'Salathiel,' in whose description the naked fact of history is richly clothed by the aid of extensive knowledge and an exuberant imagination, "were covered with arms and armour of every nation: cuirasses, Persian, Roman, and Greek; the plate mail of the Gaul; the Indian chain armour; innumerable head-pieces, from the steel cap of the Scythian to the plumed and triple-crested helmet of the Greek, the richest combination of strength and beauty ever borne by soldiership; shields of every shape and sculpture—the Greek orb, the Persian rhomb, and the Cimmerian crescent; all arms—the ponderous spear of the phalanx, the Thracian pike, the German war-hatchet, the Italian javelin, and the bow from the Nubian, twice the height of man, to the small half-circle of the Assyrian cavalry: swords—the broad-bladed and fearful falchion of the Roman, every thrust of which let out a life, the huge two-handed sword of the Baltic tribes, the Syrian scimitar, the Persian acinaces, the deep-hilted knife of the Indian islander, the Arab poignard, the serrated blade of the African; all were there in their richest models—the collection of Herod's life. War had raised him to a rank which allowed the indulgence of his most lavish tastes of good and ill; the sword was his true sceptre; and never king bore the sign of his sovereignty more royally emblazoned."

With the view of rendering this extraordinary stronghold perfectly unapproachable, Herod reared a strong tower in a very narrow defile on the western and least secure side of the mountain, which commanded the only available pathway in that direction. This tower was distant from the citadel about 580 yards. Thus military ingenuity, by supplementing the natural advantages of the position, appeared to have rendered the fortress secure against every hostile demonstration.

No very lengthened period elapsed after Herod's appointment to the government of Galilee, before he was compelled to avail himself of the friendly shelter of Masada. During the invasion of the Parthians, Herod received a warning from his brother Phasael, who ruled in Jerusalem, that a conspiracy had

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entered into by his enemies to seize and put him to death. For his safety, he hastily collected a band of faithful servants, and taking with him the female part of his family, he made good his retreat to Masada. The journey was an extremely hazardous one; and although his forces daily augmented, he was so harassed by the foe, that on one occasion, in a moment of despair, he was almost tempted to commit suicide. On reaching the fortress, he was met by his brother Joseph from Jerusalem, who urged him to dismiss the bulk of his army, consisting of 9000 men, and whom it would be very burdensome to commodate and support in Masada. He complied with this prudent advice; and selecting 800 of his staunchest followers, he entrusted to them, under the command of his brother, the defence of his stronghold and the protection of his gentle wives, together with the beautiful but unfortunate Mariamne whom he had betrothed, while he himself proceeded first to Jerusalem and afterwards to Rome in quest of succour and support. During the absence of Herod at the imperial court, where he was most flatteringly received, Masada was vigorously besieged by Antigonus. The garrison was actually on the point of surrendering, from the sufferings they endured through the want of water caused by the long drought, when singularly enough, on the very night which had been fixed upon for their attack, there was a copious fall of rain, by which the reservoirs were replenished. Thus refreshed and re-inspired, the garrison made frequent sallies, and slew many of the besiegers. After an absence of scarcely three months, Herod returned to his country, having received from Cæsar the crown of Judea. Landing at Ptolemais, his first object was to raise the siege of Masada, and release his destined bride, his mother, and his sons, from their captivity. This he speedily accomplished, and he undertook the conquest of Judea and the reduction of its capital. His head-quarters meanwhile were fixed at Samaria. A few years afterwards—on the occasion of Herod's visit to Jerusalem to pay his homage to Octavius Cæsar, who, by the victory of Actium, had won the imperial purple from his rival, he found the grim old stronghold again in requisition as a temporary asylum to the mother, sister, and children of the deposed king; and who otherwise, during his absence, in those turbulent and unscrupulous times, might have become the victims of private malice or public vengeance.

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The period when Masada next figures upon the pages Jewish annalist, was at the outbreak of the last struggle for Roman supremacy. At some previous unrecorded date imperial troops had, by some unknown means, secured possession of the fortress. This important post, however, they destined not to hold long; for just as the first hoarse mutter of the storm of ruin and blood began to be heard over the devoted land, some zealous and intrepid champions of the party contrived, either by stratagem or treachery, to gain admission within its walls, whereupon they put the whole garrison to the sword, and openly unfurled the banner of revolt. From this moment, the post continued to play an important part in the history of the war.

Shortly afterwards, as the spirit of insurrection spread, the curse of faction fell paralyzingly upon the people, a pretender appeared before the gate of the dizzy fortress, accompanied by a resolute band of adherents, and demanding ingress. This was a young man, of stern and determined aspect, named Manahem, who aspired to the position of chieftain among his compatriots. He was the youngest son of the renowned Judas the Galilean, so well known to the Jews of Jewish history as the first who had openly declared the impiety of owning any king but God, and who had denied the payment of tribute to Cæsar, as well as all acknowledgment of foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution. These doctrines, after having long been promulgated in secret, and disclosed their existence from time to time in local tumults or spasmodic insurrections, began during this period to be espoused by nearly the whole nation. And his two elder sons having fallen martyrs to their principles, all eyes were turned on Manahem, who, it was expected, would maintain the lofty principles of his father with success. With these pretensions to chieftainship, before entering Jerusalem—the very focus of faction—he visited Masada with a strong force, and securing admission, probably by favour of the garrison, who sympathized with his political views, succeeded in plundering the armoury of Herod. Thus equipped with the choicest military spoils, he and his followers proceeded to the capital, where he was received with royal pomp, and invested with the chief command. For a season, his career was distinguished triumph. The Roman garrison was driven

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stronghold. But as soon as the foreign foe was expelled, spirit of faction revived, and during one of those violent wars so common to the excitable populace of great cities, Jerusalem was put to death under circumstances of great

death of the leader was the signal for the dispersion of adherents. A few of them, who contrived to escape the venging fury of the multitude, fled for refuge to Masada. The head of this band was a stern and valiant patriot, Eleazar, a relative of Manahem, and an heir of the unchangeable principles of his house, who afterwards figured as the central hero of the tragedy which we are about to describe. Shortly after his arrival at the fortress, he seems to have assumed the command of the garrison, which he retained until the act of self-immolation, at once sublime and horrible, they offered up their lives on the burning pyre of their dying nationality.

The next thing we hear of Masada and its inmates is, that Herod, taking advantage of the disorganized state of the neighbouring country, committed terrible depredations upon the mourning population. According to Josephus, until the day when the nation approached its final catastrophe, the Sicarii, assassins as they are opprobriously called by him, had been wont to gather from the region around them the means of violence; fear, it is alleged, restraining them from depredations of a more serious and exasperating character. On hearing, however, at length, that the invading army of the Romans had taken up quarters for rest, and that the Jews of the metropolis divided by sedition, and driven to despair by the intolerable oppression of their robber-masters, they sallied out by night and committed the most frightful excesses. On the day of the Passover, they fell suddenly upon the small city of Beth-Saida, situated a few miles distant on the same sea-coast. The inhabitants, taken by surprise, and having no time to prepare defence, were dispersed and driven out of town. All who were unable to make good their escape—men, women, and children—numbering above seven hundred, were put to death. After having plundered the houses and ravaged the fields full of ripe fruit, they hastened back with their spoils to their stronghold. From that time, it appears, they continued to waste the neighbouring districts, augmenting their ranks

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daily from the numerous predatory bands who, in consequence of the disorder of the times, had no other means of life.

About this time, a fearful spectacle might have been, and probably was, gazed upon from the walls and towers of Masada by the garrison. Looking down from their elevated position upon the deep-lying lake, they would perceive hundreds of corpses of their fellow countrymen floating ghastly on its sullen surface. These putrefying relics of brave men and delicate women were a portion of the multitudinous victims of Roman vengeance, who had just been driven into the swollen current of the Jordan when attempting to make their escape from the legions, and had been borne down by the rapid flood into the wide expanse of the Dead Sea.

For a season, it would seem that Eleazar was not without a powerful rival to his authority. This competitor for power was the fierce and turbulent Simon, who subsequently became as notorious and infamous as the chief of one of the three factions that cursed Jerusalem in its last gasps for liberty, and who, after its fall, was transported to Rome and figured in the triumph of Titus. Troops having been sent against him, to punish him for the cruelties perpetrated in the toparchy of Acrabatene, he sought an asylum with the possessors of Masada. They at first suspected him, and confined his residence to the lower town, where he established himself with his followers. Soon, however, the zeal that Simon displayed in their expeditions won their confidence, though they still refused to co-operate with him in his ambitious projects. After a while, impatient of all restraint, he enrolled an army of his own; and then, separating from his former associates in Masada, he commenced a career of atrocious depredation and pillage throughout Judea and Idumea. Groaning under the tyranny of the leaders of the factions, Eleazar and John of Gischala, the inhabitants of Jerusalem invited Simon to enter with his wild Idumean hords. This, after much fierce conflict and carnage, was effected; but, alas! it was a step that only led to a tenfold aggravation of their woes. There were now three hostile camps within the city walls instead of two; and more perished by fratricidal hands than by the weapons and missiles of the common foe, who, taking advantage of those deadly feuds, day by day drew more closely around this doomed people the fatal coils of destruction.

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At length, it is all over. The sanctuary is consumed ; the beautiful city is in ruins ; and the people have perished by famine, by fire, by sword, by sorrow, by agony, by woe, to the extent of more than a million souls. The residue have been led away to grace the victor's triumphal procession, or have been sold as slaves. The land is desolate and silent. Herodium has capitulated ; and Machærus, held by a band of dauntless men, has been taken by stratagem, where force had failed. Nothing, from Dan to Beersheba, resists or defies the imperial arms, except one solitary fortress on the Idumean coast. How that last focus of insurrection was crushed—how that final convulsive struggle with Rome was conducted—it is for us now to inquire.

As already intimated, the destruction of this last nest of Jewish rebellion was undertaken by Flavius Silva, the newly appointed procurator of the country. For the stirring details of the siege we are indebted to Josephus, whose narrative we shall follow. The Roman general, then, having seized upon the surrounding country, established garrisons in every convenient post, and encircled the fortress with a wall for the purpose of precluding the possibility of escape on the part of the besieged, at the same time distributing detachments to watch them closely. He selected for his encamping ground the most commanding point in the immediate vicinity of the fortress ; but, in other respects, it was extremely difficult for him in such a position to provide himself with the necessary supplies. Not only were the ordinary articles of subsistence brought from a great distance, and with enormous difficulty, by the Jews who had undertaken to furnish provisions for the army, but even the water had to be conveyed to the camp, as no spring was to be found in the neighbourhood.

Having made his preliminary dispositions, Silva began the siege with skill and immense labour, necessitated by the position and strength of the fortress. His first efforts were directed against the only point which seemed to admit of successful assault. Beyond the tower, before referred to, which closed the western path leading towards the palace and the summit of the fortress, there stood a rocky eminence of great extent, but lower than Masada by more than five hundred feet. This elevated platform was known as Leuke, or the White Promontory. As soon as the Roman commander had reached this post, he began

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to construct thereon a huge earthen mound. By the persevering labour of his soldiers, the level was raised about 350 feet; the ground was not yet solid enough, nor was the height sufficient to enable him to work the battering engines. Above the mound, accordingly, he built another platform, composed of huge rocks, and measuring more than 80 feet in length and breadth. Here he planted some of those terrible engines which had already wrought so much havoc and spread so much death in the Jewish mind during the military operations before Jerusalem. And in addition to these formidable preparations, a tower, completely encased in iron, was erected, from the top of which the Romans, by means of slings and cross-bows, hurled the defenders from the walls, and suffered not a man to escape with his head.

Erecting at the same time an enormous battering-ram, they began to assail the wall without intermission, and succeeded in beating down a considerable portion so as to open a breach. The garrison, however, had not meanwhile been idle; for the tremendous blows were falling upon the trembling wall, they had been labouring hard to raise an interior rampart which might not, like the outer one, be so readily damaged by the action of the engines. To render this second wall soft, in order to deaden the violence of the blows, it was constructed in the following manner. Long beams were placed end to end and laid in two parallel rows, distant from each other the interval of the breadth or thickness of the wall. The interval between the two rows was filled with earth; and to prevent the earth from bursting out, transverse beams were added to strengthen those which were connected lengthwise. Thus the construction of this rampart resembled a solid edifice; whilst the blows of the engines, falling on a yielding surface, lost their power; indeed, the repeated shocks helped to combine the materials more strongly together and give additional compactness to the entire fabric. When the disconcerted commander discovered this, he instructed his soldiers to hurl against this new obstacle a quantity of lighted brands. The wall, abounding with wood, now caught fire and, burning from one end to the other, projected a tremendous flame. At first the wind, blowing from the north, carried the flame directly towards the position of the besiegers; but it then shifted round to the south, as if by Divine direction, the flame



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were hurled back again, and consumed the bulwark of the garrison from top to bottom, until the whole became a mass of smouldering ashes. The Romans, thus apparently favoured by Providence, retired to their camp with joyful elation, with the fixed intention of advancing to the assault on the following morning; adopting the precaution, meanwhile, of stationing strong and vigilant outposts to prevent the flight of the garrison.

But during that night such a deed of desperate self-sacrifice and horrible heroism was to be consummated beneath the Syrian stars, as has few parallels in human history, and which will render that night memorable to the end of time. Eleazar, who, as we have before stated, was the chief of the emperilled garrison, had no idea of flight himself, and he was fully resolved to allow no such dastardly course to his compatriots. Reduced to despair by seeing his last intrenchment destroyed, and reflecting also on the cruel treatment and ignominious fate reserved by the Roman conquerors for their wives and children, he determined to die, together with all his people, as, in his view, the best alternative remaining in their choice. In this dread crisis of their affairs, he accordingly assembled around him all the bravest spirits in the garrison, and reminded them that the hour had now come when they must vindicate to the utmost their lofty principles. He pointed out to them, with a terrible enthusiasm and vividness, the consequences of a capitulation, and the abject misery of their bondage, should they escape an ignoble slaughter, and finished by imploring them to adopt the resolution of self-immolation. Josephus has given us *in extenso* the substance of his impassioned addresses uttered on this occasion. It is probable that the main points in these remarkable speeches were derived by the historian of the wars from one of the casual survivors—a lady reputed to have been possessed of considerable intelligence and learning. The power of eloquent appeals, in swaying the minds of large bodies of men, has seldom received a more striking illustration than in the tragical instance before us. With hundreds of stern-looking, battle-scarred men gathered around him, in all attitudes of attention, and with intense earnestness sharpening every feature, while hanging on the skirts of the warrior crowd might have been seen the shrinking forms and wonder-stricken faces of Jewish mothers and maidens, Eleazar commenced his harangue, of which the following is an epitome.

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"Since we long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other authority than that of God himself, the time has now arrived when the fulfilment of that determination becomes imperative on us. We were the very first that revolted from the haughty oppressors of our country, and we are the last of our valiant compatriots that fight against them; and I cannot but deem it a favour granted to us by God, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and unsubjected, which has not been the case with many of our unfortunate fellow countrymen, who were vanquished unexpectedly. With to-morrow's dawn, we are lost men, and will no longer possess the present privilege of dying with those dearest to us. Our enemies, who indulge in the hope of taking us alive, are not powerful enough to prevent our eluding their hands by a voluntary death. It is plain that we can successfully resist them no longer; while the condition of our desolated country must at length be suffered to convince us of the sad fact, which we ought to have discerned much earlier, that God himself has declared against us, and abandoned the Jewish nation, which he has ceased to love. Had we not been condemned and accursed, can we believe he would have permitted the destruction of the Holy City? We, the last of our race, are crushed under the Divine anger, and must share the fate of those who have fallen in the unavailing struggle. This impregnable fortress, for instance, what protection has it afforded us? These warlike stores, and these arms, too—what have we been able to achieve with them? Absolutely nothing. And have we not been openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance? for the flame which at first threatened our enemies, and was afterwards fatally turned back upon ourselves, was so directed by God for the punishment of our manifold sins. Still, if we have guilt to expiate, let not the Romans have the satisfaction of being the executioners of Divine wrath: let us rather ourselves become the instruments thereof. Our wives will thus escape outrage, and our children avoid servitude. And after we have slain them, let us successively bestow that glorious benefit upon one another; and thus preserving ourselves to the last in freedom, rear in our death an imperishable funeral monument to our memory. But let us first destroy our treasures and the fortress by fire, and so defeat the cupidity of the Romans. Let us leave them nothing but the provisions."

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show that we have not succumbed to famine, but that, in accordance with our well-known principles, we have preferred death to slavery."

Such was the substance of the appeal of Eleazar to the lofty patriotism of the garrison, in those midnight hours of momentous and harrowing suspense. Deep was the impression produced upon his auditors, and many were the sighs, heaved from manly hearts, that broke upon the solemn silence that ensued. There was a strange strife betwixt the hero and the man—an inward war in almost every breast between the soft relentings of the father or the husband, and the fierce and inflexible resolves of the patriot. As these humanities could not be at once extinguished, even by eloquence the most inspired, there were many in that wild group who could not fully acquiesce in the proposal of the speaker. Some prepared to adopt, without hesitation, a resolution so heroic. Those who wavered were moved by feelings of commiseration and tenderness towards their wives and children; and anticipating their death as being so near at hand, they began to look wistfully at each other with tearful eyes, showing, by their distressful silence, that they dissented from the advice of their commander. Eleazar, perceiving these symptoms of pusillanimity, began to fear lest even those who had applauded his speech might allow themselves to be softened by the supplications and tears of the more timid. He therefore renewed his exhortations with increasing energy and warmth.

Fixing his eyes, we are told, with an expression of stern reproof, on those who had yielded to the weakness of tears, and uttering a lamentable groan, he resumed his address by upbraiding them for their want of courage and consistency; passing on to remind them that, according to the laws of their country and the practice of their noble ancestors, it is life that, under certain circumstances, is a calamity to men, and not death, since the latter releases the soul from all the miseries incident to the mortal body. Dilating on this point, he broke forth into a strain of lofty eloquence upon the immortality and the divinity of the soul; and proceeded to argue, that if the repose which we enjoy during slumber be so welcome and so delicious, how much more perfect and desirable ought to be the liberty and rest which we are destined to realize in the sleep of death. To reprove them for the fond tenacity with which they clung to

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life, he next appealed to the example of the philosophic Indians, who habitually bore life as a burthen, and, at the appointed time, cheerfully and with hymns of thanksgiving, threw it off. But the part of his address which produced the most powerful and perceptible effect, was that in which he rapidly recapitulated the sufferings and massacres that had everywhere fallen upon the Jewish people, and which he ascribed to the fact of their abandonment by God. He dwelt upon the happiness of those who had patriotically perished in the defence of their country, instead of, by a base submission, betraying it into the hands of its enemies; and then drew a most appalling picture of the treatment that would be inflicted by the Romans upon such of the vanquished as might survive the struggle—the tortures of the rack—the agonies of burning—the revolting and prolonged cruelties of the amphitheatre—the abuse of the women—the slavery of the innocent children. “But,” continued he, in a strain of heroic and impetuous ardour, “at present our hands are still at liberty, and our swords are still in their grasp; let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design. Let us die unenslaved; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and children. This our law demands—this our wives and children entreat: even God himself has driven us to this stern necessity; while nothing would be more mortifying to the Romans than that we should escape their power, and disappoint them of their anticipated victory. Let us rob them of the joy and triumph of seeing us subdued, and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valour.”

At this point in his fierce exhortation, according to Josephus, he was interrupted by a unanimous outcry from the multitude, whom his burning words had inflamed to such a pitch of frenzied enthusiasm, that they vied with one another in their eagerness to commence the fearful sacrifice, each one seeming to dread being anticipated by his companions. On their excited spirits no softer appeals had now the slightest effect. They embraced their wives with convulsive tenderness; they kissed their startled and wondering children with strange tears, and the next moment, with unshrinking hand, they stabbed them to the heart. There was no hesitation—no exception. The horrible necessity to which they were impelled was felt by them to be justified by the release which it insured from dire miseries.

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This first act in the terrible tragedy finished, the perpetrator of this carnage, overwhelmed with horror, and longing to rejoin their victims in the shortest possible time, proceeded to heap up their riches in an enormous pile, which they consumed by fire. Ten men were next chosen by lot to kill the rest, who, casting themselves on the ground, and, taking in their arms the now lifeless bodies of their wives and children, presented their throats to those selected to execute this melancholy office. The ten having fulfilled their task without flinching, a second lot was taken to determine who of the residue should slay his nine companions, and afterwards consummate the catastrophe by the immolation of himself. The choice was made; the nine offered their necks to the fatal stroke; and the solitary survivor having examined all the bodies stretched around him to see that life was extinct, and convinced that none of his brethren required his further ministry, he fired the palace, and then fell on his own sword.

All these stern-souled patriots perished with the conviction that not a single living being remained to grace the triumph of the hated Romans. But they deceived themselves, it would appear; for an aged woman, together with one of Eleazar's female relatives, said to have been distinguished by her knowledge and wisdom, and five children, contrived to secrete themselves in a subterranean aqueduct, where they were unthought of and unsought for in the hurry and agony of those dreadful moments. This almost unparalleled event happened on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan, corresponding with about the beginning of April among us. The number of the garrison who thus perished, including women and children, amounted to nine hundred and sixty—the last holocaust of victims offered up on the ruined altars of Jewish independence.

While these ghastly deeds were being done within the enclosures of the fortress, the Romans were reposing in their camps, and recruiting their strength for the expected strife of the morrow. At dawn of day, accordingly, they issued from their intrenchments, planted their scaling ladders, and eagerly rushed to the assault. They encountered not a single opponent. Nothing but solitude, silence, and the vestiges of the devouring flames, met them in every direction. Still, far from suspecting what had happened, they, with one voice, sent up a mighty shout, as they were accustomed to do when they drove the

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battering-ram, for the purpose of startling the people from their hiding-places. At this sound, the terrified women crawled from their concealment, and the kinswoman of Eleazar related what had happened, with all its circumstantial horrors. At first, the Romans were incredulous, and refused belief to such an act of devoted patriotism, and, having extinguished the fire, penetrated into the palace, where they discovered the long piles of human corpses, weltering in gore. The hardy soldiers were spell-bound with amaze. They did not give vent to the joy of a victory obtained in the ardour of battle. The pride of conquest was checked by admiration of the heroic deed they could no longer doubt; and they respected the sublime contempt for death by which so many noble-minded warriors had immortalized their fame for ever.

With the fall of this fortress was extinguished the last hope of the Jew; and the subjugation of Judea to the Roman power became henceforth complete. But where the imperial victors had found a smiling land, teeming with plenty and prosperity, they left a well-nigh depopulated wilderness. Masada was dismantled and ere long abandoned; and its ramparts have never since that hour echoed to the tramp of the sentinel, nor its deserted palaces resounded with the clash of arms.

From a very early period, there gathered around the scene of the memorable exploit we have just been contemplating, an impenetrable mist. Not once, so far as we can learn, during the lapse of seventeen centuries and a half, was the cloud lifted from the brow of this hill of sacrifice. Strange as it may seem, the site of the last death-throes of Jewish patriotism passed from human memory. Tradition failed to indicate the spot. No stream of pilgrims kept the pathway well worn to the mountain shrine. Proscribed and exiled from their own dear land, the feet of few Jews have ever sought out the glorious yet mournful spot. Like so many other celebrated localities, it was reserved for the exploring spirit of the present century to discover and identify it.

The first among modern travellers to recognise the long-forgotten rock, were Messrs. Robinson and Smith, who, as we have shown in a previous tract,* visited the Judean wilderness

* The Dead Sea, and its Explorers.

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and the shores of the Dead Sea in the year 1838. The gent explorers did not, however, ascend the mountain contemplated its striking profile, by means of a tale the neighbouring heights of Engedi. Guided by the tion with which they were furnished by the Arabs w consulted, they have given us, in their valuable "Re a description as accurate as if founded on a personal ex The spot was to them for some time, we are told, s puzzle. The ruins on the sloping summit were at jected to be the remains of some early convent; and that it was not until the great biblical topographer Palestine, and was pursuing his subsequent auxiliary the rich libraries of Berlin, that the suggestion was ma by his former companion, the Rev. E. Smith, which identification of the modern Sebbeh with the ancient I

The allusions to Masada in the work of Dr. Robin stimulated the enterprise and curiosity of other tra this region. Accordingly we find that in 1842, just 1 after the discovery was made, the stupendous rock wa by Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping—the former an Ame sionary, and the latter an English artist, who w sketches in Palestine for the illustration of a new Josephus. These gentlemen, by their bold ascent and examination, were enabled to verify the somewhat c statements of the American travellers. An accoun visit, in connexion with other explorations in the neigh was prepared by one of the party and forwarded to Dr. by whom it was afterwards published in the first pe "Bibliotheca Sacra." As the narrative is possessed of able value, from the stirring associations of the spot, embody in our pages some of the more interestin A comparison of this description with the account of will tend to exonerate that annalist from the suspicic aggeration and high colouring which have someti insinuated against him. The more closely his na tested, the more clearly does its general fidelity appear

The approach to the cliff of Sebbeh from the Jude lay across a scorched and desolate tract, and the aspe entire locality was that of stern and lonely grande travellers made their ascent on the western side of the r which they state to be the only way of access to the

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silous serpentine pass on the east having been long since away.* In climbing, they were sometimes obliged to use of both hands and feet. In speaking of the loftiness of the site, they thought the language of Josephus to be by no means exaggerated. It required strong nerves to stand over its steep precipices and look directly down, the depth of these being estimated at upwards of a thousand feet. The two points of the rock are on the north and the south-west; the surface sloping gently towards the south-east corner. The whole area is calculated at three-quarters of a mile in length from north to south, and a third of a mile in breadth, in which there are now no traces of its former exuberant vegetation.

'White Promontory,' on which Silva raised his siege, was not only distinctly recognised, but also ascended, by the travellers. The lower parts of the wall of Herod, which formed the entire circuit of the hill-top, were found still to

The material of which it is composed had assumed the same dark red complexion as the rock itself, though the wall is said to have been built of white stone; and there is no doubt that the ancient authorities are correct on this point, as on breaking the stone, it was found internally to possess a whitish hue, which had been lost by centuries of exposure to the embrowning action of the sun.

"the existing foundations," says Mr. Wolcott, "we could only see the general outlines of the structures which Josephus describes. The peculiar form of some, composed of long narrow rooms, indicated that they had been storehouses or magazines, rather than private dwellings. The architecture, both of the wall and of the buildings, was of one kind, consisting of large stones quarried probably on the summit, laid loosely together, and the interstices filled in with small pieces of stone. The appearance of cobbled work. We thought at first it could hardly be the work of Herod; but there can be no doubt that it is so. The stone is of the most durable kind, and there are traces of more ancient work; and these would be almost the only materials accessible in such a spot."

At the head of the ascent is a ruined gateway, with a small arch, which our travellers took to be of more modern date.

It afterwards appears that this impression was not correct, as De Saulles is supposed to have ascended by this path.

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date than the remainder of the fortress, though, in our (the supposition is extremely improbable. A building, circular recess in the eastern wall, is situated close by, or fifty feet below the northern summit are the foundations of a round tower, probably occupied as an outpost. Near the tower windows cut in the rock, with their sides whitened, and belonging to some large cistern now covered up.

That which seems to have interested the travellers is the Roman wall of circumvallation, which was distinct and visible in every part of its course. The outline of the wall, seen from the heights above, looked as complete as if it had been but recently abandoned. "We afterwards," says Wolcott, "examined the wall in places, and found it very broad, built like the ramparts above, only more rudely. It had of course crumbled, and was probably never high. It brought the siege before us with an air of reality; and recalled to our minds, as we looked down upon it, the awful immolation which had taken place on the spot where we stood. It was a stupendous illustration of the Roman perseverance that enabled the world, which could sit down so deliberately in such a position, to commence a siege with such a work; and, I may add, to scale such a fortress. We found among the rocks a round stone, which had probably been hurled from a catapult."

Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping spent the greater part of their days at Sebbeh, when they were obliged to leave from the proaching exhaustion of provisions. They were distressed also in a supply of water, which could only be procured from the scanty collections left by the recent rains in the hollows of the rocks; thus confirming the statement of Josephus, that as well as food had to be brought to the beleaguering army from a considerable distance.

The veil of oblivion that had so long overhung the city of Masada having been thus lifted, it henceforth, as might have been expected, became a point of attraction to all travellers. In the year 1848, the hoary old rock was honoured with a visit by some of the leading members of the American expedition. Early in the morning of April the 29th a detachment was detached from the encampment at Engedi, charged with the commission to examine the frowning cliff before them at eight o'clock, according to Lieut. Lynch's narrative, they descended to a ravine at the foot of Sebbeh, where they fell in

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l, 15 feet wide, and marked by two parallel rows of h extended a considerable distance. At nine o'clock d a low cave in the southern face of the mountain, Seyal—a deep ravine, which separates the cliff from ge on the north. Here the party dismounted, as it npossible to proceed further on horseback. Thence, pon their hands and knees, they clambered up the gged cliff—its perpendicular sides pierced with aper- ae rock of Gibraltar. They were inclined to believe y by which they ascended, is the one which Josephus pent. They crossed the ravine upon a chalky ridge, ough considerably below the highest point of the nects the southern steep of Seyal with the northern of Masada.

revious travellers, the present party passed through gateway with its pointed arch, the stones composing uriously inscribed with Greek delta-shaped figures, esembling the planetary symbol of Venus; some up- me reverted, and others again with rude crosses and



ad letter T. In describing the area to which this gate- iced them, about the same dimensions are assigned ven by Mr. Wolcott. The absence of vegetation, he bottoms of a few weed and lichen-covered ex- also noticed. Towards the north-western edge of the erved the remains of one of Herod's ancient cisterns

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or granaries, of considerable extent, but much choked with the ruins and rubbish of its own cemented walls, together with the decomposed thistles and rank weeds of many centuries. In the opposite south-west corner of the rock they found a still larger excavation, beautifully stuccoed with pebbles, and as smooth and clean as if just finished. It had a gallery and a flight of forty steps, and was lighted by two windows, visible on the southern face of the cliff. This circumstance led the explorers to infer that there were numerous other excavated subterranean chambers, lighted by the apertures of the cliff which they had seen outside on their ascent; but they failed to gain access to them.

The ruins of the round tower, before referred to, perched on an inaccessible precipitous ledge of rock, are placed at a distance of about 100 feet (instead of 40 or 50 feet) below the northern summit; while, according to the Americans, at about 40 or 50 feet lower still, are the foundations of a square enclosure. They found it impossible to descend to examine these ruins. Beside the remains of the round tower, or donjon-keep, there were on the summit the fragments of walls with circular recesses of tessellated brick-work, arched doorways, and mullioned windows partly surrounding an enclosure which was, perhaps, the courtyard or quadrangle of the castle, but which the explorers found filled with rubbish, fragments of marble, mosaic, and pottery. One of the windows, apparently a relic of a chapel, looked upon the sea, which from this point could be seen through its entire extent.

Continuing their researches towards the southern and eastern edge of the cliff, they followed a perilous track along the face of the rock, which, in their opinion, could not have been less than 1000 feet in perpendicular height above the chasm, and came upon an extensive shelf or platform, encumbered with masses of rubbish and masonry, evidently the ruins of the wall which edged the cliff above. Scrambling over the heaps, they reached an excavation called by the Arab guide a cistern, which is probably correct, for in descending they saw narrow troughs or aqueducts, the inner half scooped in the rock. At the entrance of this excavation they saw the carcase of an animal, recently killed, resembling a rabbit, and which was probably the "coney" of scripture. To the left of the entrance, and within the cell, was a small flight of steps terminating in a

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rn. Like the walls, the steps were coated with cement. There was an aperture not accessible to the steps, which they had to reach by making notches in the wall. It was the entrance of a low cave, roughly hewn in the rock, with a window looking out upon the steep face of the adjoining ravine. Around the rough and uncemented walls were rude crosses in red paint, and upon the dust of the floor the explorers found the fresh prints of the antelope.

The spirited party also attempted to examine the southern precipitous face of the mountain, (the one represented in our engraving,) by following the dangerous zigzag path along the edge, which merely projected a few feet from the rough surface of rock; but they found the enterprise impracticable, from the looseness of the stones, and the certain destruction awaited them in the yawning abysses below, should they for a moment lose their foot-hold.

The third and, so far as we are aware, the last band of Arabian pilgrims that braved the perils of this exciting expedition, consisted of M. de Saulcy and his vivacious French companions. This visit took place so late as January 11th,

Unhappily, at the time of their ascent of Sebbeh, they were not aware of the traditional associations that give to that dread cliff its awfulness of interest. They seem, however, to have made some important observations, which were recorded at the spot, and which, on M. de Saulcy afterwards making himself acquainted with the historical antecedents of the spot, were found to be strikingly confirmatory both of the description of Josephus and of the accounts published by his predecessors and successors. From that gentleman's narrative of this adventurous expedition we propose to give a few of the more interesting particulars, referring such of our readers as may desire a more detailed account, to the work itself. The toils and dangers of the ascent are thus described.

Leaving our encampment (on the shore of the Dead Sea) to "re-appear," says the leader of the party, "we direct our course to the right bank of the large chasm which divides us from the mountains of Sebbeh. The ascent is steep, and the fragments roll under our feet. After some minutes' progress the path becomes more difficult, and goats alone might attempt with it, supposing they were not over-difficult to climb. There can be no doubt we are moving on the perilous

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ledge called by Josephus "the Serpent;" but I avouch, and my companions will scarcely gainsay me, that the historian of the Jews has described it in too flattering colours. It is one continual scaling-ladder, several hundred feet in perpendicular height. If you venture a glance to the left, while on this picturesque ascent, beware of the vertigo, and a bottomless abyss which threatens you with a kind of fatal fascination. We determine, therefore, to look only to the right as we go up; going down we shall have the variety of looking to the left, which will be some consolation."

Two of the party, at this point of the enterprise, drop off; their enthusiasm not being equal to the demands made upon it. Five members of the band, however, panting and out of breath, still follow their Bedouin leaders, their pride not allowing them to be outdone by those iron savages of the desert, who rush up the goat-path as though it were a royal high-road. "At last," continues M. de Saulcy, "we reach a platform, pre-eminently rugged and narrow at first, rent by a chasm bearing away to the north-west. But the area soon becomes wider, and we find ourselves encircled by fragments of walls, and heaps of other ruins—unquestionable evidences of ancient habitations.

"To our left the crest of the precipice is protected by a wall of dry stones, heaped up without order; and this wall dips rapidly, with the rock that bears it, to the bottom of the chasm, on the northern side of which we have left our camp. There is no mistaking the locality; it is the spot which Josephus calls Leuke. To our left begins "the Serpent"—the path we have just followed, leading down to the Dead Sea. Behind us must be the western path, with the tower which intersected it, as both roads met at this point. Both path and tower, however, are concealed by the remains of Silva's camp, which was placed on this very spot."

Standing on Leuke, and looking eastward, "we have before us the perpendicular rock of Masada, 200 feet in height, on the smoothly-scarped side of which appear a few excavations, resembling those of a necropolis, and placed about fifty feet below the summit, without any protuberant stones or steps by which to reach them. There could have been no access but by subterranean passages from the interior of the fortress. A ridge, as narrow as the blade of a knife, leads along the top of an artificial causeway, made of light earth. This causeway, uniting

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the side of the rock Masada, is all that remains of sound.* The platform by which it was surrounded has been broken down by the action of time and the rains on the soft stones which formed the foundations. The stones have all rolled down the precipices on either side, and there remains now only a narrow but this dangerous ridge before us, which we must cross as on like rope-dancers, without even the advantage of a balancing-pole.

A few seconds we have crossed the abyss, and here we are standing on to the side of the rock of Masada. Another steep escarpment is before us, and fifty feet higher up we see the remains of a flight of stairs, on the side of the precipice on the ruins of a buttress, built of fine freestone.

As we gain the summit, and a small remnant of a path, between the precipice on one side and the ruins of a wall on the other, leads us to a well-preserved gate of fine workmanship, with an ogival (pointed) arch. The form of this arch is thus carried back to the epoch of the Great, or, at the very latest, to that of Titus and the fall of Masada." After referring to the inscriptions, M. de Saulcy has already noticed in the narrative of the American expedition. M. de Saulcy proceeds:—"Beyond this gate, a level plain opens before us: it is the platform of Masada. Happily, having reached it with sound limbs; and, as we have not halted long, fifty minutes have sufficed to bring us from the same spot on which we stand."

We thus attained the western crest of the hill, now almost still, but once vocal with the sounds of human strife. Here, the attention of the travellers was speedily arrested by a building, which, at a short distance from them, was conspicuous from its size and stateliness. It resembled a church with a semi-circular apsis, and was constructed of fine freestone, finely worked. The walls were covered with a very hard mosaic laid with mosaic work, consisting of thousands of fragments of broken pottery fixed in the mortar, and in regular designs. Some small detached cubes of red, and black stone, scattered about, leading M. de Saulcy to think that the hall was paved with real mosaic, he induced his attendants to clear away the rubbish from the platform, to the delight of the travellers, a handsome

* See back, pages 15 and 16.

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mosaic pavement, disposed in curious knots, was brought to light. Unfortunately, however, it was in a state of sad dilapidation. Fragments of moulding in white marble were strewn about, of which sketches were taken by the artists of the party; and specimen pieces of the curious pottery and glass discovered were carried away as mementoes of the visit. The building, of which these are the vestiges, was called by the Arabs the Qasr, or Palace; and is no doubt identical with the superb edifice reared by Herod, and in which, in all probability, the last tragic act of Jewish patriotism was consummated.

In exploring the remainder of the platform, another ruin north-east of the palace, attracted the special notice of the party. This was a quadrangular enclosure, of much more ancient style than any of the other buildings. A deep wall and ditch divides it from the rest of the platform, beginning from the left flank of a square ruined tower, which commands the entire ground. Ascending this tower, the travellers obtained a full view of the interior of the oldest portion of the fortress, marked, in the direction from south to north, by continuous lines and heaps of large, black, irregular stones—remains of buildings that have crumbled down where they were erected. In De Sauley's opinion, this enclosure constituted the original fortress built by Jonathan, while all the other structures were the work of Herod.

These were the most noteworthy remains referred to by the leader of the French expedition. In common with his predecessors in research, he speaks of the surprising state of preservation in which the besieging works of the Roman general still survive. The entire plan is capable of being clearly made out; and the lines of circumvallation were narrowly inspected by him on his descent from the mountain.

The identity of Masada having been thus clearly established, we may hope to have tidings from its brow again and again, as traveller after traveller is tempted to scale its scarred summit, and to report his observations to the world. It is much to be regretted that, owing to the disorganized state of society in the East, so little has been done to reclaim from oblivion some of the most hallowed sites of Palestine. May the convulsions and changes that are now occurring prove the harbingers of a better state of things in all Bible lands.

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

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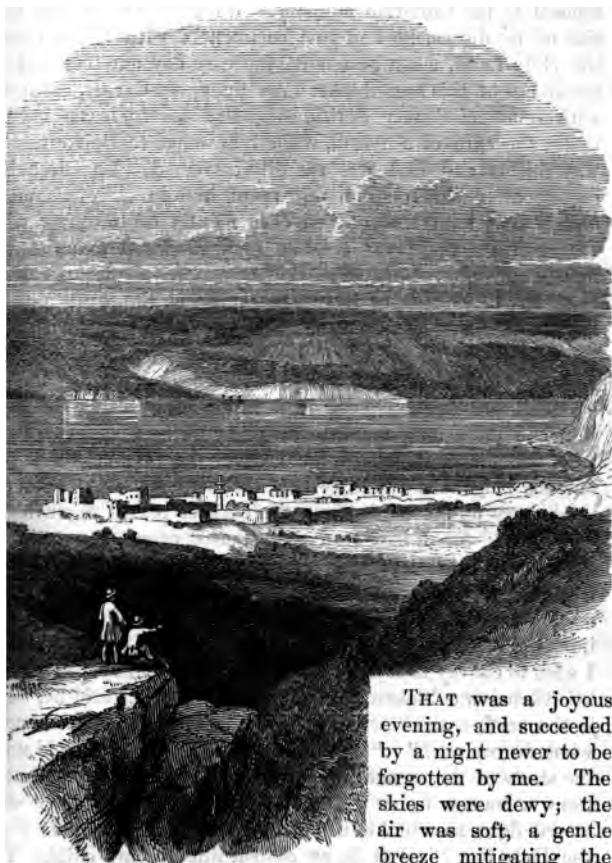
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PAUL. With Maps.

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THE LAKE OF GALILEE;

ITS CITIES, AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.



THAT was a joyous evening, and succeeded by a night never to be forgotten by me. The skies were dewy; the air was soft, a gentle breeze mitigating the

at; the lake slept as tranquil as a babe in its cradle, to which I fancied it was not unlike; and a deep blue sunlight bathed the bare, swelling hills in a severe beauty; and then I stood

cise of its duties, he had just commenced with me the Holy Land, when he fell ill, the very day our feet touched the shores of this sacred lake. An unexpected call, connected with some missionary duties, compelled me to leave the land under the care of a friend, while I hastened to Beirut and back was speedily traversed. The first or two after our re-union was spent in taking refreshment and in that almost silent and deep mental communion which best satisfies the heart of close kindred when fraught with unusual emotion.

At length we rose, as if spontaneously, at the same time, left our tent, and ascended an elevation on the western side of the city, where we sat down hand in hand, with our eyes well as our eyes rivetted on the water below and the land which it was encompassed. The whole scene looked as if I had often seen it; I knew every part—the shape of the lake, the hue of its waves, the brooks, the ravines, the heights of the hill—nay, the history of every part of the history of the whole, from the earliest period down to the year 1853; for I had read and studied everything that had been conjectured, disputed, and established regarding “the Sea of Galilee.” And now that I saw it—saw those heavenly waters, on which I had so often mused—I was so overcome by their influence, that for a season I could not utter a word.

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am glad you have awakened me from my reverie. I
d to recite to you what I know respecting this hallowed
l, but so intense and absorbing were my feelings that
I not a tongue. The silence is broken; now then listen.
approach to this place I never shall forget. Wearied as
with the long and toilsome journey from the shores of the
Mediterranean hither, I felt all my energies quickened afresh
near to these waters, and to you, my child. The inci-
of my journey are too numerous to mention. But I must
few words of what I saw and felt before I descended into
Sin. For miles, the country, as you approach it on the
rises with a gradual but decided ascent. A little after
I and my companions opened on our right a magnificent
of slopes, with a bare glimpse of this spot and the
sins of Bashan beyond. Those slopes are fields of grain,
d into rectangles of different hues and different stages of
h. Patches of flowers lay scattered about—here the scarlet
me, and there the blue convolvulus; but the gentle and
gent slopes looked like mosaic, with a prevailing purple
the hue of the thorny shrub merar. On our route, the pre-
rock was limestone, of which for the most part consist the
forming the panorama you behold. As we passed over a rich
vely country, and witnessed signs that barley harvest was
over and wheat harvest about to begin, we saw labourers
ag in the fields, but no houses and few trees. At a
in on the high road from Jerusalem to Damascus—the
lown which probably Paul hurried when he proceeded
he former to the latter city, on his mission of intolerance
saw some Christian pilgrims taking rest and refreshment,
tired horses, with drooping heads, waiting their turn to

ble to restrain my impatience, I now rode ahead, and was
upon the brow of what to a spectator at its base must
e a lofty mountain. Far down a green sloping chasm
the sea, like a mirror embosomed in its curved and beautiful
a treeless hills. "How dear," said I, "how very dear to
ristian the memories of that spot! the lake of the New
ment! Blessed beyond compare, it bore the Son of God
surface, and gave temporary shelter to him who had not
to lay his head. Its cliffs first echoed the glad tidings
vation, and from its towns the first of the apostles were

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gathered for its ministry. Its placid water and its shelving beach, the ruined cities once crowded with busy men, and the everlasting hills, recall and attest the deeds of wondrous love there performed, and almost make the very stones resound once more with the words of the Teacher and Saviour of the world.

The roadside and the uncultivated slopes of the hills were full of flowers, and abounded with singing birds. Around my feet lay mementoes for ever consecrated in the retentive and loving memory of Christian tradition. Near by was the field where the disciples plucked the ears of corn. Yet nearer was the spot where the Saviour fed the famishing multitude. On the left stood the Mount of Beatitudes, where the Word preached his memorable compend of wisdom and love. Yet a little below—as I shall show you by and bye—was fought one of the most dreadful battles recorded in history, as if to show how little regards the noblest precepts and the highest example. Easily did my mind revert to spots at a greater or less distance; on my right to Nazareth, where Jesus was brought up, and to Tabor, where he was transfigured; a little more to the south and west I was carried in spirit to the luxuriant plain of Esdraelon; thence was I borne in a south-easterly direction to the rich valley of Gerizim and Joseph's well, and the woman of Samaria. Hastening in my thought back northwardly, I saw with my bodily eyes, though in the remote distance, first the dewy top of Mount Hermon, and then the snow-capped heights of Lebanon, still glittering and basking in the beams of day, while a chaste cool drapery of white fleecy clouds hung around his base. The sun was just setting behind me over the blue waters of the Mediterranean; it was setting in a blaze of red light, which filled the western sky for many degrees above the horizon, and throwing a tinge on the eastern brow of the lake, was slightly reflected from its smooth glassy surface. That brow was visible for miles on the right and left, rising, as you see, abruptly out of the water into that immense and continuous bulwark, grand and massive, yet softened by graceful undulations, and here and there carpeted with vegetation from the summit down to the water's edge. Beyond that ridge stretched out an apparently boundless region filled up with a countless number of beautiful swelling hills clad in verdure, which at the moment were invested with a peculiar richness of colouring.

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I stood there on the western edge of this basin, and thought of my route, and beheld the opposite mountain, I was vividly struck with the propriety of some scriptural terms, and then assured that those who employed them lived on the spots of which they wrote. I will give you an instance or two. I had, in my more minute study of the gospels, been struck with the peculiarity of the phrase, "After this he (Jesus) went down to Capernaum." * Why this "went *down*?"—why not simply "went?" Capernaum was on the margin of the Lake of Galilee, Nazareth—the place of departure—stood midway between the lake and the Mediterranean; the distance was not great, the way being just across the country; why, under these circumstances, use the terms "up" or "down?" Would not "across" have been more descriptive? I now see my error. I myself come hither *down* from Nazareth; this I should know of the general lie of the country, but this I know also from results of scientific information; for while the ruins of Capernaum are there on the left, deep sunk on the western margin of this basin, Nazareth stands 1237 feet above the level of the sea. The exactitude of the scriptural phraseology is the more remarkable, because, as I have already intimated, the road on the western brow is for some distance an ascent. When, too, I cast my eyes on those precipitous eastern hills, dissected here and there by deep ravines, I saw not only the effects of the sudden storms which I find from the Bible fall on the lake, but also with what strict propriety those storms are described as coming *down* on its waters, as in the words, "But as they sailed, he (Jesus) fell asleep: and there came down a great wind on the lake, and they were filled with water and in jeopardy. And they came to him, and awoke him, saying, Master, we perish! Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water; and they ceased, and there was a calm." † Indeed, you may at this moment see with your eyes an illustration. The moon has cast a vivid ray on the face of that steep and lofty mountain there on the south-east of the lake near its extremity. Figure to yourself a number of balls set in motion down that rapid descent, and you will immediately have before you the fact recorded in these words: "The whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the lake and perished in the waters." ‡

John ii. 12, compare vi. 16. † Luke viii. 23, 24. ‡ Matt. viii. 32.

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But these remarks remind me of my intention to you a few exact particulars regarding this spot. As I stood on the brow of the hill which ruined city, I had a full opportunity to supplement my reading by the observations of my own eye. Palestine, from Hermon to the Dead Sea, to him unlike that of a man, I saw in the Lake of Galilee the country, and in figure, if not also in function, resembles a heart. Receiving the waters of the Jordan as an artery on its north-eastern lobe, it sends out on its south-western extremity, and so connects with the antlered Lebanon, with its upper extremities, the hills of Samaria, and its lower extremities, the hills of Samaria. The spinal cord of this living frame runs from the head to the Dead Sea in a deep serpentine ravine. In the heart of the country, the Lake of Galilee forms the system, for its surface is 652 feet below the level of the sea. The bottom is a concave basin, of which the greatest depth far ascertained, is 165 feet. But this inland lake, rising and falling, from copious rains or rapid evaporation, constantly fluctuating in depth. The mountains on the eastern side run up to the lake, while those on the western side nowhere exceed the level of the waters of the lake—which, besides “the Sea of Galilee” in scripture several designations, as, “the Sea of Tiberias,”† “the Lake of Gennesaret,”‡ and “the Sea of Galilee”—are fresh, limpid, salubrious, and abounding in fish. It is not less than fifteen miles long and seven and a half miles wide.

Specially celebrated is the lake for its fish. In curing fish, the ancient Tarichea, now El-Kerak, in the western corner, obtained its name. Carp are caught in its waters. The right to fish was farmed of the Turkish Government for 700 piastres to persons resident in Tiberias. A series of writers have given fame of the lake as supplying by its fish a means of subsistence, and a source of considerable gain. The climate is considered healthy, for the heat in the midday is extreme, rising in the shade to 103° Fahrenheit. In the winter febrile complaints are more than usually prevalent.

* John vi. 1. † Num. xxxiv. 11. ‡ Luke v. 1.

§ Matt. viii. 14.

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with water in its immediate vicinity, is very favourable to them. Hence of old the great beauty of its shores, and the fame of their palms and balsam trees. Even now the Gennesareth, midway on the western side, has almost a luxuriance, and around Tiberias still, wheat, barley, tobacco, melons, and grapes of the finest quality, are in great abundance. The melons, which are very beautiful, are much sought after both at Acre and Haifa, where melons are not in season till a month after Tiberias are fully ripe. The spring has a genial character and brings bright skies, though not without rain. Haifa is specially exposed to scorching winds from the south, the terrible blasts of the sirocco; while the winter, which snow occasionally falls, has a mildness of character between the severity of Lebanon and the softness of the south. Comparable by its form, its depression, its climate, its vegetation with the cauldron of the Dead Sea, the lake of Galilee was yet eminently fitted for a human abode, the highest culture of human beings, by the general character of its specific qualities, as well as by its position in the centre of what was probably the most populous part of Palestine, "Galilee of the Gentiles."

The natural beauty of the region you have had an opportunity to judge for yourself. Very different are the reports respecting its claims in this particular. Some writers describe it as exquisitely lovely; others set it forth as bare and unattractive. Miss Martineau, in her "Eastern Palestine," expresses no small surprise that the lake should ever have been described as beautiful. A less prejudiced observer, however, speaks in qualified terms: "I must confess," he says, "the attraction lies more in the associations than in the lake itself. The lake presents indeed a beautiful sheet of water in a deep depressed basin, from which the shores rise general steeply and continuously all around, except where there are sometimes a deep wady, occasionally interrupts them. The shores are rounded and tame, with little of the picturesque form; they are decked by no shrubs nor forests; and the verdure of the grass and herbage, which earlier in the year give them a pleasing aspect, was already (June 1858) gone; they were now only naked and dreary. Whoever has seen the magnificence of the Swiss lakes, or the softer

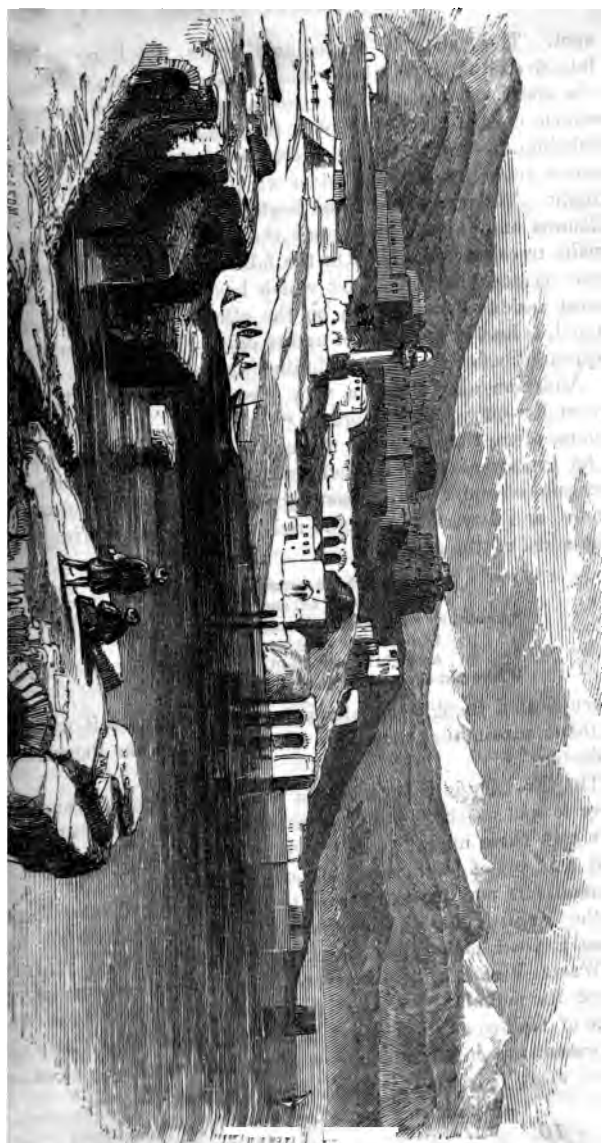
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beauty of those of England and the United States, will be disappointed. My expectations had not been of that kind; and from the romantic character of the scenery around the Dead Sea and in other parts of Palestine, I had anticipated something more striking than we found around the Lake of Tiberias. One interesting object greeted our eyes; a little white boat, with white sail, gliding over the waters, the only one, as we afterwards found, upon all the lake.”*

Frederick Adolph Strauss, however, gives a more flattering character to the scenery: “After five hours,” he writes, “I arrived in sight of the Lake of Gennesareth; the most beautiful place in all the earth, and that by which the Saviour loved to linger. We repaired at sun-set to a town rising from the waters, and looked down upon the lovely Lake of Gennesareth. Looking from Tiberias towards the western shore, we find mountains, with their terrace-like sides, approaching close to the sea, but at the distance of about a league, they again retreat, the form of a wide arch, leaving open a plain, a league in length and half a league in breadth. It is the land of Gennesareth, and it makes good in an eminent degree all that has been recorded of the fruitfulness of the shore. It still produces in great abundance all kinds of corn and vegetables, and trees of different climates grow close to one another.

“The very name of Capernaum has vanished, not a single ruin remains, and we are only left to conclude that the town may have stood near a refreshing spring by the ruins of a *khan* (or inn). From this place the ground softly undulates, and gradually the hills and mountains rise higher and higher, until in the distance glitters the snow of Lebanon, delightful in cooling the valley beneath. The beautiful scenery delighted us, and the clearness of the water was such that we could almost see to the bottom. Sudden gusts of wind often blew from the numerous valleys and ruffled its placid surface. The lovely lake, with its charming banks, was a fit spot to be the favourite resort of the Son of God. Fruits and vegetables of all climates are here found together in an extraordinary manner; for the hot south wind from Jordan blows unhindered, while cool breezes are at the same time wafted from Lebanon, so that walnuts ripen by the side of dates. And much as the glory of the lake has been obliterated by the curse, it is yet a most enchanting

* Biblical Researches in Palestine,” vol. iii. p. 258.



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spot. The valley is exceedingly warm, for lying with the lake five hundred feet lower than the sea, the sun's rays, from the south particularly, are thrown back from the mountains, which rise to the height of a thousand feet. Almost all the inhabitants of Tiberias had therefore erected huts of boughs or straw upon their houses, under which they reposed during the night. There is no ship or boat to be seen upon the water. Thorns and thistles grow upon the roads and fields and a few palm trees stand alone. On the following morning we rode up the terraced height. That which has been the result of the most assiduous cultivation on the other side of the Promised Land, is here the product of nature only. The lovely lake often appeared before us with its shining waters."*

Anderson also makes a very favourable report. We have room for only a few words. "On leaving it (Tiberias) our course along the shore was through a rich and extensive plain. The grass was tall and soft and of the richest green. The graceful oleander was blossoming among the willows along the shore, and flowers of a bright red hue, and were springing in the midst of the grass.

' All through the summer night,
Those blossoms red and bright
Spread their soft breasts, unheeding, to the breeze :
Like hermits watching still,
Around the sacred hill,
Where erst our Saviour watch'd upon his knees.'

Uncultivated though the plains were, we could see it was not without reason that they were anciently called the Paradise of Palestine."†

The diversity in these accounts is not surprising. Travellers have looked on these hills and this water with different eyes, and seen them under various aspects. That the lake has the rich and varied luxuriance of our Windermere, no one can pretend. It may be rather said to resemble the Waste Water of the English Lakes, for similar in general expression are those treeless mountains, silent shores, and tranquil waters. If Waste Water, with its severe beauty, were expanded to thrice its actual dimensions, it would not ill represent the Lake of Galilee of these days. I say "of these days," because its present aspect is but a shadow of its ancient glory. Yes, of

* "Sinai and Golgotha," translated by Dr. Stebbing, p. 325 seq.

† "Wanderings in the Land of Israel," p. 147.

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floral treasures, abundant crops, arborescent shrubs, and giant trees covered every spot where soil could accumulate—along those desert shores, up those long ravines, over those hills, and through those fields—making the whole a picture plendent with varied beauty, and a prolific granary for a numerous population.

Specially celebrated for its productiveness was that plain Gennesareth, which on our left stretches along the shore and as far inland, extending over a well-watered land, from that rock which you see at no great distance, Ain el Barideh, to the more distant brook Ain el Tin. In the period of its glory, very busy, as well as very lovely, scene struck the eye along the whole western and northern shore, from Tarichea on the north-west to Bethsaida Julias on the north-east. Between these two extremes was the famous Tiberias which now lies in ruins below our feet, next Magdala, the town of Mary Magdalene; then, going still northward, Gennesareth, and then Capernaum. These, and other cities and villages, have all perished, or nearly perished, except Tiberias,* leaving only here the ruins which are often little else than heaps of stones, scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the boulders that have rolled down from the mountains, or the shapeless masses into

The modern Tubariyeh appears to stand somewhat north of the ancient Tiberias. Respecting the locality of other towns mentioned in Scripture considerable uncertainty still prevails. Could reliance be placed on the statement of a recent traveller having scientific pretensions, namely, De Sauley, the uncertainty would in part cease to exist. He places Capernaum not, as the best authorities, at Khan Minyeh, but south of that, at Ain el Midamdarah, a little south of Magdala. Near the source of the Wady el Amud he found ruins which he identified with Kinnereth. Khan Minyeh is with him Chorazin. The site of Bethsaida has occasioned much difficulty to critics, who have sought to satisfy all conditions of the case by supposing there were two cities of that name, one on the western shore on the plain of Gennesareth, another on the eastern shore, latter called, by way of distinction, Bethsaida Julias, and forming part of the dominions, not of Antipas, but of the tetrarch Philip. De Sauley, recognising but one Bethsaida, fixes it at the considerable ruins known by the name of Tell Hum, midway between the two Bethsaidas, as ordinarily laid down in the maps. Lord spoke so habitually from the eye to the eye, that we cannot resist the suggestion that Capernaum stood on an elevation. (Matt. xi. 23, comp. Luke x. 13.) Only the verb he employs ("art exalted") is used of elevation in place in Matt. iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 32, 34, Acts ii. 33, v. 31. If it stood on an elevation, its site has yet to be discovered. Capernaum (Nahum's village or town), however, on the margin of the lake (John vi. 17, Matt. iv. 13), had a synagogue (John vi. 9), was frequented by Jesus, who seems to have had some tarrying place in his house (Matt. xvii. 25), and in consequence termed his (Christ's) "own house" (Matt. iv. 13; ix. 1; Mark ii. 1.)

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which the "thunder, lightning, hail, and rain," have fragments from the rocks. Almost incredible is the which has come over these spots. How of old did the sides echo with the voices of a swarming population! variety of tongues was to be heard in those towns—Latin, Syriac, Chaldee, Babylonish, in varieties numerous sounds often very discordant, yet for the most part cheerful about fish, or silken cloth or linen cloth, purple and spices of all kinds, gorgeous shawls, and withal the customs duly laid and rigidly exacted—the whole in motion and fro, or resting here a brief space in this entrepot the trade of the west was united with the trade of the east. Tyre shook hands in bargaining with Damascus and I may even with Ceylon. The pursuit of health, as well as pursuit of gain, brought persons to these shores. Indeed, was not to be gained here; but worn constitutions and satiated appetites might be relieved and soothed, if not gained in this soft and genial atmosphere; while in the famous remains of which still appear south of Tiberias (at Ein) the effeminate and luxurious found pleasures not tolerable acceptable because forbidden and guilty.

"Yes, father," interposed Aldred—such being my name—"I have been at those baths. Four sources still run up near to each other, and run off towards the sea in separate streams, sending up clouds of steam that indicate high temperature of the water and convert even the atmosphere into a tolerable vapour-bath. I found the water so almost to blister my hand, which I incautiously had thrust it to try its temperature. Its taste is offensively bitter and it emits a strong smell of sulphur. You have met the variety of tongues spoken in Tiberias of old. Even perhaps, is the variety of tongues spoken there now—Italian, Polish, German, and even Russian, besides Rashi and Hebrew. But if the town was ever distinguished, it miserably declined and sunk. You see how mean the appearance; the interior is even worse, so narrow the streets, so dilapidated the buildings, so poor, destitute and downcast the inhabitants. Filth is its only remaining tincture, and very good reason is there for the rabbinical saying that there the king of fleas has his throne and his court."

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"Undoubtedly, my son," I replied, "Tiberias (whence the modern name, Bahr Tubariyeh, of the lake) was of old a famous place, and even now, in the estimation of the Jews, it is one of the four sacred cities—Safed, Hebron, and Jerusalem being the rest—in which the Messiah is expected to make his appearance, and which accordingly have, down to the present day, been not only frequented by pious Jews, but made the seats of schools and the centres of learning, which formerly enjoyed high repute. This city, celebrated in ancient writers for its own beauty and the beauty of its position, and adorned with other fine edifices besides a palace, and a race-course for Athenian amusements, was erected by the tetrarch Herod Antipas, and from his time to the reign of Herod Agrippa it remained the capital of the province of Galilee, being populous, pleasant, and luxurious. Out of a desire to conciliate the favour of that gross and cruel tyrant, the city, by a compliment then in fashion, was named Tiberias after the Roman emperor Tiberius. Thus, pagan in its dedication and scarcely less pagan in its origin—for all the Herods were pagans under a Jewish disguise—Tiberias had a large pagan population, was heathenish in its morality and modes of life, and wrought far more actually for "the prince of darkness" than for the Maker and Redeemer of the world. In the last Jewish war Tiberias played no inconsiderable part, having been strongly fortified, and standing next to Sepphoris as the largest and strongest city in the province. After the downfall of the Jewish state, Tiberias became a famous centre of rabbinical learning; in the days of the Crusaders it was an important city, and it is connected with many stirring events in the middle ages. If, indeed, you desire to form to yourself an accurate as well as vivid picture of this lake and its social scenery as it was in the days of the Son of Man, you must not fail to study the character of Herod Antipas, who stood to the Lord Jesus in the relation of an earthly sovereign, and to whose luxurious, weak, cunning, and suspicious character, the Saviour owed much of the harassment and persecution through which he had to pass." While I thus spoke, I of a sudden became aware that the atmosphere was oppressively hot and dark. I threw my eyes on the surface of the lake, over which the shadows deepened and then broke and vanished. Forthwith a low sighing was heard on the opposite shore, and all at once the sea was in

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commotion, the winds blew, the waves tossed, the spray beat over the town and even struck our faces. Shortly the moon was first obscured, and then wholly darkened. Every object was enveloped in the thickest shade; the blast whistled and raged and tore, sweeping by us with such force that we were compelled to hold fast by the rock, and could hardly keep our foothold. Horror seized Aldred, nor was I without alarm. Remembering, however, that those squalls were almost as brief as they were violent, I remained firm, and that with the less difficulty because I got relief from my excitement by encouraging my trembling son. At length the storm began to subside. In a few moments after, there was a great calm. As we passed along, we cast our eyes around and above us; the sky was tranquil but hazy, the lake resembled a sea of molten glass, the mountains lay in deep shade which had a fearful aspect, and the town looked like a heap of ruins. We descended from our elevation, and ere long were asleep under our tent.

"Father," said Aldred, as we sat down to our meal on the following morning, "there is something peculiar in your manner and appearance; I know not well what it is, nor what it indicates; but your eye has a rapt and mysterious aspect, you scarcely utter a word, you seem in reality as if you were in another world." My child, I answered, in another world have I been this night. Our conversation last evening has been as fuel to the flame of a mind already kindled and burning with physical and historical recollections of Palestine. My thoughts, centering themselves in this spot, have passed before me in a series of visions, arranged and grouped as if with the utmost care, and presented with a vividness far exceeding reality. Would that I were able to recall those pictured histories, and set them before your eyes; but they are already fading from my mind, and I can offer you only dim copies thereof. Somewhat after the manner of Byron, however,

"I had a dream, which was not all a dream."

In my ecstasy I stood on the highest point of Lebanon, and as with eyes of flesh and blood I saw a vision; which vision I now recognise as a reflex image of the conclusion to which *investigation* had led me regarding the geological formation of *this volcanic basin*, and the water system of which it forms a *part*, extending from Panias in the north to Akaba in the south.

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It is a sweep of mountains; limestone, basalt, and granite row up their huge sides and spread out their broad backs, from Jebel-es-sheikh to Ras Mohammed. No stream, no vale, no flower is there. The air is tuneless, the sun scorches, while monstrous shapes prowl hither and thither.

“The world is void,
The populous and the powerful is a lump,
Seasonless, herbless, treeless, manless, lifeless—
A lump of death, a chaos of hard clay.”

Without a perceptible interval, the heavens are on fire, the welkin roars with thunder, darkness usurps the place of day, and before my feet a long line of the mountain tract sinks, as a bar of iron sinks in the ocean. Again the sun shines forth, and there below I see the Jordan flowing in a copious stream and with a winding course through flowery meads, and bushy lens, and down strong cataracts, till it joins the ocean. It is a spacious and far-stretching plain, well watered everywhere, even as the garden of Jehovah.*

While yet I look with wondering and admiring eyes, lo! again thunder and lightning, sulphur and smoke; the mountain trembles beneath my feet, the valley sinks, and the river expands ere into a lake and there into a lake, while over the latter huge columns of fire ascend, and beyond it a range of lofty barren hills arise, cutting off the Jordan from the Red Sea. A horrible shriek, as of ten thousand perishing human beings, comes up from the vale, and strikes my ears with a blow with which they will ever ring. “The cities of the plain” are engulfed, and the smoke of the country goes up as the smoke of a furnace.”†

The clouds have passed away. The plain and Jordan with its shores, “from Chinnereth even unto the salt sea,”‡ glitter in the warm sunbeam of divine favour; towns and villages line its banks; a teeming population enjoy its luxuriant products; ease and delight take up there a settled abode; and while the uplands are successively ravaged by foreign armies and domestic rivals, the Ghor in all its length remains at peace, the days as they flow on bringing only a fresh supply of gratifications—a land truly “flowing with milk and honey.”§

Yet is Gennesareth wasted by Syrian foes. Judah and Israel are in conflict. Benhadad, to avenge Judah, ravages Israel,

* Gen. xiii. 10. † Gen. xix. 28. ‡ Deut. iiii. 17. § Exod. iiii. 8.

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and "all Cinneroth"* wails and mourns, for lo! the lake is stained with the blood of its sons, and mothers and children are breathless on the beach, dashed from their nests in the hill by the savage fury of the assailant.

Centuries of tranquillity and joy next pass like a bright procession, and are gone. Strangers fill the Hebrew throne. She is mistress of Judah and Israel—a most cruel mistress. Hebrew courage is not extinct. The true blood of David slew Goliath and built up a throne at the expense of Syria, in those Asmonean veins, of which Jonathan is the inheritor and the champion. I see the hero and his troops encamped at the "water of Gennesar,"† secure this moment in their high place from the tiger, on whom the next they spring, and when after a perilous conflict, they destroy. And thus again the Israel prove strong in Jehovah.

A change ensues. The gold is adulterate; the scarlet and the purple lose their brilliancy; the star of David grows dim. A creature of Rome, sprung from the hated Idumean blood, holds in Tiberias the sceptre of Jesse; and, alas! instead of Jehovah—Jupiter and Juno, Venus and Bacchus, are practically worshipped. A sybarite rules in that stately palace, with its Ionic columns, and spacious halls, and idolatrous sculptures, and its retinue of slaves, and its dissolute luxurious pleasures rises as if in defiance of "the Holy One of Israel," on the southwestern border of the Lake of Galilee. Beside that sybarite, clad in royal array, to which he makes pretension but has no right, sits his ambitious sister, who is also his wife. The incestuous pair, Antipas and Herodias, are as guileful as they are abandoned; only his is the guile of weakness, hers is the guile of power. Their low passions and foul practices combine to make them hate and persecute virtue.

It is the birth-day of the would-be king. He and his paramour, having banquetted, "drinking wine and praising the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone," by whose images and symbols they are surrounded, sit on a throne of pure Parian marble, bedecked with precious stones, and carved with pagan devices. Around them are scribe, pharisee, priest, and soldier, interspersed with scoffing philosophers and purse-proud merchants, the *élite* of the land, the disgrace and

* 1 Kings xv. 20. † Maccoab. xi. 37.

ruin of Judaism ; a strange intermixture of Hebrews without , Romans without honour, men without courage, and females out modesty. In the midst of their loose intercourse and alous conversation—when eyes glare, and feet totter, and lead begins to whirl—a lovely girl, clad in gauze, sails in a -like manner into the hall, and dances a bacchanal measure e the royal pair. See! she is now on her knees; and : how the eyes of Herodias sparkle with joyous hope. ur suit, fair maiden, daughter of my beloved spouse, your I say? ask what you will, it is yours, be it even one half y kingdom.” “ Royal sire, the head of John, surnamed the 1st, is what I desire ; I ask the boon from respect to your ity which he has injured, and my royal mother’s honour, h he has wounded.” Herod’s countenance is pale, his lips glued, his frame trembles ; John he fears as well as hates ; ears John himself and he fears the people on account of n. “ An uproar among the people,” if not a revolution, e on that request. See, he turns to Herodias ; his eye has lbers ; he recovers courage, he recognises the necessity, and s out the words, “ Let John’s head be brought hither.” * e upon a cloud comes down over those revellers ; the lights w faint, the joy sickens, the guests depart ; and the crownless ; and the husbandless wife withdraw in mutual disgust heir separate chambers—victims to their own gratified ions.

is late morning, the fumes of that carousal still envelop heart of Antipas, when in his closet he gives audience to prince of the synagogue of Tiberias. In a harsh and ntented voice he says to his companion and dependant, u are satisfied, I trust ; he whom you fear has already d to breathe.” “ Whom does my royal master mean ? ” hom ? John, the revolutionist ? ” “ A greater danger uns, my lord.” “ What danger ? ” “ The Nazarene lives.” here is he ? ” “ Near your own palace ; yes, here, in the seat of law and authority, does he undermine law and ority ; growing bold by impunity, he not only traverses the perverting the people, but speaks arrogantly against es and the law in these borders consecrated to both.” hy is he not apprehended ? ” “ I know my sovereign has

* *Matt. xiv. 1 seq. Mark vi. 14 seq. Luke ix. 7.*

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beset the blasphemer's path; but—pardon me, my lord—my zeal for your service gives my tongue licence ——” “Speak out boldly and fear not,” replies the king; “my sceptre is your safeguard.” “I will then be honest enough to say that your commands are ill executed, most gracious prince.” “The neglect shall be remedied, and the peril shall be removed. I go to take measures for his immediate apprehension.” And hereupon the profligate king retires.

Who is that in the light skiff which, crossing those smooth waters, I discern there, hastening to the north-east border of the lake? Has the prey escaped from the hunter's toils? Hosannah in the highest! the Nazarene is not in the hands of the blood-thirsty Idumean. In a brief space, Jesus will be in the territories of another prince. Yet why this fear and this hate of Jesus? Why? Not for the first time has that name been heard within the walls of Herod's voluptuous mansion, for the fame thereof has gone throughout the province, making the wicked tremble, as well as causing the heart of the widow, the orphan, the sick, and the dying, to sing and shout aloud for joy.

O'er the dark wave of Galilee,
The gloom of twilight gathers fast,
And o'er the waters heavily
Sweeps, cold and drear, the evening blast.

The weary bird has left the air,
And sunk into its shelter'd nest;
The wandering beast has sought his lair,
And laid him down to welcome rest.

Still near the lake, with weary tread,
Loiters a form of human kind,
And from his lone unsheltered head
Flows the chill night-damp on the wind.

Why seeks not he a home of rest?
Why seeks not he the pillowed bed?
Beasts have their dens and birds their nest;
He hath not where to lay his head.

Such is the lot he freely chose,
To bless, to save the human race;
And through his poverty there flows
A full rich stream of heavenly grace.*

* Russell.

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ning—a morning late in March. He stands in the
ring-place of Capernaum; his countenance radiant
ie consciousness of having recently employed his
er to enhance the innocent joy of nuptial festivities.
vine teacher, stands there, and looks around him on
ene. His presence excites universal attention, and
gues in movement. A group of fishermen, hastening
e lake with their cloaks carelessly thrown over their
and their oars in their hands, stop as they come
is, and gaze full in his face. They pass on with
l pleasure in their eyes. A knot of children, barely
vell made and full of buoyant spirits, gather around
nbs flock to their fold; and, ever and anon striving
s benevolent regards, play and frisk about there, till
y drawing near, kisses the hem of his garment, and
n a blessing from his lips. Currents of population
ng, before and behind him, in this direction and in
nd each intent on professional duties, and many
the wonder performed at Cana a day or two since,
tly enquiring into its nature and spiritual import.
t denial given to the fact by the hard Roman is
7 the imaginative Babylonian. The philosophic
s, and is rebuked by the believing Hebrew. The
he bigotted Damascene swell with the confutation
and sword may furnish, and the common sense of
merchant avers that it is full time a new teaching
power came upon earth. The priest bestows his
he young pretender, the Levite declares no good
come out of Nazareth, the Essene complains that
drinks, and lives like others. In a word, all wonder,
e pleased; all speculate, none believe. Scarcely as
er, has that great and holy name gone down into the
social life. It is little more than the surface that
nd, as with the lake which now lies there peaceful,
ed and cold, the ripple will soon subside. The time
the unknown Messiah, after a short sojourn, departs.*
ter many days have been added to the past eternity,
High and Holy One" again in the same spot. His
e is sad, his eyes are sorrowful, his head is cast
if he said, "No prophet is accepted in his own

* John ii. 12.

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country.”* Under the pressure of that thought he offers to Capernaum the lessons of divine wisdom which Nazareth has rejected. He is in the synagogue on the Sabbath day. He has received from the minister the roll containing the book of the prophet Isaiah, and, unfolding it, he reads—with what depth of inner meaning! in tones how thrilling!

“The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me;
Because the Lord hath anointed me
To preach good tidings unto the meek;
He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted,
To proclaim liberty to the captives,
And the opening of the prison to them that are bound;
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.”†

Laying aside the sacred roll, Jesus begins his discourse by saying, “This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.”‡ That word is with power; astonishment speaks in every face. See! that poor maniac feels the searching efficacy of the lesson. The demon, speaking by his lips, says, “Away! art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the Holy One of God.” “Hold thy peace, thou evil spirit, and come out of him,” is the mandate of this extraordinary teacher. The man is at once in his right mind, and all the spectators in amazement are saying one to another, “What a word is this! for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.” And now observe how the bulk hurry from the synagogue, like couriers posting with intelligence; soon will the fame of him be in every place of the country round about.§

This scene melts away, and another comes. It is a cottage of the better sort in a somewhat secluded part of the same Capernaum. The upper chamber, generally appropriated to hospitality, at this moment serves as a hospital. On a plain unadorned bed, little raised above the floor, lies a woman past the middle age, tossing and moaning under the consuming fires of a deadly fever. The Great One is at her side; he rebukes the disease, and lo! she rises—she that was nigh unto death rises—and ministers to her Saviour.”||

Several hours have elapsed. The sun has gone down

* Luke iv. 24.

† Isaiah lxi. 1, 2.

‡ Luke iv. 21.

§ Luke iv. 33—37.

|| Luke iv. 38, 39.

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and those hills which rise beyond the city, and it is dark. speedily has the fame of that deed run through the city, at the self-same night the sick and the possessed are brought Jesus from every side. I hear the tramp of the bearers, I hear the wail of the sufferers, along the streets; I hear the shouts of joy called forth by those miracles of healing. The hours of darkness are spent in acts radiant with celestial love. At the morning dawns, it brings around him crowds—some to be healed, some to see and learn, some to gainsay, some to deride. The press is intolerable, the enthusiasm swells to a ferment. Behold, the Master departs, saying, "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also, for therefore am I sent."* And the people bid him farewell with the words, "Thyself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses."†

A considerable period is over, and the Master has returned. His presence is hailed with universal attention. From the bosom of the city he retires to the shore of the lake, and behold the multitudes that press on his footsteps at this early hour of the day. The movement on the land contrasts strikingly with the tranquillity of that sheet of water, lit up with soft and balmy sunbeams of spring. The fishermen, who have toiled all night, are on the shore resting their weary limbs repairing their torn nets.

One ship's crew is in movement. At their head I recognise the son-in-law of that fevered woman lately snatched from death. They launch their vessel. The boat floats in deep water near the margin, and from its deck rises the Teacher. At the sight of him, ready to speak, the crowds press forward. After the manner of their rabbis, he sits down and teaches the people. The Word has ceased. The speaker pauses. Again his lips open, and I hear him say to the owner of the ship, "Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught." "Master," he desponding reply, "we have toiled all night and have caught nothing; nevertheless, at thy word, I will let down the nets."‡

Mark how those brawny arms pull and strain there in that net. The owner calls to another boat for aid. The net at last is fairly shipped. Behold the booty; both vessels are filled as to be in danger of sinking. The fish being secured, the Master may be seen prostrate before him who has given that

* Luke iv. 43.

† Matt. viii. 17.

‡ Luke v. 5.

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draught, and may be heard saying, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." His prayer is repeated by the alarmed and cowering eyes of his fellow labourers. "Fear not," is the gentle answer; "follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."

"The wind was hushed on Galilee,
As near its waveless flood,
With thought as calm as that fair sea,
A humble fisher stood.

A voice was heard, as on the lake
Is heard the whispering breeze,
Gentle yet mighty to awake
The grandeur of the seas.

Years passed away; the humble man
Who stood unheeding there,
No more at early dawn began
The fisher's tranquil care.

Him, palaces of eastern pride
Now hailed an honoured guest;
And now the lowliest couch beside,
He spoke of heavenly rest.

He bore, through perils far and near,
His Saviour's holy name;
He yielded not to hope or fear,
To indolence or shame.

That Saviour's presence cheered his breast
Through every varied scene;
That faith his dying hour confess'd
In martyrdom serene."†

Again, I see Jesus on his way returning through the city. I trace his progress with eyes full of eager interest, and behold a series of divine deeds that fill my mind with wonder, and warm my heart with love. I see a ruler of the synagogues bending low before him, while he says, beseechingly: "My little daughter lieth at the point of death: come and lay thy hands on her that she may be healed, and live."

While proceeding to the afflicted home, lo! he is followed by a diseased woman, who halting after him, with these words on her lips, "If I may touch but his clothes, I shall be whole," overtakes him at the moment when he is delayed by the press of wondering spectators, and touches his cloak. The Saviour turns,

* Luke v. 1—11; Matt. iv. 19.

† Bulfinch.

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inquires, "Who touched me?" With trembling lips the man faintly lisps out, "I, Lord," and gladly hears the restoring order, "Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace." These words are barely uttered when a servant of the Lord comes, and says to him, "Thy daughter is dead; why trouble the Master any further?" The eyes of the bereaved man gush with tears. But the torrent stops when Jesus adds, "Be not afraid; only believe."

But why does "the great physician" stand there at that public office, where transit dues are paid for goods that are taken into Perea on their way to Damascus and the farther? "Follow me," I hear; and forthwith that toll collector leaves him; the multitude wondering as they see him rise to obey the command.*

Pursuing his visits of mercy, the house of mourning is reached. And indeed is that maiden who lies stretched out in the upper chamber, for the place reverberates with the shriek and the wail of sorrow. Yes, the maiden lies there in that tapestried chamber, prepared for her burial. But the Great One comes; stands by her side; he says, "Damsel, I say unto thee, arise!" And lo, the wonder! she arises and walks.†

He has quitted the house, and passes along the street. His presence is recognised even by the blind, such is the hum and murmur which attend his steps. "Son of David, have mercy on us," exclaim two blind men that sit by the wayside begging. His piteous appeal has gone to his heart, and I hear the petition uttered in these terms, "According to your faith, be it unto you."‡ At length the Lord has reached an abode where he purposes to spend a short space of time to seek refreshment. Straightway his house is full. What a clamour for the Teacher rises without and within. Moved with compassion, he appears, and he preaches the gospel from a terrace in the spacious inner court, covered by an awning on account of the hot season of the year. But in the midst of his discourse, what is that disturbance and bustle near the main entrance? All at once it subsides; the effort is restrained; the speaker is once more heard. But lo! above his head and near his person some object is let down the side of the apse, for the covering has been forcibly removed at the spot. It is a straw-covered frame of palm rods, and on it is stretched a paralysed man, helpless and motionless as a corpse. In his face,

* Matt. ix. 9. † Mark v. 35—43. ‡ Matt. ix. 27—31.

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see how dark the dejection, yet in the eye there gleams a faint hope. "Son, be of good cheer; arise, take up thy bed and walk." Immediately the sick man proceeds to his home. All present are amazed; they glorify God, saying, "We never before saw it in this fashion."*

Great is the excitement that fills Capernaum, and spreads from spot to spot along the shores. Herod in his palace, and fishermen on the lake, alike have busy talk of the new teacher and wonder-worker. I see small circles of men formed on the hill-sides, at the doors of the synagogue, in the market-place, and in the portico of the baths, who recite his deeds and discuss his claims. Here are evident tokens of sympathy and favour, while there a mesh is being woven to entrap him, and courtiers are laying a plot for his apprehension.

Anon, a small band of men make their way from the lake beside that fountain, and up that western hill, bound, it would appear, for the heart of the country. Their step is light yet firm, their pace is quick, their bearing buoyant, like that of men going forth on some momentous errand. Who are they? Oh, I see; one has turned round as if to cast a glance on the smooth sheet of that water, now burnished with the rays of early morning. Yes, his look I cannot mistake; it is the Great One, and those are his newly converted disciples, who have left all to follow him. Their absence may probably restore tranquillity here, and allow the question of his Messiahship to be considered on its own merits.

The beams of that morning's sun—as they stream across the lake over the highlands of Galilee, and light up its vales, and penetrate its glens, and awake the songs of ten thousand birds, and expand the petals of ten thousand times ten thousand flowers, and make the sheep bleat and the oxen low with gladness—look to me as if each were inscribed with some gospel text, some good word of hope, of promise, or of love, telling of grace from God and good-will to man.

After an interval of absence, the "light of life" is once more near the lake—the number of his adherents augmented, his work advanced, his cause strengthened, and his determination more manifest. Around and near him I behold certain women, whom gratitude binds to his person, and who minister to his daily necessities. Gentle and loving as well as honourable ministry!†

* Mark ii. 1–12; Matt. ix. 2; Luke v. 18–26.

† Luke viii. 1–3.

Again, as on that lake, the waters of beneficence are struck, and circle after circle spreads out and widens under my eye. There a centurion suppliantly asks a boon. "Come, Lord, and heal my servant who is dear to me." His suit is supported by those grey-headed men, who, in their desire to serve a Roman military officer, have for a moment laid down their animosity against the Christ. "Hear him now, master," those elders of the Jews subjoin—"hear and grant his petition, for he loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue." "Even now is thy sick servant whole,"* was the gracious response to this appeal.

A change has come over the spirit of my dream. He that was "despised and rejected of men," finds favour in their sight. He is seated at table in a decorated saloon, surrounded by dignified ecclesiastics, and erudite lawyers, and opulent merchants. Fashion has excluded simple nature from that hall, but cannot exclude gratitude and love. Lo! as they dine, a sinful but restored and pardoned woman, bearing in her hands a vial full of costly essences, kneels down at the feet of Jesus, as they prostrate from the couch on which he reclines, and with cherishing hands and streaming eyes, anoints those feet again and again, kissing them ever and anon, and finally wiping them with the dishevelled hair of her own head; Jesus meanwhile looking blandly and affectionately on that ministry of grateful affection. Another eye too looks thereon—the eye of the master of the mansion; he gazes with envy, and exclaims with displeasure: "This man, if he were the prophet he pretends to be, would know what manner of woman this is that toucheth him; for she is a sinner." Lo, that Divine head is raised and turned, and those gentle lips open and say, "Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee." "Master, say on." "There was a certain creditor who had two debtors; the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty; and when they had nothing to pay, he freely forgave them both. Tell me, therefore, which of them will love him most." "He to whom he forgave most," said Simon. "Thou hast judged rightly. Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss; but this woman since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou *didst not* anoint; but this woman hath anointed my

* Luke vii. 1—10.

demons out by Beelzebub, the prince of the demons. words, that bright countenance darkens, and I hear a sentence uttered from those loving lips: "All manner of blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men."

In the recesses of the mountain which, rising there at the eastern margin of the lake, stretches up into the table-land of Perea, the Son of Man is on his knees, seeking strength from the Almighty, and recovering his energies in repose after the exertions he has just undergone. Venerable house of prayer! by the very hands of God, and consecrated by the petitions of the faithful, not even can the eyes of spiritual vision dare to look into thy sanctuary, nor mortal lips venture to speak of thy mysteries! To my sight, a curtain, as if let down from the throne, overhung that spot, and I was as one that saw through a glass darkly.

The more vividly do I observe how from all the parts of the lake, as if in obedience to the Teacher's invitation, men, women, and children, especially of the humblest sort, toward that angle, the greater part on foot, many on horseback, some from Tiberias, some from Magdala, some from Bethsaida, and multitudes from Capernaum. As they come, they fill in that spacious plain at the foot of the mountain between the shore and the water's edge.

Behold the Son of Man emerges from his mountain

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holding out his hands, first heals the diseased and restores them, and then delivers instruction to all.

As he speaks, the lengthened shadows of evening fall on the mountains, the audience, and the lake. The multitudes sit, ranged in order, and are miraculously supplied with food, dispensed from the Great One's hands through the hands of his natural associates. They eat and are filled. As they feel new power circulate through their frames, they all, as by one simultaneous impulse, raise a song of gratitude, ending with the chorus, "Hosannah, Hosannah! blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!"

And thereupon the beadles raise their halberds; and the people rush forward to take Jesus, and make him their king. The Son of Man withdraws into seclusion. The tumult subsides. The beadles hurry back across the lake, believing they have treason to report. Thither Jesus sends his friends to intercept their wiles and defeat their machinations. Meanwhile, having dismissed the crowds, he again retires, to seek repose and strength by passing the night in prayer. Suddenly, however, as he uttered one supplication, ere he is enveloped in a thunder-storm. The lake is in a fury. Jesus is on the beach. He walks upon the turbulent waves; and is suddenly near the struggling boat that bears the disciples, now panic-stricken, and all but in despair. "Be of good cheer," he exclaims, "it is I; be not afraid." He is immediately drawn into the vessel, when the wind falls; and lo! they land safely in the vicinage of Magdala.*

Once more in Herod's dominions, Jesus is also again surrounded by hungry dependants, and political aspirants, and all malcontents, and pharasaic plotters, and scoffing Sadducees and spies from the palace. The current is too strong to be stemmed. He disappears, and repairing to Syrophenicia, again places himself beyond the jurisdiction of Antipas. But ere he departs, he thus expresses his estimate of the character of the religious leaders and guides of the nation, several of whom, attracted by his fame, had come from Jerusalem to hear his sayings and witness his mighty works: "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." The Pharisees are offended at

* Matt. xiv. 14; xv. 29; Mark vi. 14; Luke ix. 7; John vi. 1.

movement. For now has that superstitious prince a cause of alarm. To his guilty conscience, Jesus is more than John the Baptist, risen from the dead. Vengeance, therefore, comes from the other world to seek an expiation in righteous blood. What can be done but to obliterate crime by another and a greater? If Jesus were extinct, would be secure.

Hebrew zealots who, if they dislike Jesus, hate come to him at Capernaum, and say, "Get thee out of hence, for Herod seeketh to kill thee." "Go ye and fox, Behold I cast out demons, and I do cures to-day, and the third day I shall have finished; but on to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following, for be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem. Son of Man will be betrayed into the hands of men, will kill him; but the third day he will rise again." †

And now at court are they busy to devise an effect. Witnesses are heard, researches are made, plans are made and laid aside. At length it is made out that Jesus is to Herod's exchequer. § The aid of the sheriff is vain. Jesus is penniless. A prison opens to receive him.

* Matt. xv. 1 seq.; Mark vii. 1 seq. † Luke xiii. 31. ‡ Matt.

prison to the scaffold the way is short. So was it for John ; so may it be for Jesus.

A fisherman stands near the deep water of that shore. He casts in his hook. Forthwith he lands, not a fish, but a stater. The tax collector bears the coin to the palace. The legal device is foiled.

While enemies from without are withstood, danger arises from within. Ambition and rivalry among the disciples threaten dissension. The promised kingdom is at hand—who shall occupy the highest offices therein ? Lo ! he that is lowly and meek of spirit selects a little child from a group of his play-fellows, as they gambol on the shore, and first placing him in the midst of the competitors, and then taking him in his arms, as if to show how dear to him is the disposition of a child, he says : “ Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven.*

A change approaches. My sight grows dim. The images are confused. A mist comes over the face of the lake, and, cloud-like, lifts itself to the topmost heights. The hum and bustle of towns and quays and landing-places, the glare and tumult of the palace, the shouts, cries, and exultation of the amphitheatre, all die away ; for the Great Presence, who has given a light, a glory, and a sanctity to all, prepares to withdraw. Yet ere he departs, he reveals himself once more. Standing on a brow of the western hills, and so commanding the whole environs, he announces the great object of his life ; and while he describes what he has attempted in that valley, he declares what he is about to accomplish in those highlands to the south, whither he is about to direct his steps, and where he will lay down his life for the redemption of the world ; and thus does he speak :—“ THE SON OF MAN IS COME TO SAVE THAT WHICH WAS LOST. How think ye ? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains and

* *Matt. xviii. 1 seq. Mark ix. 33 seq. Luke ix. 46 seq.*

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seeketh that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray. Even so it is not the will of your Father who is in heaven, that one of the little ones should perish." *

So the good shepherd goes forth, and passing along the eastern shore of the Jordan, ascends to Jerusalem—is betrayed—is apprehended—is crucified—is raised from the dead. His mind, rivetted to this one spot, refuses to enter into the scenes—the darkest and the brightest in human history. His tragedy is enacted—the glory has been displayed. Heaven's own light has shone down on Judea, and the vale, which often echoed to the rich, gentle, and loving tones of that voice, is to be gladdened once again, and but once, with his presence.

In the grey light of the early dawn, the well-known fisherman stands on the shore; the sorrow of suffering, veiled with celestial beatitude, yet dimly visible through the aerial covering. A fishing boat, full of men who have toiled all night and spent their strength for nought, nears the shore. A meal is prepared on the margin of the lake. "Come, eat," says the Lord. In dumb amazement and silent reverence the disciples receive the food, and bend the knee of their recognition before the risen Saviour. Then Jesus saith to Simon Peter: "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me, as thou saidst a brief space before thou deniedst me, more than thou?" "Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." "Feed my sheep." He saith to him again, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" "Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." "Feed my sheep." The third time—equalling the number of his questions to the number of Peter's denials—Jesus saith, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" Wounded by the implicated doubt, the disciple replies, with temper, "Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." "Feed my sheep."

With words of solicitude and love dropping from his lips, the good Shepherd, the good Teacher, the Light and the Saviour of mankind, for ever quits the borders of that lake, best thereon benedictions of peace. My eyeballs strain to catch the last glimpse of his vanishing form. Alas! he is gone, and thick darkness covers the scene.

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* Matt. xviii. 11 seq. Luke xv. 4.

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my years roll on. At length the darkness enshrouding
 pot is irradiated by flames of fire; its peace is disturbed
 by the clashing of swords. The lava of war having wasted
 the uplands, pours down into the vale, carrying desolation
 everywhere. Woe! woe to Gennesareth! Jotapata is subdued;
 Tiberias has surrendered. Only Tarichea withstands the Roman.
 The final issue is transferred to the surface of the lake;
 Vespasian and Titus his son the assailants; determined Hebrew
 warriors for the defence. Every battle of the warrior is with con-
 found noise and garments rolled in blood, but this shall be with
 burning and fuel of fire. Terrible collision! ship against ship!
 they flee and pursue! how they circumvent and sink each
 other! The sword devours; the waters engulph; the arrows
 overwhelm; how they fight, how they swim for their lives! The
 combat rages and declines; rages again and again declines; fires
 for the last time, when all around is blood—the lake
 dyed, the ships covered with blood; bloody is every hand, and
 every spar; the very hills and skies look like blood, for it is a
 autumnal sun that frowns on that sanguinary conflict. The
 comes; the spoils are counted, the trophies are numbered,
 this is the register—this the fearful fulfilment of that woe!
 a mocking answer to the wish of peace—this—six thousand
 hundred men perish in the combat; twelve hundred are
 mangled and cut down after its termination; six thousand are
 taken to aid in cutting through the isthmus of Corinth; and more
 than thirty thousand are sold as slaves. *Bella! bella! horrida*
! Oh war! what heaps of horrors dost thou cause!

There was, Aldred, a sensible interval in my vision, as if my
 dazzled by the glare of that gory scene, must have time to
 recover its dimmed perception.

Then came there before me a council of hoary-headed men.
 They sat in formal array in a hall within the limits of Tiberias,
 gave law to the Jewish world of the west. Grave and
 dignified though they looked, they often jabbered strangely, and
 the “peace, peace” on their lips, were ever in debate one with
 another, and in disputation with a similar council that gave law
 to the Jewish world of the east. Around them flocked learned
 and unlearned Israelites when Jerusalem lay in ruins. There,
 the advent of the Messiah was an object of daily supplication.
 There, Jewish learning, flourishing for centuries, grew into
 the Mishna, the Gemara, the Talmud, and the Masora.

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That material glory waned, and faded away, before the star of Christianity, which is long in the ascendant.

The lapse of ages brings meteors over Gennesareth. I see the tramp through the vale of Persian hordes, bent on the destruction of Jerusalem. Again, I see the (so-called) true borne along its borders by imperial Christianity, proceed to revengeful triumph to that restored capital. Then the crusades from the west set up a trophy in Tiberias, which becomes the seat of a Latin bishop. But, alas! the Saracen at length becomes master in the east, and the city bows to the cruelties and Alternations in the fate of the land supervene; yet Moslem rule permanently rules there with a sceptre of iron. Oh, the sad and troubled images of successive centuries—how they pass before my aching sight, how they weigh on my anguished heart! While brooding over those days, and years, and centuries of usurpation which yet endure, I feel as Samson, bereft of strength by the hands of cruel Philistines:—

“O dark, dark, dark,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
Without all hope of day!
O first created beam, and thou great Word,
Let there be light.”

But vain the request. That woe, that woe, that woe cling like a curse to the vale, and the answer comes in thunder and lightning, and in earthquake. Even now I feel the ground swell and heave beneath my feet. Tiberias is shaken; its foundations; the houses topple down, the massive wall broken; mosque, and church, and tower, and khan are rent and broken, and demolished.* The desolation continues. Can you see with eyes below, my son, and you behold a dreary spectacle: yet ruinous remains of the Tiberias of Saladin, and Vespa- sian, and Antipas. Yet more dreary is the sight which meets the eye and saddens the heart, as from this point you survey once busy and flourishing shores—now silent and desolate as the grave. The prints of the Avenger's footsteps are indelibly stamped on the spots where stood cities even more guilty than the cities of the plain, for Chorazin and Capernaum saw and heard the word of God, but neither repented nor believed.

* The earthquake alluded to took place in the year 1837, and made it but too visible even as far as Safed in Upper Galilee.

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Supposed descendants of the Ten Tribes.

stiment has often led the way to discovery, prejudice
he frequent source of error and wasteful toil. A
age led Columbus to seek the riches and splendours
by braving, without precedent, the western passage.
rescience led the immortal genius of Newton to

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discover the great law of gravitation. But it was prejudice which actuated the alchemist in his absurd attempt to convert all metals into gold, and to compound him with immortality, which was to confer on mortals the duration of immortality. Whether the earnest men, who have devoted so much time, and have braved untold hardships in foreign expeditions among half savage tribes, in search of the lost tribes, have been guided by a true philosophic presentiment, or whether they have been misled by some cherished prejudice, will be judged of according to the special theory which may be held concerning the fate of those tribes. When enthusiastic explorers are to be classed with men like Columbus and Newton, or are to be ranked with those who have spent their life among musty crucibles, rusty retorts, and furnaces, will be a matter for difference of opinion, but we regard the ten tribes as actually existing in some remote part of the earth, like Columbus's new world, or only as a phantasm in the philosopher's brain, like the philosopher's miraculous stone. For every view is taken, the history of the different journeys taken with a view to find out this remnant of Israel is less romantic and absorbing than the tales told of the adventures of the Crusades, and the watching, with lean bodies and eager eyes, the successful experiments to change the baser into the most precious metals. From Eldad the Danite, of whom we shall have to say by and bye, to Dr. Wolff, adventurers have not been wanting in this field of enterprise. What are the positive results which have followed their journeyings and explorations, and what value is to be set upon the various theories respecting these mysterious tribes, we shall endeavour to show our readers the means of estimating, by a calm and impartial investigation of the whole subject.

The divine origin of the Hebrew race in the promise to Abraham; the miraculous preservation of the people through the early struggles of their national existence; the triumph which they reached under the reigns of David and Solomon; the special interference of Jehovah to preserve them from extinction, while passing through centuries of darkness, the convulsions of revolution, and the depressing organizations of captivity; in a word, the unparallelled history which appertain to the Hebrew race, has done much to impress upon the minds, not only of the Jews themselves,

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istians, a conviction that there must be yet in store a people, a glorious future. Besides, there are a few passages in Holy Writ which not indistinctly intimate the good held in reserve for them, against the time they are destined to be brought in, will be as "life from death." Indeed, the descriptions reflected from the glowings of those writers who entertain hopes of a glory for this people, would lead us to expect that a coming when this world will no longer be a stage for probation and trial for the spirit of man, but of reward and endurance, of rest without preparatory labour and toil, and triumph without conflict, of glory without shame and loss. It is not our purpose here to attempt to show that expectations rest upon misinterpretations of Scripture; our object is rather to ascertain what were the prepossessions of the minds of those who have sought to construct different ways and means by which their notions might be

at the covenant made to Abraham and his seed, concerning the land of Canaan as a possession, an *everlasting* inheritance. Are there not numerous promises in the Prophets of the restoration of the people to their native land, after they have been a byword among all people? Are not the Jews distinguished as a distinct race, with one language, and landed possessions? These, certainly, are circumstances highly favourable for their reunion, as soon as the time of heaven shall have arrived for their return. Is not the land itself, moreover, occupied by strangers? Are there any plain signs that these strangers are not to be the permanent possessors of it? Do not these facts seem to imply that the Jewish people are once more to be restored to their country? Special prophecies seem to speak also of the rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem, and of the temple, and even of the restoration of the daily sacrifice. If, however, only the remnant of Jews, who, it is said, have descended from the twelve half tribes which returned from the captivity, are named in these prophetic promises; if the ten tribes of Israel are said not to have returned, are not to share with the remnant tribes this glorious future; then the early promises can be at best but *partially* fulfilled. On the other hand, the ten tribes are to be raised from the graves in which

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they are now hid, what lustre will such a moral resurrection shed upon the power and glory of God!

Passages of Scripture are not wanting which seem to afford a solid foundation for this crowning hope. "And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." (Is. xi. 12, 13.) "In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north, to the land that I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers." (Jer. iii. 18.) "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land; for great shall be the day of Jezreel." (Hosea i. 11.) "Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions: and join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by these? say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in thine hand. . . . And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all: and David my servant shall be king over them." (Ezekiel xxxvii. 16—24). How can these prophecies receive their fulfilment unless Israel shall be once more united, and by a more enduring bond, to Judah; and both be restored to their native land under the reign of David, the Messiah? If this grand purpose is to be consummated, then Israel, or the ten lost

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tribes, must still somewhere exist. What more natural, when once this conclusion is reached, than that some eager souls should be found, burning with the desire to show the harmony of facts with prophecy, and under the inspiration of this desire should actually attempt the discovery of these lost tribes?

The first who entered upon this expedition of discovery, of whom we have any account, is Rabbi Eldad, usually called the Danite, from his belonging, as he alleged, to the tribe of Dan. According to some accounts, he flourished in the thirteenth century; according to others, some four hundred years earlier. But judging by his own account, he must have lived before the Christian era, as he states himself to be only thirty-eight generations in his descent from Jacob. Perhaps it is impossible to fix with absolute certainty the precise period when he flourished. Be this as it may, the chief thing which concerns us is, that he undertook a pilgrimage in quest of his brethren, the lost tribes, for the purpose of visiting and preaching to them. In a letter on the dispersion addressed to the Jews of Spain, bearing the date of A.D. 1283, and published at Paris in the year 1563, he declares that he discovered the remnant of Israel in the regions of Tartary.

Another celebrated traveller, by the name of Benjamin, of Tudela, flourished in the twelfth century. He explored with great perseverance the East, for the purpose of finding out the situation of these tribes, whom he imagined still to be in existence in that region. He affirms that they were occupants of an extensive tract of country, over which two brothers ruled, who were both descendants of David. These kingdoms were twenty-one days' journey in a northern direction from Babylon. The dominions of one of these brothers, he relates, were so extensive, that it took him sixteen days to pass through them. They paid tithes to their rabbis, and supported a body of men like monks, who dressed in black, and lived in caverns. These ascetics drank no wine, and were given to fasting, and their occupation was constantly to bewail the misery of the dispersed tribes, and the desolation of Jerusalem. The dominions of the other brother, he says, contained forty cities, two hundred large towns, and one hundred castles. In this country was a population of no less than 300,000 Jews, of which the capital city contained 100,000. He describes the Turks as destitute of noses. "It is amusing," says Basnage, "to follow this author in his

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account of kingdoms which never existed, and to observe the pains which he takes to exaggerate the power of his countrymen in their dispersion."

In the early part of the sixteenth century, an Italian Jew, by the name of Peritsol, published his travels. "Double the Cape of Good Hope," says he, "enter the Indian ocean, make for the continent of Asia, and you will find Chabor." At this place he supposed his countrymen lived, although no subsequent travellers have been able to find the place he so minutely describes. He relates that the Jews in the desert of Arabia were as numerous as the sand upon the sea shore, and were governed by powerful kings. He found in the East that mysterious being called Prester John, who, in a letter still extant, speaks of the ten tribes as dwelling in some part of his dominions. This letter of Prester John was addressed to Alexius Comnenus, the Greek emperor, in which, after describing the extent of his territory, he says: "Seventy kings are our tributaries. Our magnificence ruleth over the three Indias; and our territories stretch beyond the furthestmost India, in which resteth the body of the blessed apostle, Thomas. In one portion of our territories is a sandy sea, without water. Three days' journey from this sea there are mountains, from which descend rivers of stones: Underground, there floweth a rivulet, to which there appeareth to be no access; and this rivulet falleth into a river of greater size. Beyond this river are ten tribes of Jews, who, although they pretend to have their own kings, are nevertheless our servants and tributaries."

We pass over without notice a number of other writers who have given us an account of their travels, because they seem only bent upon flattering the pride of their nation, and we come at once to Dr. Wolff, the indefatigable traveller who visited Afghanistan with the hope of finding there the objects of his search. This gentleman, unlike his romantic predecessors, could not satisfy himself with fancies, but like a man of scientific research, looked for facts. After long and patient investigation he was obliged to express his doubts about the Afghans being descendants of the Jews, partly because they have not the Jewish physiognomy, and from the traditional accounts among them of their Jewish descent being very partial, and, finally, because their language did not resemble the Hebrew.

After this brief historical review, we proceed to lay before

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our readers some account of the different theories which have been entertained respecting these lost tribes, and the countries in which they are still supposed to be found. The data whence these theories have been deduced is chiefly derived from the writings of the travellers we have named. Chiefly, we say, because some, such as the late lamented Dr. Grant, have been independent investigators in this field of inquiry. We may classify the different opinions which have been advocated on this subject into four general divisions. Some have contended that the descendants of the ten tribes are still in existence among the North American Indians; others contend that they are in the East; some again say that they may be found among the mountains of Koordistan; while not a few intelligent persons maintain that they either returned to their own land with the other two tribes, or remained in the country of their first deportation, and became at length amalgamated with the general population of the country. Each of these views of the case, with the arguments employed in its defence, we shall impartially state. We shall aim to present our readers with materials for the guidance of their own judgment upon this subject, rather than dogmatically state our own.

William Penn, we believe, was the first to maintain that he had discovered the ten tribes in his transatlantic settlement. "When I look at their children," he says, "I imagine myself in the Jewish quarter of London. Like the Jews, the Indians have small black eyes. They reckon time by moons, and offer their first-fruits to God. They celebrate a feast like that of tabernacles. It is said that their altar is constructed of twelve stones. Their mourning for the dead continues a year. The customs of their females resemble those of the Jewish women. Their language is laconic, vigorous, sententious, and full of energy, in which last particular it bears a striking resemblance to the Hebrew. A word with them expresses more than three with us; and their unfinished sentences are completed by the intelligence of the hearers. God declared that he would carry away the Jews into a country undiscovered and uncultivated; and he who purposed this was able to execute his designs. The Jews might easily have crossed over the eastern extremity of Asia, to the western extremity of America."

The same opinions as the above were entertained by a famous rabbi, Manasseh ben Israel, who published a work, entitled

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"The Hope of Israel," in 1651. The facts on which he rests the argument of his work were related to him, he says, in the city of Amsterdam, on the 18th of the month Elul, in the 5404 year of the creation of the world, or, according to the Christian era, 1644, by Aaron Levi, *alias* Antonius Montezinus. He dedicated his book to the parliament of England, which was well received by Cromwell, who, in consequence of his favourable opinion of this book, was looked up to, it is said, by the Jews, as the Messiah. Montezinus related that, as he was going from Port Honda, West Indies, to the Papian jurisdiction, he conducted some mules of an Indian, Franciscus Castellanus, into the province of Quity, having with him and other Indians, Francis Cazicus. As they went over the Cordillera, a great tempest arose, which threw the laden mules to the ground. The Indians confessed that the calamity was the punishment of their sins. But Francis urged them to be patient, adding that they should shortly enjoy rest: the others answered that they were unworthy of it; yea, that the notorious cruelty of the Spaniards toward them was sent by God because they had so ill-treated his holy people, who were of all others the most innocent. Montezinus took out a box, some bread, cheese, and junkets, and gave them to Francis, upbraiding him that he had spoken disrespectfully of the Spaniards. He added, in reply, that he had not told him half the miseries and calamities inflicted by their cruelty.

After this conference, Montezinus went to Carthagenia, a city of the Indians, where he, being examined, was put in prison, and while he prayed to God, these words fell from him: "Blessed be the name of the Lord, that hath not made me an idolater, a barbarian, a Black-a-moore, or an Indian;" but as he named Indian he was angry with himself, and said, "*The Hebrews are Indians.*" Then he, coming to himself, confessed that he doubted, and added, "Can the Hebrews be Indians?"

When he was released from prison he sought out Franciscus, and after finding him, Montezinus confessed himself to be a Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, and that the Lord was his God; and he told the Indian that all other gods were but mockeries. The Indian, in his amazement, asked him the name of his parents. Montezinus answered, "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." "*But,*" said he, "have you no other father?" "Yea, my father's name is Ludovicus Montezinus." After both had sat down

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together and refreshed themselves, the Indian remarked: "If you have a mind to follow me as your leader, you shall know whatever you desire to know; only let me tell you this, whatsoever the journey is, you must foot it, and you must eat nothing but parched maize, and you must omit nothing that I tell you." Montezinus said he would do all.

The next day, which was Monday, they set out on their journey, without cloak, but with sword, three measures of maize, two ropes, &c. They travelled until the Sabbath day, on which they rested. Then, after describing at length the mysterious journey, the Indian came to the side of Montezinus, and spoke in Hebrew, "SCHELAH, ISRAEL, ADONAI ELOHENU ADONAI EHAD; i.e., Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord."

The conference was repeated, and Montezinus pressed the Indian to tell him more. The Indian answered: "I will tell you all I know; only do not trouble me, and you shall know the whole truth, as I received it from my forefathers."

"Thy brethren," he went on to relate, "are the sons of Israel, and were brought thither by the providence of God, who, for their sakes, wrought many miracles, which you would not believe if I should tell you what I learned from my fathers. We Indians made war upon them in that place, and used them more hardly than we now are by the Spaniards. Then, by the instigation of our magicians, we went armed to that place where you saw your brethren, with an intent to destroy them; but not one of all those that went thither came back. So that India was bereft of all inhabitants, but old men and women. The old men, therefore, consulted to destroy the magicians, and many of them they killed. Those that remained promised to discover somewhat:—that the God of those children of Israel is the true God; that all which is engraven upon their stones is true; that about the end of the world they shall be lords of the earth; that some one shall come who will bring you much good; and after they have enriched the world with all good things, those children of Israel, going forth out of their country, shall subdue the whole world to themselves, as it was subject to them formerly: you shall be happy if you make a league with them."

Such is the strange account which Manasseh ben Israel, in his "*Hope of Israel*," says was related to him by Montezinus. Which is the fabricator it would be hard to say. Whether ~~it~~

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learned rabbi actually heard and believed this extraordinary tale from Montezinus, or whether he dreamed it, we have no means of determining. Whichever was the fact—whether he was imposed upon by his friend, or by his own imagination—one thing is certain, he founds upon it, for the most part, his “Hope of Israel.” It is true that he brings forward other arguments, such as, first, the passage in 2 Esdras xiii. 40, &c., to which we shall hereafter refer; secondly, the similarity of laws and customs between these Indians and the Hebrews, which he probably learned from William Penn; and thirdly, the brown colour and beardlessness of the Indians, while in the new world white and bearded men were found who had never any commerce with Spaniards. Manasseh tells us, but on what authority he does not think it necessary to say, that Asia and America, now divided by Behring’s Straits, were formerly one continent, and that before their separation the Jews penetrated to America by land. We do not wish to think ill of any one, especially if he means well, but such a report of what he professed to have seen and heard can hardly be received with more credit than that of Benjamin of Tudela, when he describes the Turks who had plundered a city of Persia as destitute of noses!

William Penn, however, was a more cool and trustworthy man; but we can with difficulty acquit him of jumping too hastily to his conclusions. But what shall we say of the testimony of Dr. Wolff, who went out with the flattering hope of finding some trace of this race in India? “I came,” he says, “among the Molirican tribes, near New York, and asked them, ‘Whose descendants are you?’ They replied, ‘We are of Israel.’” This seems satisfactory as to their extraction, so far as it goes. We only require to identify them specially with the ten tribes, and then our goal will be reached. But, unfortunately for the theory we are considering, he pursued his interrogations a little too far. “Who told you that you were thus descended?” Dr. Wolff now expected to learn that they had derived it from some ancient tradition, whose source was hidden in the mists of the past. Fancy his surprise, therefore, on being informed, that they had been told it by Mr. and Mrs. Simons, of Scotland! Did Mr. and Mrs. Simons learn the tale from Montezinus? Is this the explanation of the North American Indian tradition of their Israelitish descent? Then, verily, the

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descent from the sublime to the ridiculous is not far! Neither is the argument based upon the similarity of religious rites and customs of much greater value, since it would serve equally well to prove that almost all nations are of Jewish descent, inasmuch as there is a close resemblance in their primitive religious observances. Indeed, this argument is used alike by those who advocate the North American, Chaldean, and the Eastern location of the lost tribes. If, therefore, the similarity of religious rites would suffice to prove the Israelitish origin of the North American tribes, it would be of equal weight to prove a similar descent for the Afghans, and many other nations.

The East, as the present abode of the lost tribes, has had a far greater number of advocates than America. Many names, high both as to rank and learning, have given the weight of their authority to support the hypothesis, that the ten tribes of Israel are still living as a pure and unmixed race in Afghanistan, and even in some parts of China and Tartary.

The writer of the book of Esdras (xiii. 40, &c.) affirms that "Shalmaneser carried them beyond the river, and they resolved to separate from the heathen, and to seek a spot where they might religiously observe the law, for the violation of which they had been so severely punished." The country to which they migrated he describes as uninhabited, and so far distant from their captivity, that their journey lasted them a year and a half. And further, to reach this country, they were obliged to cross the Euphrates, which God miraculously opened for their passage. And Ezra remarks that God will, in a like miraculous manner, open a way for them on their return. The country of their destination he calls Arsareth—a spot which has never yet been found. This representation has occasioned many conjectures. Josephus relates that the Jews who did not return from the captivity, amounted to many thousands in numbers. He further supposes that his countrymen must have been very widely scattered throughout the east, from the fact that Ahasuerus proclaimed his edict respecting the Jews throughout 127 departments of his empire, from Ethiopia to India.

Many traditions are extant in the east, which appear to prove a remarkable connection between the Afghans and Israel. These traditions, moreover, are of great antiquity. But of

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their precise value for proving these tribes to be specially related to the ten tribes of the captivity, our readers will be better able to judge when we have laid before them some of the facts of the case. From a variety of independent sources we learn that the Afghans are in the habit of calling themselves "Beni Israeel," or children of Israel; but they consider at the same time the name of "Yahoodie," or Jew, a term of reproach, if applied to themselves. An officer on the staff of the commander-in-chief in India, in a letter dated, Head quarters, Camp, Jan. 20, 1852, says he was struck with the Jewish appearance of the Afghans. They call themselves Bunnie Israel, that is, sons of Israel. "One of the tribes," he adds, "that at present are giving us a good deal of trouble, is called the Eusyphzie, the tribe of Joseph: *zie* being equivalent to *tribe*. And next to them are the Isaksie, or tribe of Isaac; Ishmael, too, is a very common name amongst them."

Some years ago there appeared in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society," a letter from Henry Vansittart to the President of the Society, Sir William Jones. This letter was accompanied with an abridged translation of the "A frarn't Afaghinah," or Secrets of Afghans, a book written in the Pushto dialect. According to this remarkable work, the Afghans are the posterity of Melic Talut (King Saul), who, in the opinion of some, was the descendant of Judah, the son of Jacob, and, according to others, of Benjamin, the brother of Joseph. "In a war," says this work, "which raged between the children of Israel and the Amalekites, the latter being victorious, plundered the Jews and obtained possession of the ark of the covenant. Considering this to be the god of the Jews, they threw it into the fire, which, however, did not affect it. They afterwards attempted to cleave it with axes, but without success; while every individual who treated it with indignity was punished for his temerity. They then placed it in their temple, but all the idols bowed to it. At length they fastened it upon a cow, which they turned loose in the wilderness.*

There are also related other tales, which are found to prevail in the east among some of the Mohammedans. These accounts extend from the time of Melic Talut down to the Captivity,

* This singular tradition would seem to be a corruption of the adventures of the ark of the Lord in the land of the Philistines, as recorded in 1 Samuel, the fifth and sixth chapters.

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without differing greatly from the scripture narrative, excepting in the wild fables with which they are interspersed. The "Secrets of Afghans" proceed to relate, that when Mohammed appeared, his fame reached the Afghans, who sought him in great multitudes under leaders named Khalid and Abdul Rashid, sons of Walid. The prophet honoured them with the most gracious reception, saying, "Come, oh Muluc," or kings, whence they assumed the name Melic, which they enjoy to this day. The Arabian historians, on the contrary, say that Khalid sprang from a tribe of their own nation, and are altogether silent upon the subject of the aid which their prophet derived from the Afghan leaders.

It has been argued that, however much these traditions may be mixed up and corrupted with fables, yet they are sufficient to prove the Jewish extraction of the Afghans. And supposing the ten tribes to have removed from the land of their captivity into India, these fables may have been invented for the purpose of glorifying their race by identifying it with Saul, the first king of Israel. And further, since it is certain, continue the advocates of the Israelitish descent of the Afghans, that the ten tribes remained in the east after the return of their brethren to Judea, the supposition that these people are their descendants explains, easily and naturally, both the disappearance of the one people and the origin of the other.

We have now fairly stated the whole argument, as it stood up to the appearance of the last champion in the field, in the person of Mr. Forster, the author of "The One Primeval Language." In the third volume of this work, just issued from the press, he announces the discovery of an entirely "new key" to prove the identity of the Afghans with the lost tribes of Israel. This "new key" consists of certain rolls of Hebrew manuscripts lately come into his possession from the Jewish treasury of Cochin. "It is now about three years," says this gentleman, "since the Rev. J. M. Chapman, rector of Tendring, placed in my hands two manuscript Hebrew rolls, newly brought from India by his brother-in-law, Capt. Kirby, I.N. One of these rolls was written on fair parchment, and consisted of twelve sheets, or forty-three pages: the other was written on red goat-skin, and contained six sheets. For the honour of the Jews at Malabar, I have to add, that both manuscripts came from the Jewish treasury at Cochin, and were presented to the

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officer by the Jewish high-priest." The lesser roll proved to be a copy of the canonical book of Esther.

The larger roll, says Mr. Forster, is a history of the Jews of Cochin and Malabar, from the time of the Babylonian Captivity down to the successive settlements of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, in Hindostan. This manuscript made no pretensions to antiquity. It was compiled from original sources, of the best authority, and of the highest antiquity—namely, from records formerly deposited in the treasury of Cochin, engraved upon copper tablets, the most ancient of which dated from the era of Nebuchadnezzar, and which were continued in unbroken series, the elder in Hebrew, the later in the language and characters of Malabar; until having escaped the bigotry of the Portuguese, the whole contents of the Treasury, with their precious relics, were plundered by the Dutch so recently as 1774, and deposited in the Treasury of Amsterdam. Upon due consultation among the Jews of Cochin, a deputation, composed of learned rabbis, was formed, and sent to Amsterdam, for the purpose of making transcripts of these copper tablets, in order to complete from them the history contained in the Cochin roll.

A clear line of demarcation is drawn between the fortunes of the Israelites and those of the Jews, subsequently to the Captivity. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, it states, were dispersed abroad throughout all the nations of the earth; but the ten tribes, with the exception of the colonies planted by Nebuchadnezzar in southern India and Spain, remained fixed in their first seats along the river Sambatioun, until, in process of time, having increased and multiplied there, they migrated gradually, some in the direction of the Caspian, others beyond the borders of Media and Persia, apparently eastward, in the direction of Chinese Tartary. The tribes of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh, are represented to have settled on the Caspian, in the country of the Chozar Tartars, where they became seated in the city or cities of a region named Makhe. In these, their new seats, the three tribes in question became a formidable and ferocious Tartar nomade people, celebrated for the number and excellence of their horses, and dreaded for their prowess, not in regular but in predatory warfare.

While the great tribe of Joseph, in both its branches, is stated

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thus to have established itself in these parts, that of Issachar is represented to have wandered in a north-eastern direction, until it settled in the mountains of *Tokoos*—a region described as beyond the bounds, or as under the rule, of the empire of the Medes and Persians. In this hill country, Issachar, like Ephraim and Manasseh, grew up into a great Tartar horde, only, instead of a predatory, they became a peaceful pastoral people, well versed in the precepts of the law of Moses, living upon the products of their numerous flocks, and largely supplied with men-servants and maid-servants; so exemplary in their manners that theft was unknown among them, and so pacific in their habits that the butcher's knife was their only sword.

The correspondence of this description of these people with the character of the Afghan tribes, Mr. Forster considers to be most remarkable, especially, he says, Eusof-zyes (*Eusyph-zie*), the tribe of Joseph. This verisimilitude seems to be confirmed by the account given by the gallant officer already referred to, wherein he describes this tribe as "giving us a great deal of trouble."

The author of "The one Primeval Language" contends that the Sambatioun, mentioned in his 'key,' on the banks of which the ten tribes in the Cochin roll are said to have established themselves, is the same as the Gozen of Scripture, or the modern Ozen. And he seems to have the authority of Ptolemy on his side for doing so, inasmuch as the latter speaks of a people on the confines of Media beyond the Euphrates and Tigris by the name of the *Sambatæ*. This is probably the same river as that mentioned by Josephus under the name of *Sabbatius*. The Jews are said to have established themselves by this river in great numbers. And many incredible stories have been told of this river, for the purpose of showing that it never flowed on the sabbath day, from which circumstance it was honoured with the name of *Sabbatius*.

The next step of Mr. Forster, in his verification of the places mentioned in his roll, is to identify the country in which the tribes of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh, are located. And this he believes he has been entirely able to do by the help of the tables of Ptolemy and Eldad. In the country of the Ghomari, or sons of Gomar, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, Ptolemy speaks of *Tos-Manassa*, "the far-famed Manasseh." And north of this were a people, named by the

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which the surrounding country derived its name, was afterwards called the Cyrus, when the Persians subdued the province of Gozan, and that it is the same river as that which now goes by that name. Basnage thinks that the Scriptures do not expressly say that Gozan is a river. In this opinion Dr. Grant coincides. According to the former authority, Gozan is a city of Assyria, and one of those together with Habor and Halah into which the captive Israelites were carried; while Dr. Grant, on the other hand, considers it the name of a country, rich with pasture lands. Gozan, he thinks, is the same as Zozan, which signifies *pasture*, and is the name given by the Nestorians to all the high lands of Assyria, which afford pasturage for their numerous flocks. But Major Rennell, in his "Geography of Herodotus," has arrived at a different conclusion. He maintains that Gozan is the same river as the present Ozani, or Ouzan, and frequently called Kizzil Ozan, or the Golden River. (See Map.) This, with little doubt, is the truth of the matter; and somewhere on the banks of this river were situated the cities Halah and Habor, where, according to the book of Kings, one of the colonies of the Israelites was located. We are thus able, therefore, to identify pretty accurately the situation occupied by the ten tribes during the period of their captivity. It is also clear that they spread themselves over a large portion of the Chaldean provinces, in the course of a few years. Nor is there much ground for believing that they returned in any very great numbers to their native country; but settled themselves down, and continued for ages in the very same district into which they were at first deported. Indeed, Josephus informs us, that while many families returned with Ezra to their own country, a far larger number preferred their situation in a heathen land to settlement in Judea, to reach which must have cost them a long and dangerous journey.

If we are able to show, as it seems likely we shall be, that the ten tribes remained in the land of their captivity, and did not return; and then if we are further able to prove that they were in the same region in the first century of the Christian era, which was 700 years after they were carried away to Babylon; and if we can show that they were still in the same districts in the fifth century; then we shall have done much towards proving where they are at the present day. This hypothetical argument we conceive to be conclusive. Dr. Grant confidently

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asserts that he has found the antecedent facts, and he therefore triumphantly draws his conclusion.

It is abundantly proved that there were a multitude of Jews in these Chaldean provinces in the early part of the first century, from the statement in the Acts of the Apostles respecting those present at the preaching of Peter on the day of Pentecost, from Parthia, Media, and Mesopotamia. And these correspond with the regions in which the ten lost tribes were settled as captives. Moreover, Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, wrote his first epistle from Babylon, where he had a number of Jewish converts, for he speaks of them as sending their salutations to the churches in the western parts of Asia. Without laying any special stress upon the mention of the "twelve tribes scattered abroad," to whom James addresses his epistle, evidence is not wanting to show that their representatives and descendants were recognised as existing in these districts.

Josephus, in his 'Jewish Wars,' is an additional witness; for he recites a speech of king Agrippa to the Jews, in which they are exhorted to submit to the Romans; and expostulates with them in these words: "What, do you stretch your hopes beyond the Euphrates? Do any of you think that your fellow-tribes will come to your aid out of *Adiabene*? Besides, if they would come, the Parthians will not permit them."

Adiabene was a small kingdom on the banks of the Tigris, and formed a part of the Parthian empire. The celebrated Helena, who has been claimed as an illustrious convert, both by Jews and Christians, was the wife of Monobazus, king of *Adiabene*. And the number and influence of the Jews in his kingdom may be inferred from the circumstance that Izates, the son of Monobazus and Helena, being circumcised by Eleazar, openly professed Judaism when he succeeded his father to the kingdom. And although much opposition was raised to the introduction of a new religion into the country, yet so great was his number of adherents, that he succeeded in establishing himself permanently on the throne. Helena, on the death of her husband and the accession of her son, retired to Jerusalem, and there built for herself a palace and a tomb. At the death of Izates, he was succeeded by his brother, Monobazus. He also persevered in his attachment to Judaism, and sent his children to Jerusalem to be instructed in its principles, and

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they were in the city when it was taken by Titus, by whom they were carried prisoners to Rome. These interesting facts seem to show that the Jews must, at this time, have been both numerous and influential in Parthia. And further, these Jews must have been mainly the posterity of those ten tribes who were carried away captive only a few centuries before.

Then again, on the testimony of Jerome, who flourished in the fifth century, we find traces of them once more; for he informs us that the descendants of these Jewish people were still in these parts. "Until this day," he says in his notes on Hosea, "the ten tribes are subject to the kings of the Persians, nor has their captivity ever been loosened." By which he means, that they were still in exile, though not in bondage. And again he says: "The ten tribes inhabit at this day the cities and mountains of the Medes."

Now as this Adiabene is inhabited by the Nestorian Christians, who number probably no less than 100,000 souls, while only a small remnant of Jews are to be found among them, Dr. Grant imagines that these Nestorians must be the descendants of the Jews who inhabited these regions in the fifth century, and still earlier in the first century, while still united as provinces to the Parthian empire; and hence, also, that they have sprung from the ten tribes who were carried originally into the same countries by their Assyrian conquerors.

We proceed now to put our readers in possession of the principal arguments employed by Dr. Grant, in support of his theory. The first is from the *language* spoken by the Nestorian Christians. With the exception of a trifling difference in dialect, it is the same as that spoken by the Jews of the same district. And what is more singular, it is *not* the vernacular language of the country. This is sufficient to prove that this people is not indigenous to the soil. The language spoken by these tribes, and the Jews who dwell in their vicinity, is a dialect of the Syriac, which plainly bespeaks their origin. Although these Nestorian Christians and the neighbouring Jews must frequently meet from their contiguity, yet, like the Jews and the Samaritans of old, they hold no kind of social intercourse. A Nestorian will neither eat with, or enter the house of, a Jew. This kind of exclusiveness and religious antipathy *is a sufficient refutation* of any supposition that one party may *have derived its language from the other.* The Syrian dialect

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used by them identifies them at once, in the estimation of Dr. Grant, with Palestine, from the probability of this having been the language spoken by the ten tribes before their captivity. The proximity of Israel to Syria; the close alliance which, for a long period of their national history, existed between the kings of Israel and the kings of Syria; the frequent adoption, on the part of Israel, of the idolatrous practices of their allies; and above all, the forty years' servitude which they endured under Syria; would all aid them in the adoption of the Syrian tongue, especially as it differed so little from the Hebrew.

Another proof that they are but a continuation of the same stream as the ten tribes, is derived by Dr. Grant from their calling themselves "Beni Israel," sons of Israel. "Ask any intelligent Nestorian," says Dr. Grant, "for information relating to his ancestry, and he replies at once, 'We are sons of Israel.' But," he adds, "while they assert an inalienable right to this name, so significant of their Hebrew origin, still, as their specific character as Jews has merged into the one they now bear as Christians, and as their national character is in a manner lost in their long captivity, they now more commonly apply to themselves another name."

A third argument is derived from the *similarity of rites and customs* prevalent among the Nestorian tribes, to those in use among the Jews. Although these tribes have embraced the profession of Christianity, yet they have preserved among them a number of customs alleged to be of Jewish derivation. It is not probable that *gentile* christians would have adopted Jewish ceremonies, especially under the existence of strong social and religious prejudices. Indeed, these religious rites constituted the *vexata questio* between the Jews and the Christians of the first century; and these religious differences would not be likely to diminish as time advanced. But it is a well-established fact, that the Jewish converts did retain many of their previous customs and ceremonial usages after they embraced the religion of Jesus Christ. Upon the supposition, therefore, that these Nestorian tribes were *Jews*, before their conversion to Christianity, we can well enough account for the continued prevalence of these Mosaic observances in connection with their Christianity. Those rites, however, which were antagonistic to the *essence of the gospel*—such, for instance, as sacrifice—as was the case with the early Jewish converts, they have discarded.

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But Dr. Grant does not seem to be sufficiently aware that most of the rites still in use among the Nestorians, are not exclusively *Jewish*, but such as were common to the East. The special observances of the *Sabbath*, and the *Pascha*, celebrated by the emblem of the body and blood of Christ, must be cast out of the scale as evidence; for these are to be found, with more or less variation of form, among all Christians; though it is not contended that all Christians are on that account of the children of Israel after the flesh. The preparation of the Sabbath, commencing about three hours before sunset on Saturday, when all labour ceases, excepting what is indispensably necessary, together with the abstinence from swine's flesh, are evidently more peculiarly Jewish. Circumcision is not practised amongst them; it having been, as they consider, superseded by Christian baptism. This departure from the practice of ancient Israel is sufficient, according to the notions of Sir George Rose, to exclude the Nestorian Christians from all claim of Israelitish descent, as no people can be entitled to future restoration to the promised land, but such as have the seal of circumcision!

Another proof of the Israelitish origin of these Nestorian Christians is in their *physiognomy*, which is characteristically Jewish. We must warn our readers to receive this description of evidence with much caution, because it has been employed with an air of triumph by all parties, in their turn, to prove the same of the North American Indians, the Afghans, and Tartars. "When I look upon the Indians," exclaims William Penn, "I imagine myself in the Jewish quarter of London." M. Moria attempted to prove that there was a striking resemblance in the features of the Jews and the Lacedæmonians, and expressed his belief that the Danois are descended from the tribe of Dan. We mention this to show that little dependence is to be placed upon this kind of evidence, unless it were based upon a more scientific knowledge of physiological structure.

As the language, the rites and customs, and the appearance of these Assyrian tribes are Jewish, according to Dr. Grant, so also, the same authority contends, are their *names*. Some of these he specifies, *e. g.*, Abraham, Simeon, Zadoc, Absalom, Elias, Jonah, Joseph, Solomon, Melchisedec, Gamaliel, &c. The Nestorians themselves seem to lay special claim to a descent from the tribe of Naphtali. The records on which they mainly rely for the evidence of this were lost, they relate, with a large

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tity of other manuscripts, in conveying them across the at high water, about sixty years ago.

is strongest argument in favour of the theory of Dr. Grant at derived from the several links of connection existing een these captive tribes in Assyria and Media through the and fifth centuries, and almost to our own times. If the ext tribes are not the posterity of the Jewish converts be first and fifth centuries, what has become of them?

they emigrate to some newly-discovered California or alia? If so, where did they go? Were they subdued and oyed by some conqueror? If so, we have a right to und when, and by whom? On these questions history is t, where we might have imagined it would have been most rative. The supposition, however, that the Nestorians are esendants of the ancient Israelites relieves us of all diffi-, without laying any heavy tax upon our credulity. Nay, hain of evidence is complete, since it is well known that Jews of that locality received the gospel in great numbers e apostolic age, and the inhabitants of that same district as we have seen, Christians up to the present moment.

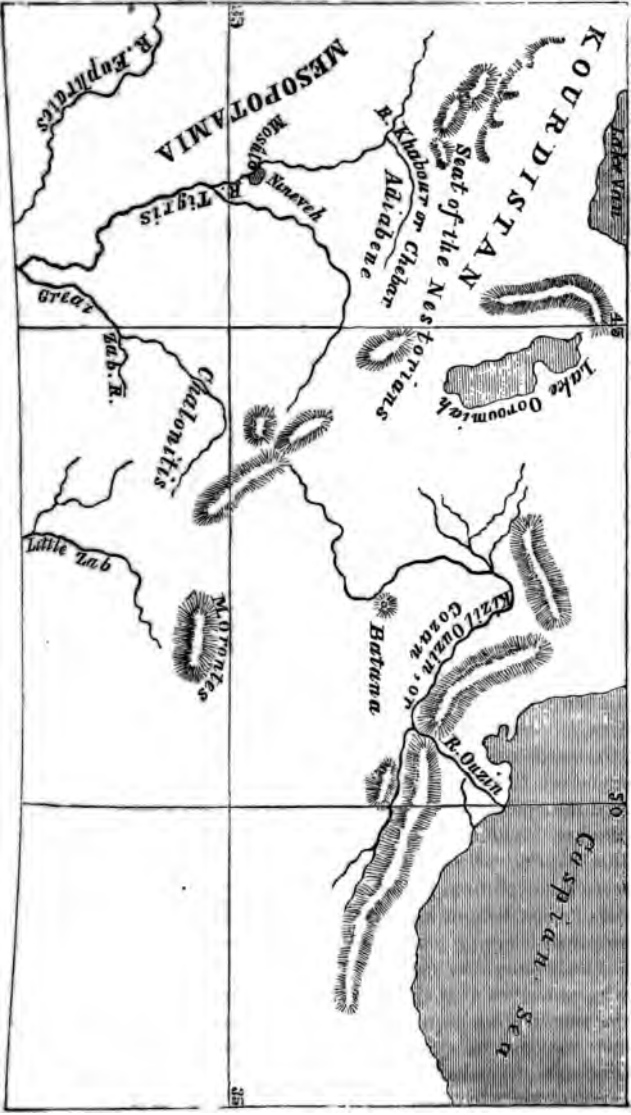
is arguments of Sir George Rose against the theory of Dr. it, lately published in a pamphlet by the honourable baronet, puerile and even worse. It is amazing how the possession rtain high-flown conceits will blind the mind to all sound ming and common sense. "The fact," he says, "of the orians having adopted Christianity, completely negatives theory that they are the ten tribes. In the thirty-sixth ster of Ezekiel, the prophet is informed, 'These bones he *whole* house of Israel.' If the reanimation of all Israel be simultaneous, then it has certainly not yet taken place, the ten tribes cannot have received Christianity." The net continues his quotations and interpretations of the hat: "Then I will sprinkle clean water, and ye shall be n; from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I use you. (Ezekiel xxxvi. 25.) This purification, evidently rring to baptism, is not to be performed until they have restored to their promised land; whereas the Nestorians e preached baptism 1600 or 1700 years." Further, Sir rge remarks: "Dr. Grant affirms that circumcision has been used among them by baptism; but no nation in which *circumcision is not practised* can be recognised as qualified to

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claim its share in the future inheritance of Israel; it has renounced the title-deed of its ancestors to the inheritance of the land of promise."

A far more weighty authority against Dr. Grant exists in the person of Dr. Layard. "I cannot," he says, "trace the Hebrew descent which that gentleman (Dr. G.) could discover in them (the Yezidees), as well as in almost every other sect in Assyria." Much respect and deference is unquestionably due to Dr. Layard on a subject of this kind, since he has spared no pains to acquire the amplest knowledge of the history, habits, and customs of this interesting people; still the weight of evidence on the opposite side is so great, that we are not justified in complete scepticism on the subject. Let it be granted that all the children of the captivity did not remain in these districts of Assyria; let us suppose also that some, and even many, of them did wander further east into India and China; let it even be granted that these tribes have intermarried with others not of Jewish extraction; still there may be enough of Israelitish blood in them to warrant us in calling them the descendants of Israel and the posterity of the children of the Captivity. We are quite aware that this view of the case would not have accorded with the notions of Dr. Grant concerning Israel's future. For he believed them still to exist as a pure and unmixed race. We fully understand also that, in the estimation of such theorists as Sir George Rose and Mr. Forster, these opinions would appear in a light no less awful than impious; for in that case they would consider that the promises of God to Israel would never be fulfilled.

If, as we have seen, the authority of Dr. Layard goes against the supposition of the Jewish extraction of these Assyrian tribes, another, equally learned, is entirely in favour of it. If the Israelites can be supposed to retain to this day any distinct individuality of character, Major Rawlinson thinks that the Kalhurs, who have inhabited the region around Mount Zagros, have a claim to this distinction; and not unlikely preserve in their name the title Calah (or Halah). "They declare themselves," he says, "to have descended from Roham, or Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews. This may be an obscure tradition of their real origin. The Iliyat of this tribe now mostly profess Mohammedanism, but a part of them acknowledge themselves an off-set of the Kalhurs, and most of



the other tribes of this neighbourhood profess a religion made up of a singular amalgamation of Judaism with Sabæan, Christian, and Mohammedan fables." Rabbi Benjamin, of Tudela, when he visited this region in the twelfth century, says that he found no less than 25,000 Jews. And "these Jews," he remarks, "have descended from those which were originally led into captivity by king Shalmaneser. They speak the Syriac language, and among them are many excellent scholars." Major Rawlinson conjectures, that in the time of Rabbi Benjamin, the whole of these Kalhurs may have existed with their Jewish forms of religion very much less corrupted than they are at the present day.

We have thus impartially stated the views of Dr. Grant. And while pointing out the weakness of some of his arguments, we have conscientiously maintained the strength of others.

We proceed to notice very briefly the last hypothesis to which we shall allude, which is this, that the ten tribes are completely lost by amalgamation with other tribes, making all inquiries after them idle and vain. Those who have maintained this view of the subject, divide themselves into two classes. First, those who, with Prideaux, suppose that they have been lost among the surrounding *heathen* population; and second, those who regard the dissolution of these tribes as having taken place through intermarriages with the other *Jewish* tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Prideaux contends that the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never afterwards recovered themselves. And the manner in which he conceives this to have been effected was, through their falling into the idolatrous usages of the regions in which they were planted. And as they had been previously much addicted to this sin, they all the more readily fell into the snare, after they were removed from their own land. "And hence," he remarks, "they soon became absorbed among the heathen, and utterly lost their language, and were never afterwards mentioned."

This theory has met with another advocate in Von Bohlen, who conceives that the ten tribes intermarried so freely with the surrounding population, that they became completely lost, and thereby, he thinks, the riddle is explained of their *descendants never having been discovered*. A sufficient refutation of these harsh opinions may be found in the frequent mention

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made by the Apostles of the twelve tribes, among whom the ten must have been included. In their days, these ten tribes are referred to as a well-known people, and are clearly defined from the heathen. (Compare James i. 1, and Acts xxvi. 7.) And subsequently, as we have seen already, even down to the fifth century, they were known as being then in existence.

The second class of writers we have mentioned contend that all the tribes of Israel have so freely intermarried with each other, that no trace can ever be found of any individual tribe. It is a well-recognised fact, that the present race of Jews have lost all trace of tribal distinction. Soon after their restoration, these ancient marks and boundaries began to disappear. Indeed, after their return to Judea, the laws of their landed inheritance no longer necessitated the maintenance of separate tribes; and no difficulty was therefore in the way of their freely intermarrying from one tribe into another. The obliteration of these distinctions would consequently be natural, if not inevitable. "No modern Jews," says a learned writer in Dr. Kitto's Biblical Cyclopaedia, "know to what tribe they belong, although vanity always makes them choose to say that they are of the two or three, and not of the ten tribes. That all Jews now living have in them the blood of all the twelve tribes ought (it seems) to be believed, until some better reason than mere assertion is advanced against it."

This writer cherishes the belief, that a greater number of the ten tribes returned with the other two than some are disposed to allow. While, on the other hand, those writers who suppose that the twelve tribes are to be once more restored to Jerusalem, and to live under a Theocracy or Christocracy there, are unwilling to allow that any of the ten returned to their own land with Ezra. Free permission was granted both by Cyrus, and afterwards by Artaxerxes, to all in their realms to go to Jerusalem; for the proclamation of Cyrus was made "throughout all his kingdom" (Ezra i. 1); and by Artaxerxes to all the people of Israel "in my realm." Yet we have no clear scriptural authority for supposing that many of the ten tribes availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them. Indeed, we have no real authority or evidence to guide us on these questions; but are left to the mere probabilities of the case. And these will be strong or weak according to the prejudgments in the light of which they may be viewed. To arrive at absolute certainty is impossible.

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We have now examined the principal theories which have been held respecting these mysterious tribes. None are entirely satisfactory in themselves, nor free from objection, though most of them seem to rest upon some substratum of truth. Perhaps this very circumstance may point out to us a new method of seeking a solution of the difficulty; or a "new key," as Mr. Forster would call it, for explaining what has become of the lost tribes. We cannot, however, promise that it will, like his, unlock any prison door, that we may have a glimpse of them, where they are kept in safe custody against the time when they are to be redeemed from their temporal bondage.

1. There seems some foundation in Scripture for the belief that a considerable amalgamation of tribes took place during the period of the Captivity. For in the list of families given by Ezra, of those who accompanied Zerubbabel and himself from Assyria and Media to Jerusalem, it is impossible to say whether the persons mentioned belong to Judah or Israel. The fact that the tribal heads of these families are not stated, as is invariably the case in all Scripture lists, is sufficient evidence that their genealogy was already lost. Then, further, the more loose and indefinite use of the phrases Judah and Benjamin, and children of Israel, to be found in the book of Ezra, show that they ceased to mark distinct nationalities. The first appears to be used to describe the more prominent actors; and the last to designate the *whole nation* collectively, including all the twelve tribes. "Israel," says the writer already referred to in Kitto's Cyclopedia, "is used to signify what we might call the laity, as opposed to the priests and Levites; which seem as though the writer were anxious to avoid asserting that all the families belonged to the two tribes." And again, in the book of Esther, the twelve tribes through all parts of the Persian empire are called, not the children of Judah, or of Israel, but *Jews*; which is a remarkable variation from the pre-captivity period. These facts may suffice to show that there must have been a melting together of these different tribes. Still, notwithstanding this fusion, a large number of aristocratic families, proud of their lineal ancestry, would doubtless remain. Indeed, the Talmudists assert that only the rabble portion of the people returned from the land of their captivity to Judea, while the best and noblest families remained in Babylon.

2. So there may be also a residuum of truth in the views

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entertained by those who consider this people absorbed and lost among the surrounding heathen population. The proneness of these Israelites to idolatry is well known and universally admitted. In their highest state of moral susceptibility for such evil influence, they were taken into the midst of an idolatrous people. Some of them, through the adoption of the worship of their rulers, would be led, eventually, to heathenish intermarriages; and others again, through conjugal unions, would be drawn into the practices of idolatry. And from the book of Ezra we know, that these unions with the heathen did extensively prevail even in Ezra's time; for at the close of his book we are furnished with a very long list of those persons who were compelled by him to put away their foreign wives, before permitting them to return to their own land. "All these," he says, "had taken strange wives; and some of them had wives by whom they had children." If there were such numbers among those who were about to return to Judea, that had taken wives from the heathen population around them, the presumption is that a vastly greater number among those left behind had done the same, and that they lived with them until death parted them. With such facts as these before us, what can be said of the *purity* of the present race of the ten tribes, even supposing them still to exist? If the stream became vitiated so near its source, it was not at all likely to purify itself in its subsequent course.

From these data the conclusion is inevitable, that the distinction between the tribes must have been in a great measure lost during the Captivity, even among those who returned under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Ezra. The precaution used by Ezra in separating the men from their strange wives, preserved those who returned from foreign admixture; while those who remained in the land of their captivity became, to some extent, amalgamated with the surrounding population. How far this might have been the case, however, it is impossible to say. Probably, as facts would seem to teach us, not sufficiently for them to lose all those marks of individuality of physiognomy, customs, and religion, which would serve to distinguish them from the purely heathen stock.

3. The original situation in which the captive tribes were *placed being known*, and the partial admixture of these tribes *with the surrounding population being supposed*, how far will

theories respecting the restoration of Judah and Israel to the land of Palestine, and the reconstruction of their national polity under the son of David. There are two classes of prophecies which speak of a deliverance for Israel, and of their future. One class relates to the time when they should be led forth, freed from their Assyrian captivity, into Judea again. These predictions were actually fulfilled in the days of Ezra and Zerubbabel. The other class of prophecies refers to more distant times—to the days of the Messiah and the glorious events of his reign. Now we think that, in regard to this and other cognate subjects, sufficient discrimination is not displayed by those writers who so zealously advocate the restoration of the Jews to their native land, and the revival of their ancient national glory there. These two classes of prophecies are confounded the one with the other, as if they referred to one common object. The passages which speak of the restoration of Israel to their own country are improperly employed to prove and illustrate events which are still unrealized, though an intelligent examination of the context would almost invariably show the true object to which the prophet refers—whether to the nearer or to the more remote future.

With regard to those glowing predictions of the prophets which undoubtedly point to the times of the Messiah, it may be observed that instead of being minute and specific, they are general and shadowy in their forecastings. We do not deny that in some parts of the prophetic roll the writers make use of terms which, in their outward sense, would seem to convey the notion that such a literal restoration to Jerusalem as some are expecting, is actually to take place. Other portions, however, parallel in meaning, declare that such will not be the case; but that those grand times will be characterised by what is spiritual rather than by what is external and ritual. (Jer. xxxi. 31—34.) The Jew must come to Christ as a *man*, and not as a Jew; for in Him “there is neither Jew nor Greek.” Let us not, then, unwittingly help to deceive this people in their blind expectations of a coming Messiah; but let us rather tell them, that when “*it* (i.e. the heart of the Jew) shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.”

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A party of Christians surprised in the Catacombs by Roman soldiers.

ROMAN SEPULTURE—A ROMAN FUNERAL—ORIGIN OF THE CATACOMBS.

CÆSAR AUGUSTUS made it his boast, that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. This was no idle vaunt. The first of the emperors was one of the greatest builders the world ever saw. A spirit of architectural magnificence was cherished

in the latter days of the republic, and it was caught, increased, and diffused by this founder of imperial power. It is curious to notice the sums at which the mansions of some of the wealthy Romans were valued, about the period when the government of the Commonwealth was on the point of transition into the Empire. They show that luxury was superseding simplicity. Cicero's house in the Palatine cost above £30,000; the house of Messalla, £33,000; while that of Clodius amounted to no less than £131,000. The brick was in many places giving way to the marble, even before Augustus put his hand to the work. But through his own munificence and energy, he achieved much for the city of his love and pride. He built a forum which bore his name, and lined it on each side with splendid porticoes, adorning it at the end by a temple dedicated to Mars. The theatre of Marcellus, together with the neighbouring portico of Octavia, are also ascribed to him. On the Palatine he reared a palace, and attached to it a fane dedicated to Apollo; while hard by, on the edge of the old forum, he constructed another to the goddess Minerva. Arcades, and other buildings for public use, he caused to arise in different parts of that growing metropolis, which, in his day, had far outrun the bounds marked by the walls of Servius Tullius.

Among all the structures of this luxurious monarch, his own mausoleum was, perhaps, one of the most remarkable. It was an enormous circular building, 220 feet in diameter, with sepulchral chambers around it, apparently innumerable. The ruins, at the present day, astonish the traveller and perplex the antiquary. One is reminded, in wandering through its dark cells, of the subterranean passages and dungeons of a great feudal castle. It stands in the midst of what was once the *Campus Martius*; and when standing in all its pristine beauty, on its foundations of white marble, covered with terraces of evergreens, surrounded by groves and public walks, and entered through a gateway flanked with Egyptian obelisks, this mansion for the dead must have been imposing in the extreme.

The construction of tombs absorbed no small portion of the architectural ambition of the age. The tower-like sepulchre of *Cæcilia Metella*—now

“Standing, with half its battlements alone,
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity, where wave
The green leaves over all by time o'erthrown”—

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is of a somewhat earlier date; but the huge pyramid of Caius Cestius, still perfect, though the Carrara marble be now black almost as jet—that gloomy mass by the Porta San Paolo, overshadowing the English burial-ground—was built by a contemporary of Cicero; and the tomb of the baker Eurysaces, outside the Porta Maggiore, so full of curious work and archæological illustration, that one can spend hours in looking at it, and tracing out its cunning and quaint design, is also a work of the Augustan times. Along the Appian Way—a street of tombs extending for some five miles—was an exhibition of sepulchral architecture most diversified as well as grand and costly. Some tombs were comparatively small, not very much exceeding in size the more ambitious in our English cemeteries; but others were spacious, affording accommodation for the remains of the humbler freed men, or the slaves and dependants of distinguished families.

There are numerous places for the dead still to be seen outside Rome, consisting of chambers with niches in the walls, tier above tier, intended to receive the vessels of baked clay which contained the ashes of the departed. From the resemblance these openings bear to those found in pigeon-houses, places of this kind are called *columbaria*. In these gloomy recesses, the servants of some great Roman senator might be found contiguous to the prouder edifice which covered his own remains; but some of the *columbaria* about Rome, it is surmised, were the property of speculators, in which places for urns were sold, as a certain number of square feet of earth, or niches of burying-ground, are, now-a-days, at Kensal-green, or Père la Chaise. Such was evidently the origin of the numerous *columbaria* recently laid open along the Via Appia, and Via Latina, and beyond the tombs of the Scipios.

The extent, the imposing architecture, and the costliness of Roman tombs, showed the vain ambition of a mighty people to cover themselves with glory in the very act of submitting to a power mightier than they. They kept up a struggle with mortality, at least to preserve for themselves an undying renown. The nameless tombs show how they have been defeated; and the undistinguishable heaps of once gorgeous sepulchres beside the Appian-road, are among the most affecting ruins of a region where everything is affecting.

It was but in harmony with the pride thus displayed

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rearing of these tombs, that the Romans expended so much cost and care, so much pomp and show, upon their funerals.

Let us imagine ourselves in Rome, in the time of Augustus. See yonder, coming down this narrow street which leads to the Forum, and which is bounded by enormously high houses—the rage for building towards heaven being so great, that the emperor has been compelled to forbid his subjects to exceed an elevation of seventy feet—see, we say, winding along this inconvenient avenue, a band of musicians, playing mournful strains, led on by an undertaker called *dominus funeris*, or the master of the funeral, who is attended by lictors or servants, dressed in black. Stand aside, and let them pass. These musical men are followed by women, who mingle their songs of lamentation with the sound of the instruments. Now come players and buffoons, one of whom mimics the deceased, and represents his character. Slaves, wearing caps of liberty, set free at their owner's death, with a view to swell the pomp of this procession, next succeed. Another group approaches, consisting of people in waxen masks, intending to personate the ancestry of the dead man, clothed in such official robes as *they* were entitled to wear, and exhibiting such crowns and other military prizes as *they* had won.

Now, hush! here comes the corpse itself on a couch—a rich couch of ivory, adorned with gold, draped in purple. Those who carry it are friends of the deceased, men of rank and substance. Thus they honour him whom they have lost. The relations follow; the sons with their faces veiled, the daughters with their heads bare, and their long tresses unbound and dishevelled. To the wailings bought and paid for, they add the natural utterances of grief without restraint. The train slowly moves on. Let us follow them into the Forum. Here we are under the shadow of the senate-house. All round are the temples of deities and heroes. Saturn, Fortune, Concord, rise beside their path with lordly air. Monuments of valour, victory, and patriotism meet the eye at every turn.

Now, stop here! for the procession has paused in front of the rostrum. An orator ascends the steps, rises behind the marble beaks, and proceeds to paint the virtues of the departed. This task ended, to the satisfaction of the mourners, the party wend *their way* along the *Via Sacra*—round by the palace of the *Cæsars*, under the brow of the Palatine—by the edge of the

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Aventine—on and on through the crowded street, till they reach the arch of Drusus, and the Porta Capena—and passing through, enter on the Appian Way, beside an elegant temple to Mars, a favorite god of the Romans. Yonder are the tombs, the first objects to meet the eye of the traveller on approaching the city gates—the last on leaving them. These people are proud of their tombs. They think the dead happy who slumber under those piles of splendid masonry and sculpture. “When thou goest out of the Capena gate,” says Cicero, “and beholdest the sepulchres of Calatinus, of the Scipios, and of the Servilii, and the Metelli, canst thou deem the buried inmates wretched?”

At length we have reached the spot where the last funeral rites are to be performed. Enter this open space, walled in close to the mausoleum which is to receive this rich man's ashes. A pile is built in the form of an altar. The sides are covered with dark leaves. Cyprus trees have been planted before it. The couch and the corpse are now solemnly lifted up and placed on the summit. The nearest relative comes with a torch, and averting his face from the sad spectacle, sets fire to the wood. It flashes, crackles, spreads, and soon envelops the mass in flame and smoke. Perfumes and cups of oil are now thrown upon the embers; even ornaments, clothes, and food are offered, as if to furnish the soul for its mysterious journey, of which that horse's head, carved in marble, is symbolical. The pile is burnt down; the remains are soaked in wine; and the bones and ashes are carefully gathered up, and treasured within an urn. The vessel is sprinkled with water from a branch of laurel by the priest; and then all are dismissed with the word, “*Ilicet.*”^{*} They accordingly depart, bidding farewell to the dead by uttering the exclamation, “*Vale.*” The rites being now over, the urn is left in the appointed spot within the great tomb, where, before long, the urns of others, now wending homeward, will be gathered too!

The material of which the earlier buildings in Rome were constructed was brick, as already noticed. Marble, however, was very largely employed afterwards for houses as well as temples and tombs. A kind of volcanic sand, called tufa and puzzolana, abounded in the soil on which Rome was built, as well as in the neighbourhood. It was well adapted for building purposes, and was strongly recommended for cement by the

^{*} You may go.

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architect Vitruvius, who flourished in the Augustan age. Before his time, it had been largely used, and considerable excavations were made about Rome in order to obtain this important material. Quarries of this sort, long opened, had been exhausted and abandoned, even at that period, while similar works were going on in other directions; and gangs of slaves might be seen going to labour in these sand-pits, with pickaxes on their shoulders, or returning with heavily-laden carts. The Campagna, or plain, without the walls of the seven-hilled city, was thus in a process of becoming completely honey-combed, after some parts of the city itself had already undergone that operation. The openings formed in this way were long, narrow, winding subterranean galleries, something like what are found in some of our coal-pits and mines.

These damp and gloomy chambers in the earth, abandoned and lonely, were fitted for deeds of violence. One of them obtained notoriety in the time of Cicero, from its associations with a terrible murder. A young citizen, named Asinius, was possessed of large wealth, which attracted the cupidity of a villain called Oppianicus. He contrived to get a will forged in the name of Asinius, and procured the signatures of witnesses, in legal form, to the pretended document. When all this was done, Asinius was decoyed into a garden, near an opening over this deserted excavation, and there thrown down and killed. It was in the cavern which ran under the Esquiline-hill, that the unfortunate young man lost his life; and the story, which was common talk in Rome, could not fail to surround that spot with the darkest terrors. There were gathered round it, too, other gloomy associations.

We have just glanced at a Roman funeral; but it was the funeral of one high-born and rich. Slaves, after death, were differently treated. No pompous procession awaited them. Sometimes, indeed, several corpses of that class were heaped together on a pile and burnt; and in the Columbaria, as we have noticed, the ashes of some more favoured by their lords were preserved in urns. But slaves of the lower class—and Roman slaves, it should be remembered, were an order of men admitting of various degrees, according to their employments—received but the burial of dogs, and were cast out as altogether vile.

The rites of sepulture were also refused to criminals, suicides,

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and those who perished by lightning. Many such were thrown into the Esquiline caverns, and left there to putrefy—a circumstance which may account for the name the places had come to bear. The whitening bones, according to Horace, made the place look melancholy; and among them, as we learn from the same authority, the dregs of the people, buffoons, spend-thrifts, and slaves, were dishonorably entombed, the body being put into a rough kind of coffin, and deposited in narrow holes. The Esquiline, in the time of the poet, was by such means brought into a wretched condition. It was infected by pestilence, and infested with banditti; but when Mæcenas, the wealthy patron of Horace, came into possession of the property, he soon effected a transformation. The caverns were covered in; tasteful gardens were laid out; a palace was built; the neighbourhood became fashionable; and the poet rejoiced to bask and sing on the sunny banks of the once avoided Esquiline. Other sand-pits might now become the burial-place of the slave; and there were some of these strange winding chambers in the bowels of the earth which were destined to receive the mortal remains of departed ones, who enjoyed a franchise such as pagan Rome had never known.

II.

THE CATACOMBS IN THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN—MARTYRS' MEMORIALS.

The Rome of Diocletian was different from the Rome of Augustus. The great architectural stimulus given by the latter was felt by his successors, and new edifices, public and private, were continually rising after his time in the great city and its spreading suburbs. The fire of Nero destroyed many of the old buildings; and in the time of Adrian, when Rome was at the height of its architectural magnificence, the archæologist had to lament the disappearance of many an ancient structure, for the loss of which modern and prouder works of art, destitute of the charm of historical association, would scarcely atone. But the changes in streets, temples, and forums was small, in comparison with some other changes which had occurred in the city of the Cæsars—especially *one*. A new religion had appeared, totally different from that which in the days of the republic was seated in the hearts of the *Roman people*. The faith symbolized by the cross, the true and *blessed religion of the world's Redeemer*, had been preached;

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and in the time of Diocletian, a large number, both of citizens and slaves, gloried in the faith which the imprisoned apostle Paul had proclaimed to their fathers.

It was not to be supposed that such a religion could lay hold on the hearts and consciences of any considerable number of the inhabitants of Rome, without exciting the attention and arousing the animosity of their pagan neighbours. There was that in the gospel which was sure to provoke the indignation of men, proud, sensual, and selfish as the Romans were, whether they believed in their old paganism or not. The warfare was between heaven-born truth and corrupt human nature. Accordingly, persecution met the Christians in Rome almost as soon as there were any Christians there to be persecuted. Nero took the lead in this cruel work, and perpetrated barbarities which have covered his name with infamy. Other emperors were not behind-hand with their intolerance; but there were intervals of comparative quiet—breathing times allowed to the faithful—or, at least, periods of tacit connivance at their opinions, if not open permission of their religion, during which the zeal that persecution could not quench, took advantage of its opportunity, and established for the church in Rome a standing of social influence and power.

Under Diocletian at first, the Christians were in peace. They multiplied in numbers, and increased in wealth; but it would appear that they, at the time, by no means advanced in purity, spirituality, and love. The calm, however, was only transient. A storm followed, the fiercest of any that ever broke on Christendom. It would have annihilated a faith that was not rooted in human souls by the power of God. Its heaviest vengeance fell on the eastern churches; and of the sufferings which they endured, Eusebius has transmitted to us ample memorials; but in Italy, respecting which at the time no ecclesiastical details are preserved, though the trial was short, it was violent. The rigorous edicts of Diocletian, even Gibbon allows, were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate Maximian, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts of blood and violence. In the autumn of the first year of the persecution (303), the two emperors met at Rome to celebrate their triumph; several oppressive laws appear to have issued from *their secret consultations*, and the diligence of the magistrates *was animated* by the presence of their sovereigns. Churches

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were demolished, and zealous Christians were put to death, the consequence of which was that survivors were glad to hide themselves for a little moment, until the indignation was overpast.

Where was the hiding-place of the Roman Christians at this period? we may ask. Those subterranean galleries excavated in the earlier building days of the city bear witness. There—where anciently the tufa was dug out for cement and other purposes, where the pick-axe and spade had been busily employed by the labourer—Christian pastors and their flocks now retreated from impending danger; there they worshipped the Lord whom they trusted and loved, celebrated the supper in commemoration of their Redeemer's death, administered the ordinance of holy baptism, and held their feasts of charity—the agapæ as they were called—and spake of the truths of salvation one to another, and in low voices, lest the enemy should hear, sung hymns to Christ as unto God.

Moreover, it would appear that by the persecuting Diocletian, many Christian soldiers were withdrawn from the ranks, and condemned to toil in the sand-crypts, to raise materials for those enormous baths on the Viminal, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the visitors in Rome. Of the sufferings of those confessors, some idea may be formed from the statements of Diodorus Siculus, respecting the condition of persons doomed to such a punishment, for he tells us that they were driven with the whip to their work, that no regard was paid to age, infirmity, or sex, till at last many expired under the weight of their sufferings.

Of the places which were appropriated by the church in Rome for refuge and worship, certain excavations outside the gate on the Appian Way are best known. They are the earliest alluded to in history, under the name of catacombs, and were probably the earliest employed for sacred uses. In the neighbourhood of the proud tombs of the old Romans, not very far from the tower of Metella, hard by the spot where we have just seen the pagan funeral rites of the first century performed, we know that the professors of the gospel in Rome were wont in the third century, in hours of danger, furtively to retire, and by prayer and communion seek comfort for their souls. "*The fact that the catacombs were employed as a refuge from persecution rests upon good evidence, notwithstanding objections*"

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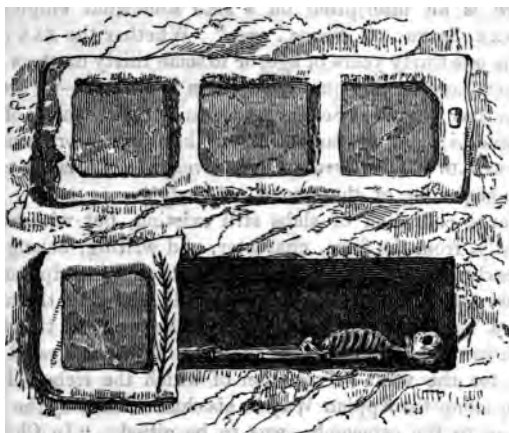
founded upon the narrowness of the passages, the difficulty of supporting life, and the risk of discovery incurred by seeking concealment in an asylum so well known to the pagans. These objections do not apply to a temporary residence below ground in time of danger, and it is not pretended that the catacombs were inhabited under other circumstances. The recourse to such an asylum was no novelty in history, for long before that time, many of whom the world was not worthy took refuge in dens and caves of the earth." The numerous entrances to the catacombs, and the labyrinth of passages, which it would require a familiar acquaintance to thread and follow, facilitated the escape and the preservation of the Christian confessors from the pursuit of their merciless foe; though there is evidence to show, as we shall presently see, that the persecutor sometimes tracked out his victims even in these dark and intricate abodes. Looking upon these caverns as the occasional and temporary place of refuge for small groups of believers, when some approaching danger bade them flee, we can, without any great effort of imagination, paint the latter before the back-ground of the wall of tufa, seated together round some teacher with a portion of the book of life open before him, listening to his words, as, by the light of a lamp, he scans the sacred MS., and talks to them of Him who bids them be faithful unto death.

We have conducted the reader to Rome in the time of Diocletian, when the last persecution raged; but long before that time the catacombs, as they are now generally called, had been employed for Christian purposes. We cannot reject the opinion that they served for places of refuge from an early period, but we apprehend that from the beginning they were used chiefly as places of sepulture. The custom of burning the dead, prevalent among the pagan Romans, was never adopted by the followers of the Christian faith. That revealed the sacredness of the body as well as the value of the soul. The humanity of Christ, the doctrine of the incarnation, and the promise of a glorious rising from the grave at the last day, taught men to look upon the inanimate corpse as the ruin of a dwelling to which the glorified inmate was to return, and which, therefore, ought to be left unviolated and untouched, under the guardianship of Him who is the resurrection and the life. Holding this faith, Christians did not dare to burn; they reverently buried the remains of their brethren, and where could

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so well perform the rites of sepulture, and so securely
with the bodies of those they loved, as in these catacombs,
which it is probable that many of the early Christians,
their being of the lower class, had become familiarly ac-
customed as excavators and tufa-diggers.

At the times of Diocletian, then, there were Christian graves
in the catacombs, and the men and women who sought
refuge there would, by the light of lamp or torch, gaze upon
the memorials of death, and, through faith in the Lord both
the dead and of the living, hold fellowship with the departed
who were still living unto Him. In the narrow winding



ages were found, even then, numbers of long low niches cut
in the wall, containing the bones of Christians, enclosed by a
narrow slab of marble rudely carved. Taking into account



Christian population of Rome in the second and third

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centuries, and that in all probability the catacombs were then a general Christian cemetery, the accumulation of remains there at the period we have been speaking of must have been very great. For miles and miles could the fugitive or the friend wander through these recesses, marking, as he went along, the silent chambers of those who were asleep in Jesus. Slabs still exist bearing inscriptions which can be identified as belonging to times anterior to the Diocletian persecution; and, as we examine them, they gather fresh interest in our eyes from the thought of their having been looked upon and read by the sufferers for conscience sake, in the third century.

Here is an inscription on a slab somewhat enigmatical: "N. xxx. Syrra . et . Senec . coss." Whether the xxx allude to some one thirty years of age, or to some thirty martyrs buried together—and on this question opinion is divided—we are quite certain that "Syrra et Senec coss" signify the consulate of Sym and Senecio; and we further know that there were consuls in the year A.D. 102; so here we have a veritable Christian epitaph of the beginning of the second century.

A large collection of slabs still existing, but without date, evidently, from the form, character, and writing, belong to the very early age of the church. Many of the inscriptions they bear are roughly carved and badly spelt, showing the want of art and learning in the cutter, and the want of this world's wealth in the buried one; but showing in both a blessed knowledge, for the want or rejection of which the richest Roman, rolling along the Appian Way in his chariot, hard by the hidden gateway to the catacombs, was to be pitied. "In Christ—in peace." These beautiful words, indicated by letter or monogram, are of constant recurrence on the slabs, associating the thought of peace and salvation with the name of the Redeemer. "Sleep," "peace," "Christ," "laid to sleep," "sleeps in peace," "in Christ"—these significant syllables occur over and over again in the earliest memorials of the catacombs, and there they were when the scattered ones in Diocletian's reign walked up and down through these alleys of the dead. Would not their faith, constancy, courage, and hope be fed and strengthened by such signs, so simple and sublime? There had been martyrs in Rome from an early period. The great Coliseum had witnessed the death of Ignatius. Cyprian tells of Sistus and Quartus, who were put to death in the catacombs, whither they had fled.

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is stated, too, that the bishop Stephen was there beheaded in an episcopal chair after performing divine service. Letters of martyrs also are preserved, in one of which Celerinus, writing from a Roman prison to the Bishop of Carthage, says: "I believe that though we see each other no more in this world, we shall meet in another when crowned in Christ. Pray that I also may be deemed worthy to be crowned among your number." Bodies of martyrs were interred in the catacombs, though to that amount has given rise to a controversy hereafter to be noticed; at present, it must suffice to say, that very few slabs have been found containing the names of individual martyrs, and that those names are unknown to history. One belongs to the reign of Adrian, and the following is the inscription:—

"IN CHRIST—In the time of the emperor Adrian, Marius, a young military officer, who had lived long enough when with God he gave up his life for Christ. At length he rested in peace. The well-deserving set up this, with tears and in fear, the 6th before the ides of ———."

Another belongs to the time of Antonine. Here it is:—



ALEXANDER MORTVVS NON EST SED VIVIT SVPER
ASTRA ET CORPVS IN HOC TVMVLO QVIESCIT VITAM
EXPLEVIT SVB ANTONINO IMP. QVIVBI MVLTVM
BENE FITII ANTEVENIRE PRAEVIDERET PRO GRATIA
ODIVM REDDIDIT GENVA ENIM FLECTENS VERO DEO
SACRIFICATVROS AD SVPPPLICIA DVCITVRO TEMPORA
INFAVSTA QVIBVS INTER SACRA ET VOTA NE IN
CAVERNIS QVIDEM SALVARI POSSIMVS QVID MISERIVS
VITA SED QVID MISERIVS IN MORTE CVM AB AMICIS
ET PARENTIBVS SEPELIRI NEQVEANT TANDEM IN
CORLO CORVSCANT PARVM VIXIT QVI VIXIT IN X
TEM.*



In Christ. Alexander is not dead, but lives above the stars, and his body is in this tomb. He ended his life under the emperor Antonine, who, foreseeing great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good. For he on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. Oh, sad times, in which among sacred rites and prayers, even in prison, we are not safe! What can be more wretched than such a life? And is that such a death? When they cannot be buried by their friends and home! At length they sparkle in heaven. He has scarcely lived who has lived in Christians' times.

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The slabs with martyrs' names at present found are only five—the two just mentioned, two belonging to the age of Diocletian, and one to the reign of Julian.

But though the memorials of individual martyrs buried in the catacombs, as at present identified, are so few, yet that cannot be allowed to disturb our belief in the fact of large numbers in different parts of the world having suffered during the first three centuries for their faith in the Redeemer, as the writings of pagan as well as ecclesiastical authors abundantly testify. We have no doubt that very many sufferers for the kingdom of Jesus Christ were entombed in the vaults described, although their names do not appear. Eusebius distinctly calls the catacombs the burial-place of the martyrs, and subsequent statements which we have to make will confirm the historian's assertion; but we are unwilling to anticipate the chronological development of our subject, or to adduce any proofs beyond those which are contemporary with the events. In the meanwhile, it is very affecting to think of the Christians in later persecutions, surveying the memorials and rehearsing the deeds of those who suffered in earlier times; to imagine them speaking to one another in the catacombs respecting Ignatius, who had died so valiantly within the walls of that enormous amphitheatre, which they passed on their way to the Porta Capena—or recalling the names of some ancestors who had gone before them into the world of spirits, through the gate of martyrdom—and had left behind them precious domestic legends, fondly treasured up; or, with tears, pointing to some slab-covered niche, where a father or mother, a brother or a friend, having proved faithful, slept in Jesus and in peace.

In the statements we have made relative to the catacombs in the first three centuries of the Christian era, we have been careful to introduce nothing but what can be supported by satisfactory evidence, historical or antiquarian. We have, therefore, detailed none of the romantic stories respecting fugitives in these subterranean abodes, which may be found among the legends of the Romish church, because they are of a much later date, or because great doubts rest on the authority of the documents from which they are drawn. So very credulous and uncritical were the mediæval writers as it respects events said to have occurred in the times before their own, that no careful student of history feels that he can place much dependence upon them

in such matters. That all the legends are gross fabrications from beginning to end, we by no means believe; but that there is a great deal included in them, utterly incredible and untrustworthy, we are fully convinced. To separate the true from the false, so as to extract and weave together into a consistent and sensible historical narrative—the incidents which really took place in connection with the true names of the parties concerned, and the precise period of their occurrence—appears to us utterly impossible; yet we find, as we turn over the stories, many things recorded here and there, which have a look of verisimilitude about them, and which suggest very affecting pictures of the life of the Christians in the catacombs, and of scenes in the Rome of the persecuting emperors. They give dreamy shape and colour to one's thoughts. The following are examples.

Here is a little cell dug in a bed of travertine, the habitation for awhile of a solitary believer, who must lead a solitary life or perish by the hands of blood-thirsty men in quest of him. There hangs his lamp, the only light of his dark abode. He sits on a piece of stone; a portion of the scriptures is in his hand. A few vessels and other utensils for his daily meals are placed beside him, on which has been marked the sign of a cross. He is known among his brethren for intelligence and sanctity. Notwithstanding the prevalence of persecution, they are active in promoting the faith; and they bring sometimes to this recluse a pagan—a man, a woman, or a child, whose confidence in idolatry is shaken, or whose curiosity about the gospel is inspired, or whose simplicity invites instruction—to hear of Jesus and the life to come. And the good man reads, talks, and prays, and thus enlightens, convinces, and converts. The new disciples are called catechumens, and are afterwards baptized—baptized here in the gloomy crypt by the Bishop of Rome. The effects of these labours get noised abroad; the city prefect hears of them; the informers are all on the alert. But still the lonely man continues his work. He has a relative, a Roman, who feels for him, and sends two of his children daily by stealth with loaves of bread. He talks to these children, and impresses their young minds. The father and mother are angry at this. They come to the catacombs. The sufferer makes it a school for his accusers. They, too, are instructed, and at length won over to the truth. Baptism follows, and they are added to the number of the pledged ones.

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This fresh inroad upon paganism is rumoured in the city. Other expedients to discover the secret source of the activity of the Christian recluse having failed, a trick is played. An informer goes and stands in one of the public thoroughfares and begs. He sees a man, the father of the two children, whom he suspects to be a Christian, passing by. He appeals to him, feigns himself to be a Christian, inspires his compassion and sympathy, gets to know his abode, is conscience-stricken at the baseness of his design, hears the gospel, and is brought to believe. The informer now, in his turn, is searched for, convicted, and put to death. His body is brought to the catacombs. It is washed, anointed, and reverently laid in one of the recesses cut in the rock. There are tears and prayers on the occasion, and thoughts of Him who said, "I am the resurrection and the life;" and then a brother chisels some rude figure of a dove, with a palm branch, on a slab of stone secretly brought there—writes the name of the departed—adds the monogram of Christ, finishing with "in pace"—*in peace*—and puts up the covering over the tomb of the mangled corpse left to slumber there until the rising of the just.

Take another scene. A party of soldiers find an entrance to the catacombs. They make their way through the hedge of laurel that conceals the private opening—march with quiet tread down the steps of sand-stone into the narrow labyrinth, one by one—a torch-bearer in front cautiously pursuing his path, till he hears distant voices in conversation or singing. A noise startles the little party; the song is hushed; the colloquy is broken off. They listen. The sound of the comers is not that of brethren. It is too late for them to escape. A helmet is seen by the light of the torch. There are other helmets behind. The character and purpose of the visitors are but too evident. The Christians are speedily overcome, bound, and led away to some basilica in the Forum, where, after the mockery of a trial, they are sentenced to die. They are beheaded, or cast into the Tiber. The bodies of some are exposed and left to be devoured by dogs. These the faithful gather up, and bring to the catacombs.

With another company of believers the result is different. Some one of them, through apprehension of immediate danger, is placed by the entrance as sentinel to give alarm if the enemy should approach. Suspicious-looking men are seen loitering.

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about the neighbourhood, peering through the bushes, walking up and down among those fig-trees and clusters of palms, evidently in search of something. They have caught the scent; and he at the watch-post discovering it, forthwith descends into the familiar passage, and gropes his way, as by instinct, to the crypt-like chambers, where those whom he guards are together, and tells them what he has seen, and what they may expect. There is not a moment to be lost. They accordingly retire into some inner labyrinths, and there block up communication between their new retreat and the part they have left, by means of fragments of stone. Entrenched behind these defences, they listen and listen, till footsteps of sandalled soldiers are heard tramping on the ground, and they catch the conversation of the pursuers, as they are trying to divine where the fugitives can be. Silent prayers go up to the Lord of Providence for protection in this hour of peril, and they are heard; for the wearied hunters at length give up the chase, and retire from the catacombs, muttering curses on the Christians who have thus eluded their grasp.

Take yet another scene. It is night, and the stars are clearly shining over old Rome. Two people are seen stealing through the now deserted Forum, and then along bye-streets, laden with baskets of provisions. Through the connivance of the kind-hearted soldier at the gate, or through some innocent manœuvre, or in a moment when the dreaded watchman is off his guard, they manage to get through the portal into the Appian Way, and proceed onwards to the well-known place of Christian retreat, where, gladly admitted, they present the offerings of brethren in the city, and the contents of the loaded baskets are stored up for the days of concealment yet before them. Many and anxious inquiries naturally pass. The fugitives ask about their friends. That old grey-headed Roman asks about his wife and children; and the matron beside him inquires for her daughter, whom for a time she has been compelled to desert; and the young virgin behind timorously interrogates the visitors as to the parents who have cast her off, who are infuriated against the new religion, but for whose salvation she most fervently intercedes. And they tell, as far as they are able, all such household news, and then go on to speak of how the cause, dear to the hearts of all, is advancing; how, like the bush of Moses, Christianity is unconsumed by flames; how the blood of

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martyrs is the seed of the church. They relate the sufferings and fortitude of other believers, their narrow escapes, or their detection, trial, and punishment. The progress of the great baths of Diocletian, raised by the Christians doomed to this slavery, is described; and some touching tale is told how certain brethren, like themselves on an errand of mercy to the miners, had been arrested on their way to the sand-crypts and quarries, in another part of the city, and having been brought before the officer of the watch, were cast into prison, and then condemned to join the captives, to toil with them till their shoulders were galled and lacerated with their burdens.

Once more. The persecution is now at its height. Diocletian is raging with fury against the cross. He is about to set up by anticipation monuments of the overthrow of the Christian name. Verily there is being carried on a war of extermination. Here is a family secreted in the catacombs, expecting every day to be discovered. In their solitude, they talk of the past—of relatives, of their bishop, of the holy supper, of Christ, and of the better land. They are anxious to hear news of what relates to the fearful battle the emperor is waging against their holy cause. At length one comes and tells them how, a few days ago, he had been to the amphitheatre, not to enjoy the games, but to learn the state of feeling respecting the Christians. There were the senators, and the magistrates, and subordinate officers, and crowds of people beyond number, lining the marble seats up to the top; and all at once a shout rent the air, and made the vast awning over the Coliseum shake again. “Away with the Christians.” “Death and extermination to the Christians.” This had been reported to the senate, and fresh persecuting decrees had been sent forth. The future looks darker than ever; but in the cloud there is a rainbow. They recollect what that is, of which it was said, “the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,” as well as who said it. There is, then, divine hope for them. So they look up to Him who sitteth above the water-floods in tranquil trust; nor do they forget their persecutors; yet not in wrath do they think of them, but in pity. They do not rise from their knees till they have said, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

Such, we believe, are only truthful representations of Christian life in the catacombs in the third century.

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III.

THE CATACOMBS UNDER THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS—
JEROME AND PRUDENTIUS' DESCRIPTION OF THEM—SYMBOLICAL
EPITAPHS—ADOPTION OF PAGAN RELICS—A CHRISTIAN
FUNERAL IN THE CATACOMBS.

Rome had again changed. Constantine and his sons had been favoring the church. The catacombs had been made over to the Christians as their possession. Splendid churches had been erected near the palace of the Cæsars. Imperial favour had been transferred from the pagan temple to the now christianized basilica. Princes and courtiers were resorting to places where the names of martyrs were preserved and honoured. Christian schools were open; and among the youths who went there, one, as he tells us in after life, loved, when he had time, to go and visit the subterranean chambers where so many members of the early church lay buried. This youth was Jerome, who, it is probable, even then displayed much of that vigour and severity of character which marked him in his old age. As we read his own account, in the following quotation, we imagine we see him, with his school-fellows, rambling down the Appian Way, to the cemetery, which bears the name of Calixtus. "When I was at Rome," he says, "still a youth, and employed in literary pursuits, I was accustomed, in company with others of my own age, and actuated by the same feelings, to visit on Sundays the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs; and often to go down into the crypts, dug in the heart of the earth, where the walls on either side are lined with the dead, and where the darkness is so intense that we almost realize the words of the prophet, 'They go down alive into hades,' though here and there a scanty aperture, ill deserving the name of window, admits scarcely light enough to mitigate the gloom which reigns around: and as we advance through the shades with cautious steps, we are forcibly reminded of the words of Virgil, 'Horror on all sides; even the silence terrifies the mind.'"

Another visitor to the imperial city, a few years afterwards, was wont to visit the same spots, and has left a description of what he saw, and a great deal of what he only imagined, in the poetry he wrote on the martyrs. This was Prudentius, the Horace and Virgil of the Christians, as Dr. Bentley, with some extravagance, has termed him.

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In the time of Prudentius, the churches had been agitated by the Arian controversy, and one party, calling itself Christian, had persecuted another, claiming the same title. But when both Jerome and Prudentius were there, the catacombs had acquired a very different character from what they possessed in the reign of Diocletian. Instead of being the hiding-places of a proscribed sect, they had become objects of general interest and popular reverence. The religion with which the floating traditions and legends of the time had identified them was now patronized by the state, and the first of the Roman citizens counted it an honour, rather than a disgrace, to be seen entering these gloomy vaults, to pray beside a martyr's grave. The resting-places of the confessors of the faith were counted in large numbers in the time of Prudentius, and he thus records the common belief of the Christians on the subject, and also mentions the monuments then recognised as the proof upon which the belief was founded. "We have seen in the city of Romulus, innumerable remains of saints. You ask what are the names of those buried? a question difficult for me to answer—so great a host of the just did the impious rage of the heathen sweep away, when Trojan Rome worshipped her country's gods. Many sepulchres marked with letters display the name of the martyrs, or some anagram. There are also dumb stones closing silent tombs, which tell only the number buried within; so that we know how many human bodies lie in the heap, though we read no names belonging to them. I remember finding that sixty were buried under one mound, whose names Christ alone preserves as those of his peculiar friends." This allusion would render it probable that the inscription already noticed, pertaining to the consulship of Syrra and Senecio, referred to some thirty martyrs, interred in the vicinity. But one is staggered by such an inscription as the following, if it be attributed to an early period, and be read as meaning that the martyrs numbered were buried in that very spot:—"Marcella et Christi Martyres cccocl;" that is, "Marcella and 550 martyrs of Christ." This rather looks like a votive tablet, raised some time afterwards, in memory of a collection of martyred Christians, the number of which had been computed from certain data, or handed down by tradition.

The increase of the dead, or the want of room to conceal.

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the living, had rendered it needful to extend the catacombs in the days of persecution; and, according to the stories of a later age, fresh excavations were made, radiating from those already in existence, and new chambers were dug out, for the assembling together and the worship of the Christians, by a bishop named Callistus. This personage appears as a saint in the Roman calendar, but upon his reputation some most disgraceful stains have been brought to light by the work of Hippolytus, which has been lately discovered and carefully examined by the learned Chevalier Bunsen; for it seems that this canonized head of the church in Rome was a runaway slave, who had robbed his master and swindled some widows and others out of certain monies which they had entrusted to his care. Caught and doomed to the mines of Sardinia, he contrived to obtain his release; and after dexterous management, secured his elevation to the episcopal chair.

But whatever might be the additions made to the catacombs by the notorious Callistus, very considerable enlargements and other alterations were effected after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine; for the practice of interment in these wild and mysterious recesses, which had originated in necessity, was subsequently continued from choice; and to admit of receiving the numerous dead for whom sepulture was sought, it was indispensable that more ample space should be provided.

Several consular epitaphs—those in which the names of Roman consuls occur—materially aid the archæologist in fixing the date of decease and burial. The following is a specimen:—

PRASELLVS ET LEA PRISCO PATRI BENE MERENTI

IN PACE QUI BIXIT ANNIS LXIII MENSIBUS III

DIES N XII



IN SIGNO



VK OCT. D BASSO ET ABLAVIO
CONSS

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Bassus and Ablavius were consuls in the 26th year of Constantine, A.D. 331.

A great number of epitaphs which are dateless, no doubt pertain to the later period of the empire. At any rate, with regard to a multitude of the slabs with which we are acquainted, while we cannot be sure that they covered graves in the second or third century, we may be quite certain of their existence in the fourth. Very many of these contain symbolical representations, which seem to point to the trade of the persons they cover, while others probably have a mystic meaning. Mediæval examples of the employment of signs on tombs, to indicate secular occupations, could be cited; and it may be mentioned that the usage still exists in the cemetery of the Armenians at Constantinople. We have no hesitation, then, in concluding, where the rule and compass, the mallet and chisel, and other instruments used in building, are sculptured, that we have a builder's gravestone. A man standing beside a butt, probably means a wine merchant; a bushel filled with wheat, a corn merchant; a pair of shoes, a shoemaker; a loaf, a baker; and a flail, a laborer. The grave-digger is also plain. There stands Diogenes, with his pick-axe and lamp; and to end all controversy about the meaning of the picture, there are the words, "*Diogenes Fossor in pace depositus octavv kalendas Octobris.*"

Sometimes figures are employed phonetically; and it provokes a smile to see a queer-looking lion over the grave of Pontius Leo; and especially to recognise, in an equally odd-looking pig, an allusion to a young girl named Porcella. The tomb of Dracontius has a dragon. On Onager's we find an ass. But where a dove, a fish, or a ship are represented, we are strongly inclined to regard the meaning as symbolical, for so they were employed on signet rings, even in the days of Clemens Alexandrinus. The dove was an emblem both of the Holy Spirit and of peace. The fish denoted Christ; while the ship typified the church. Another and very favourite symbol often occurs, namely, that of a shepherd, with a lamb on his shoulder, which we know to have been an ancient mode of representing the Saviour.

What is the exact date of some of these pictorial inscriptions, as used in the catacombs, is not determinable. A few, no doubt, are of an earlier date, but most of them were certainly there in the fourth century. The gravestones of the first three centuries had been very humble, but the sepulchral monuments of the

period now under consideration were often ambitious. Christians had begun to bury their friends in large and elaborately-carved sarcophagi. Here they stood, furnishing examples of the application of pagan art to church purposes, for figures originally intended to represent a Bacchus or a satyr, amidst a scene of grape-gathering, now embodied some religious idea—it might be that of Christian fruitfulness, or of the vintage of the world at the last day. There were many other sculptures of heathen design, some of them most likely not the work of Christian artists working from ancient models, but the productions of pagans at an earlier period, and now appropriated to a new purpose; and here it may be also observed that sometimes slabs bearing pagan inscriptions on the one side were reversed and carved afresh, and made to serve for a Christian tomb. But, besides those exhibiting heathen designs, there were many on which Christian subjects were evidently represented.

Paintings, too, as well as sculptures, were to be found in the catacombs in the fourth century, and were afterwards greatly multiplied. About the date of their introduction, we do not feel certain. Some of them might be works of an earlier period, but those of the kind we shall presently describe must be regarded as belonging to times later than the reign of Constantine. Chambers believed to contain the bodies of martyrs being held in such high veneration, came in process of time to be adorned, and increased excavations were made to serve for chapels, where religious rites might be celebrated. Some chapels, still existing, are of simple form and unornamented; others, however, exhibit many peculiarities of shape, and are covered with pictures. There can be no doubt of their belonging to different periods. Very ancient chapels, too, were afterwards altered, and fresh arrangements and ornaments were introduced into them. For example, in the chapel of Callistus, there is a solid altar of stone, popularly believed to be as ancient as his time, whereas it is certain, as admitted by learned Roman archæologists, that for the first six ages altars, so called, were tables—that is, planks of wood, or slabs of marble, resting on legs or pillars. Such an altar as that of Callistus must have been of later introduction, whatever the age of the chapel which contains it may be.

This may suffice for a general description of the catacombs in the fourth century. We will now pay a visit to them about a

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century or so later, and endeavour to realize such a scene as certainly might then be witnessed within them.

Rome has by this period seen greater changes than ever. The Goth has been within its walls. There are melancholy indications of his devastating presence in the old city. The temples are falling into decay. Monuments of pagan art are neglected. The empire is falling to pieces. Pagan civilization is disorganized. Society, where Christianity has not renewed it, is more than ever corrupt. The city of the Cæsars is rapidly on the wane—has, indeed, long been so. Let us make our way through the Porta Capena. The tombs on the Appian-road are neglected. Rank weeds are covering them. The wild bird nestles there. The shafts are broken. The exquisite sculpture moulders. The urn is dashed down and shivered. The columbarium has become the prey of ruin. But the entrance to the catacombs is now adorned by a church, on the model of the Roman basilicas, with its rows of pillars within, dividing the nave from the aisle; its altar in the midst, with the marble chair behind, and the two ambores or pulpits in front; the whole decorated with the spoils of demolished heathen temples.

Let us descend the stairs to the subterranean vaults. We enter through a dark passage into a small chapel. Look around; lift up the torch, and examine the structure and ornaments. The shape is hexagonal; the roof is arched. There are half-circular openings, forming broad low niches at a little distance from the floor. A flat tomb projects from the wall. Before you is painted, just below the roof, the figure of a lady, probably here entombed. To the right, carrying your eye round the dim enclosure, you will see Christ disputing with the doctors—the good shepherd with sheep feeding—symbolical representations of the four seasons—a figure gathering flowers, for spring; a second, corn, for summer;—one, with a cornucopia, for autumn;—and a man with a spade, a bare tree, and a fire, symbolizing winter. Then comes the history of Jonah—his being thrown to the whale, his deliverance, his sitting under the gourd, and his mourning for his loss. These fill the four circular openings. In the middle space of the wall, under Christ and the seasons, is a history of Joseph; besides which, are two solitary figures, one Moses with manna, the other Moses striking the rock.

And now, having looked round, let us return for a moment to the open air, and contemplate that procession coming along

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the Appian Way. Though differently conducted, it vies in pomp with what we saw on the same road in the time of Augustus. It is a Christian funeral. You may hear it afar off by the murmur of voices as they chant, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. The memory of the just is blessed. Their souls are in the hands of the Lord." You distinctly catch these and other verses as they approach. There are priests and other ecclesiastics in rich robes walking before. Palms and olive branches—symbols of the victory won by the Christian dead—are borne aloft, and incense is curling up and forming fragrant clouds over the train as it slowly marches on. Lighted torches are carried before and behind the corpse, which is not on an open bier, but enclosed within a coffin. It has been washed and wrapt in white, and embalmed with myrrh and frankincense. Friends of the deceased and persons of distinction carry the remains, which are followed by relatives, who, as much as possible, suppress the outward signs of grief. Rather do they "glorify God, and give him thanks that he has crowned him that is departed, and hath delivered him from trouble, and set him free from fear." The procession moves into the church. A priest delivers an oration, and dwells at length on the virtues of the deceased. The coffin is then conveyed into the catacombs. The lights throw their spectral glare on the walls, and reveal the simple tablets of an earlier age as the priests and mourners move solemnly along. At length they reach the chapel which we only just now left, where a niche has been opened in the wall. The coffin is put into it. The priest celebrates the eucharist over the projecting tomb already noticed. Prayers also are here offered for the dead. Violets are cast on the coffin, and the cold stones are sprinkled with liquid odours. We have just been reading the New Testament, and we become painfully sensible of the sad change that has come over Roman Christendom, and how thoroughly paganized is the atmosphere we breathe in the catacombs.

But now, before leaving the place altogether, let us follow yonder two or three monks who have been attending the service; and many such, tonsured and cowed, may be seen walking about Rome in this fifth century, in which we imagine ourselves to be. They leave the cemetery and sit down under a spreading fig-tree beside the Appian Way, and talk of the dead and of the church, and of the saints and of the martyrs.

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One tells another how St. Zoe was praying at St. Peter's tomb, and was seized and hung by the feet over a fire till the smoke stifled her; and how Tranquillinus, ashamed to be less courageous than a woman, went to pray at the tomb of St. Paul, and was stoned to death; and how Nicostratus, and Claudius, and Castorius, and Victorinus were tortured and thrown into the sea; and how Tiburtius was beheaded, and Castulus was buried alive, and Marcus and Marcellianus were nailed to a post and shot to death by arrows. But one especially is named, whose memory is most highly prized, and whose relics, believed to be in these very catacombs, are greatly valued. It is St. Sebastian, who, as the monk says, was delivered to the archers to be put to death, but who, when covered all over with wounds and left for dead, was found by the widow Irene, who came to bury him, to be still alive, and was restored under her care; but who, refusing to fly from persecution, again faced the enemy, and was then beaten to death with cudgels, and thrown into one of the great sewers of Rome. And the old man goes on to tell how the holy Lucina was directed by a vision to find and remove the body, and bury it in the catacombs, which she did; and yonder beautiful church is built over his grave, and they call it the church of St. Sebastian.

Such is only one of the many legends which had gained credence in the church of the fifth century, and it serves to show the sort of religious element in which they lived who, long after the days of persecution ceased, built up and adorned the old martyrs' graves.

IV.

THE EXPLORERS OF THE CATACOMBS.

During the confusion attendant upon the fall of Rome, and for ages afterwards, the catacombs seem to have been neglected, if not forgotten; but, at the latter end of the sixteenth century, antiquarian research brought them to light again, and ever since they have been objects of interest to the whole Christian world, and the occasion also of not a little controversy. Of their great number and extent, some idea may be formed from the enumeration of those which have been ascertained, opened, and more or less explored, since the period when public attention was afresh called to them. There are, beside those of Sebastian, the catacombs of Priscilla, within the city, by the church of

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t. Pudentiana—of Bibiana, on the Esquiline hill—of the Vatican, under St. Peter's—of Calepodius, by the Aurelian gate—and those of Julius Felix and Lucina, two miles from the gate of St. Pancras. On the way to Porto and to Ostia, there are also several. So likewise on the Latian way, on the Latician way, on the Palestrin way, on the Tiburtin way, on the Nomentan way, and on the Salarian way. In short, in all directions about Rome, catacombs have been discovered, and altogether they must form an immense subterranean net-work, extending far out into the Campagna.

The learned Bosio was the first indefatigable explorer of these vaults. He spent his time from 1567 to 1600 in examining and describing them; but the results of his labours did not appear till after his death, when his "*Roman Sotterranea*" was published, in the year 1632. The first impression of archæologists was that the catacombs had been excavated by the Christians in times of persecution—a notion which Bishop Burnet assailed and exposed, showing the impossibility of their having accomplished so gigantic an undertaking. Of late, the Christian origin of the catacombs has been given up by learned men, and Father Marchi, the present superintendent of these cemeteries, in his recent learned work published at Rome, shows clearly that they were at first excavated by slaves digging for tufa. But Burnet also endeavoured to show that great numbers of pagans as well as Christians are buried in the catacombs—that the former were much the more ancient—and that the latter all belong to the fourth or fifth century. This opinion is now generally exploded, and archæologists, both Protestant and Catholic, agree that the cemeteries contain no pagan bodies, and that some of the slabs are of a very early date.

Another learned work, throwing considerable light on this obscure subject, was published by Bottari in 1737-1754. But Marc Antonio Boldetti, canon of St. Maria in Transtevere, Rome, was perhaps the most laborious of all the explorers of the catacombs, for he spent no less than thirty years in this employment, examining the remains, as Rochette says, "with all the zeal of an antiquary, and all the devotion of a churchman." He opened new chambers, and collected a multitude of objects of different kinds, which he engraved with much care, and described in his magnificent work. Since that time many works have been published on the subject, in Italian and other

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languages. "Tableau des Catacombes," by M. Raoul Rochette, is an interesting volume; and the work by Dr. Maitland is too well known to need any mention. It may be observed that each has an object beyond a mere description of the catacombs; the first supporting the theory of the pagan origin of Christian art, and the second showing, very satisfactorily, the absence in these subterranean cemeteries of such pictures and objects as can be identified with the forms of later Catholic worship.

Roman archaeologists have from the first regarded the catacombs as abounding in the graves of martyrs, though, as already noticed, but few are distinctly named as such. Cups have been found with red matter in them. These, it has been asserted, contained the blood of Christian witnesses. All writers of the Roman communion, except Roestell and Raoul Rochette, adopt this view, but these two learned persons consider the cups to be sacramental, with the lees of wine deposited at the bottom. Figures, with their hands uplifted in prayer, it is thought like Stephen, are also cited as martyr memorials; and a number of figures, considered by some learned Catholics to represent the symbols of trade, are transformed by others into instruments of torture. On the whole, though fully believing that very many who sealed the truth with their blood are buried in the catacombs, we must confess that we can find no memorials of them in relics hitherto brought to light, beyond the few inscriptions already pointed out. Certainly neither the persecuted Christians, nor those who succeeded them, strove to perpetuate on the walls of their catacombs the memorials of their sufferings, nor did they express a spirit of resentment against their enemies.

V.

NOTABILIA OF A PERSONAL VISIT TO THE CATACOMBS.

In addition to the series of chronological *tableaux* we have attempted to give of the catacombs, in which we have carefully selected our examples from remains generally acknowledged to belong to the period described, we would offer some miscellaneous information respecting the monuments, relics, and present appearance of the cemeteries, chiefly gathered during a recent visit to the eternal city. Of ancient sarcophagi, evidently employed in Christian burial, there are many specimens preserved in the museums and churches. We particularly remember one in the Capitol, in the chamber of the *faun*,

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hibiting a vintage scene, with boys gathering and pressing grapes, or carrying home baskets of fruit, with the inscription, *Aurelia Susilia mater fecit filiæ matris in pace.*" Another, of a similar design, but more magnificent, we noticed in the church of San Lorenzo. That of Constantia, in the Vatican, is still more elaborate example of the same class; while that of the Empress Helena exhibits battles and victories of Constantine. The sarcophagus of Junius, in the subterranean chapel under the altar of St. Peter's, is covered with bas-reliefs of Old and New Testament subjects, and so are the slabs which adorn the walls of the Christian museum of the Vatican. In the Lapidarian gallery there are remains of a like description.

The absence in all these sculptures, as well as in the paintings of the catacombs, of any representation of the crucified Redeemer, and generally of the Virgin, appears in most remarkable contrast with the mosaics, frescoes, and paintings of the twelfth century and afterwards. There the crucifixion becomes common, and especially the figure of the Virgin, occupying sometimes the most prominent part of the church, and represented on a throne in heaven beside her son. The contrast exhibits the change which took place during the middle ages with regard to pictures of our Lord, and the late introduction of the Roman mariolatry.

The Lapidarian gallery, just mentioned, is to a Christian student, in many respects, the most interesting in Rome. It is 31 yards in length, forming an immense corridor, with sepulchral monuments arranged on each side, pagan on one, and Christian on the other. Here is the grand collection of tombs and stones from the Sebastian cemeteries, and they are all the more striking from their being placed opposite the heathen memorials of death. Standing face to face, they illustrate respectively the character of the faiths they represent; the cold and hopeless tone of the one being responded to by the joyous and thankful notes of the other. What an antiphony! a dirge of sadness answered by a psalm of praise. There is a heathen memorial of the dead. A lion destroying a horse is sculptured—an emblem of power seizing upon weakness—death preying on life. But look here at its Christian opposite. A shepherd is seen with a poor sheep on his shoulders. It is love sustaining the feeble—Jesus bearing up the trustful soul and rescuing it from destruction.

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It is very affecting to linger over these memorials—to walk through this long sepulchral alley, noting the strange relics which border it—while between, as was the case when we were there at Easter, a tide of gay visitors is ever gliding to and fro, in varied fashion and guise—citizens of Rome, tourists, and ecclesiastics; the scarlet cardinal, the white friar, the sable priest; few, however, stopping to muse over the mementoes of another world—typical of our path through life, which from first to last runs between the borders of death; and yet how few consider it.

In the Christian museum of the splendid library of the Vatican there are preserved, in addition to the slabs on the walls already noticed, numerous articles of antique art said to be collected out of the catacombs. Among them are several iron instruments of torture, which you are told were taken from the martyrs' graves. That the Christians could not obtain from the tormentor the implements he had been using in the martyrdom of their friends seems tolerably certain; and even that these things are models of the original articles so employed is more than apocryphal. As to many other objects, they are no doubt genuine, though one is puzzled to know in some cases how they came into a Christian cemetery. Lamps, vases, and cups we can account for. Some of these are curiously sculptured, with figures of Christ and the apostles; but they are evidently of a late date. Crucifixes and representations of the Virgin are also found among them, which certainly do not belong to early times. But beyond all these, are rings, combs, hair pins, bracelets, intaglios, painted shells, keys, bells, toys representing human figures, tessera like dice, and other objects like playthings. Articles used for the toilette, instruments employed in trades and professions, and even trifling things belonging to children, are said to have been buried with pagan remains. It is supposed that this custom came to be adopted by the Christians, and it is remarkable that in the coffin of the Empress Marie, the wife of Honorius, opened in 1544, there were found the remains of a rich dress, toilet furniture, and little dolls of ivory, such as might have amused the lady in her childhood. Now there is much that is plausible in what is said about articles of dress and personal ornaments; we can comprehend how such things might be interred with the corpse; but we confess ourselves very much perplexed with the articles which look as if they pertained to the nursery, and can only leave them as we find them.

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In bringing this imperfect account of the catacombs to a close, we would endeavour to supply a general idea of their recent appearance by adverting to our recent visit. We deferred it till we had seen the Vatican remains, that so we might furnish the recesses in imagination, according to our knowledge of the relics we had examined. Having been informed that an order from the vicar-general was needful to procure admission, we applied for one through the medium of an influential ecclesiastic, to whom we had letters of introduction. It was rather a long document, and made the projected visit look like a serious affair; for it made the holder responsible for the conduct of the party who might accompany him, and gave terms of direction about providing candles and other matters, and enjoined very particularly upon visitors not to bring away dust or bones, or meddle with any of the relics. Yet we found, after all, that a trifle to the man in charge of the place often prevailed for admission quite as well as this formal authority.

We selected for inspection the catacombs of Callistus, on the Appian Way; and having reached them on a beautiful afternoon, we were admitted through a gate into a garden, instead of entering by the church of St. Sebastian. We descended some steps with our lighted tapers, and presently found ourselves in a long narrow winding passage, dug out of a soft kind of stone, with a number of recesses cut in the walls. They are generally arranged in three tiers, one above another. Some are long, sufficiently so to receive a common sized corpse; but others are very short, and have been hastily pronounced the graves of children. So they are called in the guide-books we have seen, but Rochette, very satisfactorily we think, shows that this is a mistake, and that these small openings are only the commencement of graves meant to be afterwards enlarged according to the size of the coffin, it having been desirable thus beforehand to diminish the labour required when the grave might be wanted; while its completion at first, if it was to remain open afterwards, was insecure, and likely to be followed by a falling in of the soil.

Among these openings of unequal size, are some small square ones, in which cups have been found. We observed graves closed in by slabs, with a little vessel represented on the border; and some with a part of the slab broken away, and bones and dust strewn about the inside. Others were covered with tiles, and apparently had never been used at all. We noticed sarcophagi

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with sculptures of the vintage, and boys squeezing grapes. We went a long distance, winding about in a very confused manner so as to defy any attempt at forming a notion of the topography. Sometimes we passed doorways blocked up by stones, or reached the end of a passage and had to turn back. There were also many ascents and goings down, and we afterwards found that the passages in the catacombs are in stories one above another.

Of course, an hour or two spent in these abodes could give only a general idea of their form and appearance, and the chief objects next to the graves which remain impressed on our memory were the chapels. One we especially remember, with vaulted roof, frescoed, and containing four altars. The chapel of Callistus is also frescoed, and contains a classical monument, ornamented with a dove and a shepherd under a tree with lambs. We noticed on the walls what seemed to indicate the miracle at Cana, the healing of the paralytic, and Jonah thrown into the sea. We passed through one paved with marble, and another with a fresh-looking painting of a peacock, and came to a third in the course of excavation. We have confused figures of sea-horses, tridents, dolphins, and other creatures and things, jotted down in our note-book, which we observed at the time, without being able now to assign their exact place.

Altogether, the exploring of these recesses was deeply interesting, and ever and anon we stopped to picture how these chapels looked when in early time, by the light of a lamp, such as one saw preserved there, a solitary Christian knelt down to pray beside a martyr's grave. The light was indeed welcome when we issued from these caverns, and proceeded along the Appian Way, to see once more the ruins of the proud pagan tombs, and contrast them with the humble confessor's grave. The evening was beautiful, and we drove on to the charming valley of Almo, just under the so-called temple of Bacchus, now turned a church. There, embosomed among trees, a vaulted chapel with a well of water is shown, said to be the spot where Numa, the Roman lawgiver, consulted the mysterious divine nymph Egeria, who gave him wisdom and told of the future. We thought, as we stood in the beautiful fountain of living water, and the true heaven-descended Spirit who guided and sanctified the Christians of the catacombs, and told them of blessed things to come.

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Examination of Witnesses by the Sanhedrin.

A SYRIAN day of unwonted splendour is drawing to its close, as a somewhat numerous and imposing cavalcade may be seen approaching the western environs of Jerusalem. They are traversing the Joppa road; and, judging from their physiognomies and costume, they evidently consist mainly of foreign

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Jews, recently arrived in the land of their fathers, and now on their way to the Holy City, there to keep the feast of Passover, which is near at hand. An Egyptian vessel, from Alexandria, landed them on the morning of the preceding day at the ancient port of Joppa, from whence they had immediately pressed forward, in order to reach the bourne of their pilgrimage before the last hours of the rapidly-expiring ecclesiastical year had fled. This object, by braving the sultriness of mid-day journeying across the western hills, they have attained; and we may now see them defiling through the suburbs of Bezetha, and passing near the stern and massive tower of Hippicus, just as the sun, like a mighty ruby, is about to descend behind the mountains that upheave their ruddy crests between the palaces of Zion and the Great Sea.

Although the season has now come when streams of glad-some visitors, daily swelling in volume and force, will be found seeking their confluence within the walls of Jerusalem; and when, therefore, the arrival at its gates of any large party of strangers excites no special curiosity or surprise; yet it would seem that the company which has just attracted the attention of the warder of the Fish-gate is no ordinary paschal band. Nor, indeed, is it. In the attire, equipage, and bearing of most of the pilgrims, there are indubitable indications of social rank and opulence; while the long cortège of camels and mules which follow in their train, literally groaning beneath their oppressive burdens, clearly prove that a most munificent provision has been made for the approaching festivities. A large portion of that precious freight consists of the temple offerings of those Jewish residents in foreign cities, who, though cut off from the sublime privileges of the sanctuary of Moriah, still cherish a patriotic and religious devotion to their fatherland; and who thus, being unable, by reason of distance, affliction, or poverty, to pay the divinely-commanded visit to the central shrine and gathering-place of Abraham's scattered children, avail themselves, nevertheless, of the kind services of some of their brethren to convey for them their tithes, taxes, and freewill offerings to the sacerdotal city. Some of these altar-gifts have come from distant Rome, others from the cities of Greece, and not a few from the sunny isles of the Great Sea; but the bulk of the treasure consists of the contributions of a portion of the Jews settled at Alexandria.

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As this opulent and magnificent city—at this time in the zenith of its prosperity and glory, and regarded as the Queen of the East—comprises in its mixed and mighty population not fewer than 100,000 Jews, the religious offerings of this thriving colony may be expected to be large and generous; and they would, doubtless, be much more so, but for the circumstance that a rival temple and priesthood have long since been set up at On, one of the neighbouring cities of the Nile, and which of necessity intercepts and absorbs much of the sacred benevolence of the people. However, be that as it may, it is evident that the cargoes which are now being conveyed within the Joppa-gate, will go far towards furnishing the tables of the priesthood for some time to come; while it is clear that the compact but weighty burdens with which some of the camels are charged, and which are so jealously guarded, will materially help to replenish the temple treasury.

But who is yonder Jew, just bursting into manhood—him with that commanding figure, that noble air, a countenance flashing with excitement, and mounted on an Arabian steed of surpassing power and beauty? Judging by the activity of his movements, the quiet authority with which he issues his instructions to the attendants of the caravan as it enters the western portal of Zion, as well as by the deference paid to him by every member of the company, he is plainly a personage of considerable distinction, and is manifestly charged with the safe custody of the more valuable portion of the freight. Nor are we mistaken in the estimate we have formed. That enthusiastic youth, upon whom the Grecian refinement and culture of the Alexandrian schools have left a visible impress, is the only son of the ethnarch of Alexandria—a functionary of exalted rank and influence, appointed by the Roman imperial authority to regulate the affairs of the Jewish section of its vast population. By this Jewish prince, Heber—for such is the name of his noble son and representative—has been sent to Jerusalem on the responsible mission to which we have adverted; and with the further intention, moreover, of tarrying in Palestine for a season, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies in the divine literature of his nation in some of the celebrated schools of Jerusalem, *as well as to familiarize himself, by travel, with the incomparable scenery and the consecrated historic sites of that heaven-honoured land.*

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As this is the first occasion on which the young Hellenic Jew has ever trod the native mountains and valleys of his sires— or been permitted to gaze upon that stately city and that gorgeous temple, towards which the heart of every Hebrew yearns with such unutterable affection, it is scarcely possible to conceive the depth and strength of the emotions that swell within his bosom. Every spot which he has passed, he knows to be haunted by the sacred traditions of piety, patriotism, and valour. Every town, village, and edifice, upon which his eye has rested as he toiled up from the sea-coast, is invested with a storied interest of more or less vividness. The very ruins about his path are to his excited mind eloquent witnesses of a glorious and imperishable past. Long had he desired to see the city where David reigned, and to tread the marble courts of the new temple, which, it was reported, in many respects surpassed the superb structure of Solomon. Ardently had he longed to cultivate the acquaintance of the eminent contemporaries of his nation—to frequent the renowned seminaries of rabbinical learning that abounded in the capital—to explore the mysterious recesses of that mighty and populous sanctuary, where millions upon millions of his ancestors had, from year to year, and from century to century, wept and worshipped, wrestled and exulted. But of all his dreamings and aspirations, none had been so strong and unquenchable as that which led him to covet an opportunity, though it were but for once in his life, to mingle with the teeming myriads of his kindred at one of the great festivals of the nation:—to witness the sublime spectacle of the adoring multitudes that are wont on such occasions to crowd the vast areas of the temple courts—to listen, with emotions almost too awful for delight, to the wondrous concert of voices that then burst in thunders of richest harmony from the trained orchestra of the Levites, and from hosts of Israelites, of both sexes, themselves also addicted to musical culture—to watch, in the public assemblages, the picturesque groupings of those varieties of his dispersed brethren who periodically come up to these great commemorative gatherings from almost all the cities and lands of the civilized world—to enjoy the larger and sweeter fellowships promoted by these glorious reunions—and, *above all, to render, at his own appointed shrine, a reverential homage to the great King and loving Redeemer of his favoured race, and to encourage the hope, trust, and love of every heart.*

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in Him. Such were some of the sacred indulgences for which the patriotic heart of Heber yearned, as thousands had done before his time. And now the happy hour has at length arrived when these desires seem to be on the point of accomplishment. Already do his "feet stand within Jerusalem," and his eyes feast themselves upon the sumptuous palaces of Zion; while every day of his stay will disclose some new and gratifying aspect of Hebrew life and religious solemnity in the dear land of his fathers.

Nor did the ardent young Jew, whose early Greek, Egyptian, and Roman associations at Alexandria had failed, as we have seen, to stifle his Hebrew instincts and prepossessions, exult in the anticipated results of this visit for himself alone. His was no selfish joy. At home he had left a fair sister, slightly younger, but not less enthusiastic, than himself. Great had been their mutual grief at parting; but while the sorrow of Heber was tempered by the high hopes and inspiriting anticipations of his meditated journey, that of the beautiful Adah was deepened to despondency by the impossibility of her accompanying him to scenes which her imagination was ever picturing to her in the most alluring hues, and which she panted as fervently as did her brother to visit. As the father's consent could not be obtained to this double bereavement, the gentle girl bowed to the paternal decision; while Heber, to diminish, as far as possible, her disappointment, promised to communicate to his sister, at frequent intervals, all that he should see, and learn, and do, and enjoy in the land of his sojourn. Especially was he enjoined to send, with the utmost expedition, the most complete and graphic description of the principal feasts, as celebrated in Jerusalem—the Holy City being the only spot on the earth where they could be legitimately or impressively solemnized. This engagement, on his arrival in Judea, Heber most conscientiously and lovingly resolved to fulfil. Thus the advantages of the visit would be multiplied, while the gratification of Heber himself, by the act of recording his impressions, would be proportionably enhanced. Adah, reclining on her silken divan by the shore of the Mediterranean, would be enabled, through the medium of her brother's correspondence, to gaze upon scenes and transactions of the deepest interest *to her, though many miles away.* And who can complain *of borrowing for a short season some of these now and*

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epistles, we give them a publicity of which their writer never dreamed, in order that they may, perchance, still continue to entertain and instruct those "upon whom the ends of the world have come."

The first letter which we are presumed to have rescued from oblivion, and now place before our readers, was penned by Heber a few days after his arrival at the Jewish metropolis. It is as follows:—

*Tower of Antonia,
3rd day of Nisan.*

My beloved sister Adah,

Knowing how anxious you will be to hear of my fortunes, I eagerly avail myself of an opportunity which has been unexpectedly afforded, to apprise you of my safe arrival at the Holy City. I send this hurriedly-written missive by the hands of a trusty envoy, who, I suspect, will not be altogether unknown to you. He is the son of one of our most opulent merchants, and has been residing here for two or three years, where he has won the favour and confidence of most of the chief men of the city. Deputed to our countrymen at Alexandria by the Sanhedrin, he quits Jerusalem this evening at nightfall, on urgent and secret public business, and sails from Joppa to-morrow at sunset. Thus, should he be prospered on his voyage, your timorous solicitude on my account will be relieved much earlier than could have been anticipated.

You will rejoice to learn that my arrival in the ancient capital of the tribes has been greeted with the warmest welcomes, and that the generous hospitalities for which our people are so proverbially renowned have been thrust upon me. Priests, Levites, and scribes, as well as many of the venerable men of the Great Council, have vied with each other in kind and assiduous attentions to my comfort and enjoyment. Many a palatial abode opens its sumptuous recesses to my presence as a temporary home. For the present, however, I have taken up my quarters, as you have probably already observed with some surprise, in the tower of Antonia, where I am enjoying the hospitable amenities of the captain of the temple. This officer is charged with the general custody and superintendence of the temple, and has a large military force placed at his disposal for the purpose of quelling any commotion that might threaten the peace and sanctity of

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the Lord's house, during seasons of religious or political agitation, and especially at the great festivals; and you are sufficiently acquainted with the stormy events of the past century to be aware that such a precaution is only too needful, in instances where the sincere tenacious convictions, or the fierce religious prejudices, of our impulsive countrymen are exposed to insult and heathen outrage. Vested with these onerous functions, the captain, in order to be at all times on the spot, and in a position to control and overawe any turbulent tendencies on the part of an excited multitude, has had assigned to him for a residence the immense building in which I now find myself an honoured guest, and which partakes equally of the character of a palace and a fortress. It rears its massive walls at the north-west corner of the temple, and rests on an isolated and precipitous rock detached from Mount Moriah, the exposed sides of which are cased with polished marble, so as to render the stronghold inaccessible by any besieging foe. With the usual splendour of Herod—by whom, I need scarcely remind you, this palatial castle has been rebuilt, in the same style of prodigal magnificence as the temple—he has furnished the place with baths, fountains, galleries, piazzas, superb apartments, and such other luxurious appurtenances as adapt it for the habitation of a prince; and all this in addition to broad and airy halls of great extent, fitted up as barracks for the garrison usually kept here. Although separated from the temple courts by a considerable interval, ready means of communication have been provided by covered passages, from which there are descents by two imposing flights of stairs into the porticoes of the outer temple area. The tower is quadrangular, with a turret at each corner, from the summit of which an extensive view of the city and the environs may be obtained. From that which rises at the south-east corner of the fortress especially, and which is much loftier than its fellows, a spectator may enjoy a fine view of whatever may happen to be going on in the temple courts below; and of this elevated observatory I hope often to avail myself during the approaching feasts.

It will be interesting to my hero-loving sister to be reminded, that this epistle has been penned on the very spot where the illustrious Asmoneans once reigned and held their court. The memory of their glorious achievements comes over me like an inspiration. The stern old structure, which the present sumptuous

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edifice has supplanted, was then called Baris, by which name it figures prominently in our later historical annals. Its origin is attributed to the Maccabæan patriots. When Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, after the expulsion of the foe from Jerusalem, had destroyed the citadel of Acra, in which the Syrian kings had maintained a heathen garrison, he built fortifications round the mountain on which the temple stands, for the purpose of securing it more effectually against the profane intrusion of strangers, should they again unfortunately become masters of the adjacent part of the city. Within these fortifications he erected a stronghold for himself, where he continued to reside to the end of his life; and it is said to be this building which Hyrcanus subsequently converted into the castle Baris, and which he and his successors made the seat of their government. Here also, ever since the appointment of John Hyrcanus to the pontifical office, the sacred robes of the high priest have, as I learn, been carefully kept. As these splendid vestments are only employed on some few occasions of great solemnity every year, they are at other periods kept laid up in a cabinet of cedar wood, which is guarded with the most jealous vigilance. Having been just brought forth for examination in anticipation of the passover, I have thus been already favoured with a sight of them.

So much for my present abode, which I have been thus particular in describing, as I may hereafter have occasion again to refer to it, as well as to the glorious panorama visible from its pinnacles. Of my impressions of the "city of the great king," it would be premature in me to give any decided expression. In architecture, it has structures that will vie with any of the proud and costly edifices of our own Greco-Egyptian city of palaces; but for situation it is incomparable. Unspeakable was the delight of my soul—deep was the rapture that seized upon me—when, upon crossing the last ridge of the apparently endless succession of hills that concealed from my longing eyes the object of my hopes and desires, the glorious metropolis of my scattered race burst upon me—a vision of beauty and sanctity, not to be surpassed on earth. To me, accustomed only to the flat monotony of my adopted city, where nature contributes no auxiliary aid to the skill and taste of the architect, the spectacle of this sparkling diadem resting on the circling brows of the hills of Judah, was transporting, and I moved on.

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for some distance like one enchanted. Yet am I told by my friends here, that the view of the city and its environs from the approaches by the Joppa road, is by far the least imposing of all. Of this I shall be able myself to judge hereafter. The descending sun, shining as it did, with its rich and ruddy evening radiance, upon the towers, the marble palaces, the large public buildings, the thick clustering house-tops, and, above all, upon the gilded pinnacles and glistening gates of the temple, no doubt added much to the charm and splendour of the picture; while the wild and savage scenery of the mountains we had been nearly all the day crossing, and the awful gorges through which we had painfully and wearily toiled, also tended to enhance the contrast, and intensify the surprise and delight with which the spectacle, so suddenly revealed, inspired me and my companions.

Beautiful and tranquil, however, as was the outward aspect of the city to the approaching traveller, I have already been within its walls long enough to discover that a crisis, pregnant with peril and public disasters, is impending. The death of Herod is evidently near at hand, and the announcement of that event on any day would excite neither surprise nor regret among the multitude, while it would be hailed with exultation by the Pharisees. You can scarcely conceive the depth and bitterness of the hatred which is cherished by this powerful body of our nation towards their energetic yet dreaded monarch. The origin of this feeling may be traced to his unscrupulous attempts to heathenize his subjects, by the introduction of buildings, customs, and practices at variance with our law and the traditions of our holy ancestors; but the antipathy has been greatly intensified of late by the growing savageness and cruelty of his disposition, and the atrocities that darken more and more his domestic history. Not all the luxuriousness of his taste, the splendour and unquestionable utility of most of his public works, the lavish liberality which he has displayed in times of popular exigency or calamity, nor even the reconstruction of "our holy and beautiful house," in a style of magnificence which by many is thought to rival the original fabric of Solomon, can, in the eyes of any true-hearted Jew, expiate the fearful crimes of his long reign. True, he has raised our nation to a position of *grandeur and consideration* that has scarcely been surpassed in any former epoch of our history, and has cemented alliances

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with some of the great powers of the earth that dazzle the superficial by their brilliancy; yet it requires no extraordinary penetration to perceive that these are but the trappings of a more splendid thralldom, and that ere long our whole people must sink into a state of undisguised subjection to that great devourer of nations—Rome. Indeed, symptoms of such a humiliating consummation are daily multiplying. An estrangement has sprung up between Augustus and Herod, which is felt by the leading men of Jerusalem to be of sinister omen. From some of the courtiers it has been elicited that a severe letter has been lately received by the king from his imperial protector, in which the latter manifests his displeasure so far as to declare that, though “he had hitherto regarded him as a friend, for the future he should treat him as a subject.” It is also currently reported that an imperial decree has already been published, degrading the kingdom to a Roman province, and that a commissioner has been appointed to take a census of the whole people. Rumour has even gone so far as to point out the austere Cyrenius as the agent of this odious measure of enrolment and assessment. You cannot conceive the ferment of terror and indignation into which this intelligence has thrown the citizens, and especially the more rigid of the Pharisees, whose hostility to the imperial government is so determined that they have solemnly sworn by the holy place that they will never either take the oath or pay the capitation-tax. Alas, Adah! I fear this resistance will lead to more sanguinary scenes and terrible chastisements. Oh, that the Deliverer would now appear and bring redemption to our oppressed and expectant people! The time for his advent, according to the foreshadowings of our prophets, must be now near at hand, and many are the prayers that are day by day ascending from the hearts and lips of thousands in Israel.

In addition to these causes of public disquietude, there are mysterious whisperings abroad concerning fresh intrigues in the family of the wretched and distracted king. You are already well informed of all the tragical particulars regarding the parricidal execution of the two sons of the beautiful Mariamne—Alexander and Aristobulus—for alleged conspiracy against their father's government and life. That horrible deed is now likely to be followed by other domestic dissensions of the same revolting character. Antipater, on whose behalf, and at whose

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instigation mainly, the two Asmonean victims were sacrificed, together with the wife of Pheroras, Herod's brother, and even one of the king's own wives, are said to be engaged in another plot against his life. In maturing their unnatural schemes of blood, advantage is taken of Herod's absence from Jerusalem. His sufferings from that loathsome disease with which he has been so long afflicted, having become greatly aggravated, he has, as a last measure, undertaken a journey to the north-eastern shore of the Dead Sea, in order to try the effect of the celebrated warm baths of Calirrhoe. No hope, however, is entertained by his attendants of his recovery. These facts and rumours, you will understand, have come to my knowledge thus early in my visit through my presence in this focus of secret intelligence, where emissaries from the royal court, and from the different factions into which our people are unhappily riven, are continually arriving, and disclosing the secrets of which they have contrived to possess themselves.

But it is time that I should turn from these gloomy aspects of public affairs—which it is to be devoutly hoped the God of our fathers will, in mercy, speedily brighten—and refer to some other matters connected with the sacred ceremonials and customs of our nation as they may be witnessed in the chosen haunt and native home of our sublime faith. I need scarcely remind you that, while professing the same faith, and practising, as far as we are able in our dispersion, the same rites, as our more favoured brethren located in Judea, there is still a startling difference between the aspects of things in Jerusalem and in Alexandria; though, of all the expatriated colonies of our kinsmen living among the Gentiles, none are so highly honoured in respect to sanctuary and synagogue privileges, facilities for acquiring sacred instruction, and unmolested liberty of worship and action, as the worshippers in the temple of Onias. These differences are, of course, to the advantage of the fatherland, where religion seems to have become the naturalized product of the soil. Without attempting to draw any parallels, or picture any contrasts, therefore, I will proceed to describe some of the scenes, solemn or picturesque, of which I have been an eyewitness during the past few days. I am sorry that my narrative must be so brief and hastily written.

It so happened that the day succeeding my arrival was the first of Nisan—the dawn of our ecclesiastical year, and the

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birth-day of our nation.* On this day I knew that, besides its being the feast of the new moon, a number of ancient customs, having no counterpart among us, would be observed, and which my youthful imagination had always invested with deep attraction and significance. Of these I was anxious to be a spectator, and, as far as practicable, a participant, partly for my own personal satisfaction, and partly to qualify me to convey to my gentle sister some faint impression of these outgrowths of the divine institutions of our nation.

The first appearance of the new moon on the evening of the last day of the expiring year is, as you are aware, a matter of the liveliest interest and gravest consequence to our brethren in Judea, as it is indeed in a less degree to all of us, since by it the exact dates of the Passover and all the subsequent festivals are determined and fixed. Now scarcely had I temporarily disposed of the treasures and offerings committed to my care, in the cloister chambers appropriated to such uses, and begun to enjoy the repose so much needed after my buffetings by sea and fatigues by land, when it was suddenly announced by some members of my host's family that the new moon was visible from the towers of the fortress. A movement immediately took place. Forgetting for a moment all sense of weariness, I rose from the luxurious divan on which I was reclining, and hastily followed those who undertook to be my conductors.

After being almost bewildered by the halls we crossed, the passages we traversed, and the stairs we mounted, we at length reached the towering pinnacle of Antonia, from whence we looked down upon a large portion of the city and temple; the three celebrated and newly-erected towers of Herod—Mariamne, Phasaelis, and Hippicus—however, proudly displaying their dark profiles against the western horizon, on the edge of which could be dimly distinguished the gibbous shape and pearly lustre of the sidereal herald of a fresh series of national festivals. Turning to survey the surrounding panorama of edifices, public and private, as the eye grew familiarized with the dim light of that serene evening, the figures of multitudes

* The Jews had four different periods to mark the commencement of years: the first day of Nisan, or Abib, (which signifies a green ear of corn), corresponding with our March and April, for the ecclesiastical year, by which the festivals were regulated; the first of Elul, (August—September), for tithing lambs; the first of Tizri, (September—October), for the ordinary or civil year; and the first of Sebat, (January—February), for tithing trees.

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could be descried perched on every available eminence, intently directing their concentrated gaze upon the same object, while the low and bee-like murmur of their voices fell soothingly upon the ear. Having tarried for some time to enjoy the balmy freshness and tranquillizing beauty of that sacred hour, and watched the gradual ascent of the welcome stranger in the firmament, I retired to rest in order to recruit my strength for the hallowed employments and excitements of the coming day.

On the following morning I was aroused from my slumbers by the blasts of the trumpets which announced the opening of the temple gates, and the commencement of the services of the day. Hastily putting on my garments, and fervently invoking the blessing of Jehovah, I hurried down to the courts of the temple. The vastness, amplitude, and splendour of this unrivalled shrine of the Godhead at once amazed, entranced, and bewildered me. Everything was full of novelty and solemn interest. Passing by, however, for the present, all reference to the mere architectural arrangements of the immense structure, and the religious ceremonies common to the ordinary daily service, there was one feature of the scene to which it is right that I should just advert.

On descending the stairs communicating with the temple, my attention was first arrested by a body of men, evidently belonging to a station far above that of the porters of the sanctuary, laden with heavy burdens of wood, which they were bearing, with great order and decorum, towards the court of the women. On inquiry, I learnt that the singular spectacle before me was the ceremony of wood-carrying, which is confined to certain set and solemn periods, of which the first of Nisan is one of the most eminent. This, like so many other observances and duties connected with the service of God, has been exalted into a feast—an occasion for devout gladness and rejoicing—when special and additional oblations are offered. The privilege of conveying the wood for the altar service, I further learnt, is conferred upon nine particular families, who are all descended from those who returned from the Captivity. On the day in question, the sacred duties were discharged by the sons of Arah. The wood-carriers were attended by numerous priests and Levites. *Having reached the eastern entrance of the court of the women, the party ascended the magnificent flight of steps leading to the Beautiful gate, and passing along the cloister*

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on the right hand side of this court, paused at the doors of the immense wood chambers situate at the north-east corner, where the burden-bearers were relieved of their bundles by some of the servants of the temple. Here, as it appears, it is that the large supply of wood required for sanctuary uses is temporarily stored; for before any portion of it can be employed on the altar, in feeding that sacred fire which is the pure emblematical medium of intercourse between the holy Jehovah and his guilty people, it is, piece by piece, subjected to the most rigorous search, in order to detect the presence of any worms that may happen to have secreted themselves in it—such defective wood being reputed unclean, and so unfit to be used as altar fuel. This office is discharged by such individuals of the priestly lineage as, by reason of personal blemishes or other disqualifying causes, are incapable of officiating at the altar. After having undergone this process of purging, the sound wood is conveyed to another apartment in the court of Israel, situated at no great distance from the altar, where it is readily accessible when wanted. The defective wood rejected by this examination is used either for boiling, baking, or roasting the offerings requiring such operations, as well as for supplying the fires needed by the priests and Levites when in attendance or on guard in cold weather.

Lend me your imagination now, my gentle sister, and I will introduce you to another scene peculiar to our Judean kinsmen. It is about the hour of noon, when, in company with one of the members of the Sanhedrin, I find myself ushered into a spacious court on the heights of Zion, known as Beth Jaazek. Here I find the great Council assembled on some business of deep interest. The members are arranged in a semicircular form, the Nasi, or president, filling the central position, with the Ab beth Din, or Father of the Council, on his right hand, while the two extremities of the half circle are occupied by two clerks employed in registering the evidence of witnesses and the decisions of the tribunal. On drawing near enough to take cognizance of the proceedings which are just commencing, I find myself in close contiguity to a company of men presenting a most jaded and travel-soiled appearance. These persons, I soon discover as the business proceeds, are watchers, who have *come up to Jerusalem, with the greatest possible celerity, to testify to the appearance of the new moon on the preceding*

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evening. These messengers are accustomed to arrive in couples, as the concurrent evidence of two witnesses is held essential to establish the fact.

Now after the new moon had been seen by such multitudes in Jerusalem on the previous evening, it may seem to you, as it certainly at the time did appear to me, to be a superfluous formality to seek evidence of what was already patent to nearly every one. It must, however, be borne in mind that the law is imperatively binding on the Sanhedrin; while, moreover, it is of extreme moment that every encouragement should be given to these witnesses to flock from all parts of the land to the Holy City on this important errand, since it will often happen that, owing to the cloudiness of the sky, the expected luminary cannot be observed at the metropolis. Whether the fact be otherwise known or not, therefore, the council, with judicial gravity, proceed to the examination of such witnesses as may present themselves, rigidly testing the validity of their testimony.

Thus it is on the occasion under consideration. Standing before me, I behold scores of weary men, covered with dust and perspiration, who have come, some on foot and some by horse, from all quarters—from the wilderness of Tekoa in the south, from the sea-coast towns and cities on the west, from the eastern regions beyond Jericho and the Jordan, and the Galilean hills in the north; and every few minutes fresh arrivals continue to swell the number. Most of them have evidently travelled throughout the whole night. In conducting the examination of the witnesses, the couple that made their appearance earliest are usually the first to be interrogated, while the rest follow in the order of their arrival; all of them being examined, however superficially, in order to avoid engendering in the minds of any a feeling of disappointment, and so prevent them from undertaking the journey another time. The eldest of each pair of witnesses being confronted with the Beth Din, the following are among the questions put to him: "Tell us in what form you saw the moon, was it with her horns turned towards the sun, or away from it? To the north, or to the south of the sun? What was her elevation on the horizon? Towards which side was her inclination? What was the width of her disk?" While most of the witnesses answer with great intelligence and perspicuity, *some few are found hazarding statements amusingly absurd*

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To render the questions intelligible to the more ignorant, the examiner points to some delineations of the figures and aspects of the moon painted on the walls of the hall, by means of which satisfactory information is generally elicited.

The investigation being at length concluded, the Sanhedrin officially declares the new moon by pronouncing the words, "The feast of the new moon—the feast of the new moon." Immediately on this announcement taking place, messengers, who had been impatiently waiting the utterance of the authoritative words, may be seen hurrying to the temple to convey the welcome intelligence, the receipt of which is speedily notified to the entire city by the loud and thrilling blasts of the temple trumpets, together with a cornet, which waken a thousand glad and stirring echoes among the circumjacent hills. The cornet employed for this purpose is formed of a straight horn of a chamois, with a golden mouth-piece, and is only used twelve times during the year. The sound of this instrument is prolonged beyond that of the silver trumpets, the blowing of the cornet being regarded as the peculiar duty of the day.

While these joyous blasts are shivering their glad tidings over mountain and valley, and filling ten thousand hearts with exultation at the advent of another sacred year, the toil-worn and half-famished witnesses are partaking of a most liberal entertainment in the city, provided at the cost of the council. This feast is designed not only to minister to the present refreshment of the guests, but also to operate as an inducement to them to repeat their valuable services on future occasions.

I ought to add, that the most scrupulous care is taken by the Sanhedrin to insure the probity of the witnesses who present themselves on these occasions. No persons of immoral or doubtful character—such, for instance, as gamblers with dice, usurers, those who breed pigeons for gambling purposes, traders in the produce of the Sabbatical year, and slaves—are deemed competent to give evidence on a subject of so much importance, and in which successful falsehood and fraud would be attended by such serious consequences to the whole nation. Indeed, of so great moment, in relation to the proper regulation of the festivals, are the functions of these voluntary witnesses regarded, that the observance of the Sabbath, usually enforced with such austere rigour, is suspended in all cases where it would interfere with their journey to Jerusalem. When bound upon this

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urgent errand to the Sanhedrin, to continue to prosecute their travels on the day sanctified to rest and worship is held to involve no profanation.

But my narration of the characteristic incidents of this day cannot terminate here. The commencement of the ecclesiastical year being thus trumpeted forth to the citizens of the capital, the same duty remains to be performed for the benefit of the inhabitants of the remotest districts of the land. This is done by dispatching a fresh troop of messengers from the city, mounted on swift and sure-footed Arabians, chosen for that special object; so that by means of relays, where necessary, this service is performed with such extraordinary rapidity, that not many hours have passed from the first publication of the news in Jerusalem, before it is repeated by the ringing hoofs of the panting steeds, and the shouting cry of the flying couriers, in the cities and villages of the uttermost boundaries of the country. The day was already waning to its close when this company of messengers, after receiving their instructions from the Sanhedrin, took their departure from the portals of the Council Court; and, guiding their spirited horses cautiously through the narrow streets, thronged with the cheering crowds assembled to witness their departure, made their way with difficulty to the different gates of the city, from whence each striking into his allotted road, was in a few minutes lost to the gaze of the numerous spectators posted upon the city walls.

My curiosity and zeal in attempting to familiarize myself with the customs of my people had prompted me, in common with hundreds of others, to secure an elevated position on one of the towers overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat, from whence I was enabled to witness the departure of the couriers bound for Engedi, for Jericho, and for the trans-Jordanic provinces. While straining my eyes to catch a last glimpse of their receding and eve-enshrouded figures, I was accosted by a young Hellenic Jew, who, I soon learned, had been studying for two or three years in the school attached to the Alexandrian synagogue. From this new and communicative acquaintance I gathered, that messengers are sent abroad on a similar errand to the present one on six other occasions during the year. These are as follows: in the month Ab, (August), to announce the fast on the ninth day of the month, in mournful commemoration of the burning of the Holy City by Nebuzar-adan. the

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Babylonish general: in the month of Elul, on account of the feast of the new *civil* year, which commences on the first of the following month, Tisri: again in Tisri, to give notice of the solemn day of expiation, and also of the feast of tabernacles: in Cisleu, because of the feast of dedication: in Adar, to announce the feast of Purim: and, lastly, in Iyar, for the second Passover. By these national proclamations, the people are apprised of the days fixed by the Sanhedrin for the keeping of the festivals and fasts, and know accordingly how to regulate their journeys, so as to reach Jerusalem by the appointed periods.

Conversing on this and cognate subjects with my interesting companion, time flew by unnoted, and darkness began to fall apace on the city and its environs. The summit of Olivet was still crested with the last lingering gleams of the dying day, but the deep valley at our feet, through which the Kedron was pleasantly murmuring, rapidly grew unsearchable to the eye by reason of the gathering density of its gloom. Awaking suddenly to a conviction of the necessity of descending to our city homes, I was on the point of retiring from the walls, when my attention was directed by my alert friend to a considerable party of men issuing from the Sheep gate, which my gentle sister must know is situated just beyond the north-eastern angle of the outer court of the temple. My curiosity was immediately excited by the singular appearance of this band. Most of the men bore on their shoulders fagots of brushwood and other combustible materials, while others carried lanterns and torches, the flickering light from which threw a wild and sinister air around them as they plunged into the dark depths of the valley. Finding my companion willing to follow them for the purpose of watching their proceedings, we rushed from the city walls, and overtook the party just as they were skirting the edge of a secluded grove of olives, known as Gethsemene, on the other side of the Kedron. Hanging on their rear, as they climbed the acclivities of Olivet, we soon learnt from their conversation the object of this nocturnal expedition. They were bound on a most incendiary mission. Their deliberate purpose was to set the whole country literally in a blaze. They were about to kindle a signal fire, which, ere the flight of an hour, should be reproduced and repeated on almost every hill-top throughout the length and breadth of Israel; thus proclaiming to the people the advent of a new year, as well as the fact that on the

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thirteenth day from that fiery evening the feast of unleavened bread would be celebrated in Zion.

This appears to have been the primitive method of telegraphing the times and seasons to the nation, and through many of the earlier centuries of Israel's history it was the only mode adopted. Since the Captivity, however, during which era the country has been environed more closely by enemies, and infested with aliens in blood and in religion, the people have oft-times been deceived by the appearance of false signal-fires kindled by the hands of malicious foes. Among these, the Samaritans have earned a pre-eminent notoriety. To defeat these hostile practices, and prevent the inhabitants of the land from being misled as to the proper dates of their religious solemnities, the intelligence was thenceforth dispersed by means of the mounted messengers whose departure on this errand I have just described to you. At the same time, the ancient and time-honoured custom, so adapted for a mountainous country, of proclaiming the festivals by fire, was not abandoned. The one is auxiliary to the other. The flaming signal is seen where the hoof of the courser could not climb; and, peradventure, the voice of the courier is heard in recesses and glens where the lofty blazing telegraphs are never visible.

But to return to the company of incendiaries whose footsteps we were following. No sooner did they reach the loftiest peak of the Mount of Olives, than a pile was at once reared with the combustibles they had brought, which, being ignited by means of the torches in their possession, was quickly in a blaze—crackling, roaring, rushing, and sending out tongues of flame into the breezy sky. In addition to the bundles of brushwood cut from the olive trees, some of the men had brought with them long staves of cedar wood, and stout poles, around the extremity of which filaments of flax had been entwined. These were now thrust into the raging bonfire until they were thoroughly kindled, when they were withdrawn, and brandished about in all directions. This waving operation was continued until, through the deepening twilight, there shot forth a corresponding illumination on some neighbouring hill-top, which in its turn was answered by another—and that by another—and so on, to the east, to the west, to the north, and to the south, till the whole land was tipped with pinnacles of flame. From Carmel's sea-washed promontory to the high plateaus of

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Gilead and Bashan, and from Masada and the blasted mountain ridge of Moab, to the snowy heights of the Lebanon, the ruddy signals leapt from eminence to eminence. Nor were the dwellers in the lofty-perched cities and towns of the land idle; for they also came forth upon the flat house-tops, furnished with torches and inflammable materials, which they waved aloft, to aid in sending the flaming tidings onwards. It was a sight, dear Adah, the bare relation of which will stir enthusiasm, but to witness it, as I was privileged to do, was well worth the trouble and time of a voyage from Alexandria.

There is much more that was novel to me in connection with the ceremonies, customs, and incidents of the first of Nisan, or Abib, which I feel anxious to describe to you, but which the expiration of my time renders impracticable. The aspect of the city during the feast of the new moon—the ever-varying appearance of the temple during the solemnities of worship and of sacrifice—the splendour of the edifice—the imposing dignity of the priesthood when engaged in discharging their sacred functions—all these invite remark; and probably on some future occasion I may be able to relieve my mind, in some measure, of the emotions of awe, wonder, and delight that struggle for utterance, while my epistolary messages may awaken corresponding sensations of pleasure and surprise in your bosom. But the messenger is at the door. Farewell, my beloved sister. Give my salutations to my father and kinsfolk, and assure them of the welfare of your devoted brother,

HEBER.

Capernaum, Nisan the 24th.

My gentle sister,

The paschal week, which, when my former hurried letter was dispatched, I was anticipating with so much ardour, is over; and after the excitements of its festivities and religious pomps, I have come down to the borders of the beautiful Lake of Galilee for a short interval of seclusion and repose. You will be delighted to learn that I met with several of our kinsfolk among the vast multitudes whom I saw congregated at the city of the tribes. One of these—a frank and generous young man, of some unascertainable degree of cousinship, who holds a civil appointment under Herod in the government of Upper

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Galilee—was so pressing in his solicitations for me to return with him to his northern home, that I was constrained to yield. Nor do I regret the step. The scenery through which I have passed during the last few days has been glorious beyond all my conceptions, offering as it does so wonderful a contrast to the flat landscapes and monotonous fertility of the Delta. But still more charming, if possible, are the prospects that fascinate my gaze from the elevated city in which I find myself located. From the window of the apartment at which I am now writing, nearly the entire circuit of the shores is visible, clothed in the richest emerald robes, and crowded with opulent cities, whose edifices sparkle amid the luxuriant orchards in which they are embowered; while the waters of the lake, on which numerous fishermen may be seen following their occupation, flash brightly in the sunlight.

The interval between the present period and the feast of Pentecost will be chiefly spent in exploring the regions of the Lebanon, and in visiting the most populous and flourishing cities of this magnificent province. Before starting on this excursion, however, in which I am to be accompanied by my hospitable relative, I am desirous of imparting to you some of my reminiscences of the solemnities, the spectacles, and the enjoyments of the passover week.

I commence at the point where the narrative already sent to you terminated. I had witnessed, and, to some extent, participated in, the significant usages by which the new year was inaugurated. On that day the population had been exempted from all servile work; and although the city was far from being a scene of profound quiet, yet all the stir and bustle had a relation to religious objects and holy duties. But on going forth on the following morning into the streets, the bazaars, and the market-places of the city, or the approaches to the temple, the whole aspect of things was changed. Industry, it could clearly be seen, was addressing itself to its varied tasks under the stimulus of some unusual impulse. The activities of life were resumed with unwonted alacrity and energy, under the obvious influence of some great purpose. About to become once more the rendezvous of a mighty concourse of the descendants of the tribes, suitable preparations began to be made in good earnest for their entertainment. These indications of the coming festival arrested my eye in every direction. Swarms of masons and

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carpenters were to be seen in all quarters of the city, repairing damages, supplying architectural defects, and temporarily multiplying facilities of accommodation; while hosts of house decorators were equally busy, exercising their taste and skill in putting the dwellings of all classes into a presentable condition. Nor were these garnishings confined to the exterior alone. Judging from the occasional glimpses which I caught of the domestic changes everywhere going forward, it is probable that the interior aspect of the abodes of the citizens was undergoing a similar process of renovation and embellishment. Even the temple itself formed no exception to these artistic operations; for although the new structure, with its mighty outworks, is considered to have been completed two years ago, yet large numbers of workmen have continued to be employed upon its adornment and enrichment, and probably will be so for a considerable time to come. Herod has shown consummate astuteness and tact in thus humouring the passion of our countrymen for the aggrandisement of their holy and beautiful sanctuary.

Quitting the more aristocratic regions of Zion and Acra, and penetrating the haunts of business in the Tyropeon valley and in the northern parts of the city, I met with the same signs of preparation for some great occasion. The bazaars were reviving from the dull stagnation of the winter season; shops might be seen putting on bright new faces; and as day by day passed away, fresh articles of merchandize, either of home manufacture or brought from foreign marts, and designed to minister to the comfort or to the growing luxury of the inhabitants, displayed their attractions to the eye of the passer-by. Rich tapestries; expensive embroidery; glittering jewellery; perfumery of great variety, rifled from almost every realm of the east; phylacteries of all dimensions, devices, and styles, to suit the tastes of all, from the humblest keeper of the law to the most servile and ostentatious worshipper of tradition; were especially conspicuous in the tempting array. On visiting the market-places also from time to time, a growing bustle and traffic was observable. Supplies, commensurate with the vast consumption of the festal week, were hourly pouring in, and with almost as much rapidity were melting away under the demands of the citizens. Never before did I witness such a display of fruits, of the most choice and luscious description, not even at the stalls of any of the 12,000 fruit-merchants at Alexandria, as I beheld in the market-

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places of Jerusalem a few days before the feast of unleavened bread. To mention their names, and the different climes in which they were produced, would only weary you. But there were other things furnished besides the luxuries of the palate, and in the greatest abundance too. The constant influx of sheep, of oxen, and of turtle doves and pigeons, filled me with astonishment; although, had I properly reflected upon the enormous requirements of the congregated multitudes for the paschal sacrifices only, it would have greatly moderated my surprise. For days before the feast, the pastures and hills around Jerusalem were whitened with flocks, and a stream of these destined victims was almost incessantly flowing into the city by the sheep gate, thereby completely choking up many of the thoroughfares of that region.

Curious to know how the myriads of animals that entered the sheep-market, which is contiguous to the northern court of the temple, were disposed of, so as to make room for the constant arrivals, I, after much difficulty, forced my way into this scene of confusion. Here I beheld a large body of the priests and Levites, laboriously employed in examining the animals, with the view of detecting in them any of the blemishes which would render them unfit to be offered unto God, who both demands and deserves a perfect oblation at the hands of his people. The disqualifying defects have been multiplied to such an extent by the absurd traditions and refined glosses of the rabbis—numbering as they do no fewer than seventy-three—that but for the rigorous preliminary search thus undertaken by the priesthood, endless confusions would arise in connection with the altar service. Whisperers, however, are not wanting who broadly insinuate that the sacerdotal order is not altogether so disinterested in this matter as they would have us believe; for after having undergone the ordeal of inspection to which I have referred, all that were pronounced ceremonially perfect were driven off to the temple, in one portion of the outer court of which a spacious area has been set apart for them, and where another body of private priests might be seen for several days before the paschal sacrifices, trafficking briskly with the people, and making a considerable profit by these irregular dealings. Thus, a practice altogether unsanctioned by the law of Moses, and which the priesthood of purer times would have eschewed as derogatory to their dignity, has, through the convenience it

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offers to the worshippers visiting the altar, gradually grown into a most lucrative monopoly, which, as I am told, has led to gross corruptions and abuses in the hierarchy. A similar traffic exists in doves and pigeons, and other creatures required for sacrificial purposes. Many of the priests and Levites are said to keep immense dove-cotes, the produce of which is retailed by them, or their dependants, at exorbitant prices, in the precincts of the temple. Even the money-changers, too, who, sitting before their stalls in the outer courts, are so ready, on payment of a slight tax, to transmute foreign coin into the currency of the land, so as to enable the Jewish stranger to pay his temple dues, are in secret league with the priesthood, of whom they purchase the privilege of carrying on this unseemly merchandizing in the house of God.*

But, if the contemplation of scenes such as those I have attempted to sketch were fraught with interest and instruction, it was no less delightful to me to saunter round the city walls, in the freshness of morning, during the splendour of noon, or in the sweet tranquillity of eventide, and feast my eyes upon the varied spectacles visible from thence. Passing by the prospects of picturesque beauty—the terraced slopes, the gorgeous gardens, the lovely glens, the sombre ravines, the sparkling streams and fountains, and the delicious groves—abounding on every side, the environs of the great city had at the time, I confess, other attractions for me. I was anxious to watch the approaches to the city which was so soon to be the gathering-place of hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, matrons, and maidens. I had calculated that the confluence of such vast multitudes must present some most animated pictures of enthusiasm and devotion. Nor was I deceived. Life and activity were as prevalent here as within the walls.

During the first week of Nisan, large parties of workmen might be seen busily engaged in every direction around Jerusalem. Their labours had evidently been commenced several weeks earlier, and were now resumed after the temporary interruption caused by the feast of the new year. Some were employed in trimming up the private gardens and the public promenades, situated on the sunny slopes or in the secluded valleys outside the walls. Some were repairing the

* The practices will be found to illustrate the allusions in Matthew xxi. 12, 13.

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roads leading to the several gates of the city, and, wherever the traffic of the year had injured them, were levelling and renewing them; here restoring the fences that had been blown down by the storms of winter, and there rebuilding the walls which accidents might have injured. Others, again, I observed labouring among the graves and sepulchres scattered so profusely through the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat. The tombs of the noble and the wealthy, already sufficiently conspicuous by the stateliness or taste of their architecture, required only to be cleaned from the stains of the weather; but the artizans were especially busied in whitening* the monumental stones which, at the head and foot of each grave, or at the mouths of the sepulchral caves excavated so extensively in the hill-sides, mark the last resting-places of the poor and the humble. Nor is this garnishing operation simply one of decorous and graceful reverence towards the abodes of the dead, or of mere ostentatious display. The object is chiefly to indicate distinctly the position of these teeming graves, so that visitors from the country may not contract ceremonial pollution by inadvertently coming in contact with them,† and thus disqualify themselves for participating in the hallowed services of the temple. Over many of these sacred spots, where the sleeping dust of myriads is cradled for the skies, clusters of sweet flowers, planted by the hand of affection and nourished by its tears, and full of significant language to the soul, might be seen blooming brightly in the balmy air of spring.

A source of far higher gratification than any of the preceding, however, was found in watching the pilgrim companies which were continually arriving at the Holy City, from far and near. Clothed in holiday attire, decked with garlands of fresh flowers, and often accompanied by bands of musicians, who filled the firmament with their inspiring minstrelsy, the approach of these bands was a sight never to be forgotten by the sympathizing beholder. Glad hosannahs would ever and anon rend the air, and rich harmonies, mellowed by distance, fall upon the attentive ear, as some new party, reaching the ridge of some part of the amphitheatre of hills that shut in Jerusalem, saw their loved metropolis suddenly bursting upon them—a vision of solemn tranquillity and beauty. About five or six days before the feast, the arrivals became prodigious. An,

* Matthew xxiii. 27.

† Luke xi. 44.

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almost unbroken current of human beings, of all ages, conditions, costumes, and countries, poured into the gorged city, until I expected to see hosts of them turned back again into the valley, from the sheer impossibility of finding accommodation for them within the gates. Nor was it for themselves alone that shelter was required. Most of the companies came bountifully furnished with provisions for their own use during their absence from home, and also for distribution among their more needy brethren, as well as with gifts for presentation at the altar. To convey these, together with articles of merchandise designed to be disposed of during the festival, numerous camels and other beasts of burthen were indispensable; while, in addition, many Jewish families preferred to bring up with them the animals which they were compelled to sacrifice to God. For the reception of the beasts, however, extensive accommodation was provided in the suburbs of the city, while most of the luggage brought by these religious caravans found its way either into the replenished chambers of the temple, or to the over-crowded stalls of the market-places.

When you reflect, my dear Adah, upon the myriads of strangers who, in fulfilment of the command of the God of our fathers to appear before him in Zion three times every year, require some sort of domestic accommodation on these periodical occasions, and the multitudinous arrangements which have to be made preparatory to the proper performance of a great act of national homage, you will at once see an adequate reason why these throngs of worshippers should repair to Jerusalem several days before the actual celebration of the feast. This view, however, does not exhaust the case. Other and more imperative considerations exist. Before any Jew, as you are aware, is eligible to approach the shrine of Jehovah, he must undergo a course of purification by frequent ablutions: Now, the hosts of pilgrims coming up to the festivals are especially exposed to ceremonial contaminations, which, unless purged, would exclude them from the sanctuary, where all their hopes centre. Hence, on this account, an early arrival is necessary, that on the appointed day the children of the tribes may be all prepared to stand before a God of Holiness in that outward purity which is emblematic of a clean heart and a stainless character.

Nor is even this all. Another reason yet remains to be

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mentioned. According to the command of God,* the lamb or kid intended to be slain as the paschal sacrifice, is obliged to be taken up by each family or paschal company as early as the tenth day of the month. It is true that this difficulty is met, to a great extent, by the practice of the priesthood to which I have already alluded; of whom, accordingly, almost any number of lambs, duly certified as exempt from ceremonial defects, may be procured in any emergency; while it is a still further convenience to such worshippers as avail themselves of the facilities thus afforded, to be able to leave the victims in the charge of priests until the time of sacrifice. Still, in all those numerous instances in which the animal selected for oblation is brought up to Jerusalem by the offerer, it has to pass the priest's scrutiny full four days before the feast; and during that interval, the lamb is, by many of our people, fastened to one of the feet of their bed, in order that by being under their own eye, they may be able to judge with greater certainty of its fitness, as well as to remind them the more vividly of the solemn ordinance in which they are about to engage. This curious custom I myself observed in many of the dwellings to which I had access; but the bleating of the innocent creatures, as it resounded through the apartments, ever brought over my mind a feeling of unspeakable sadness. There is to me in these things, my sweet sister, an unfathomable mystery—an abyss of dark and hidden meaning, which the Lord may ere long more clearly elucidate to us.

Thus employed—my time being divided between a contemplation of the extraordinary aspects of city life as Jerusalem became every day more and more crowded with the children of Abraham, an examination of the magnificent public buildings around me, frequent visits to the temple, and those exhilarating outlooks from the towering bulwarks of the city of which I have just written—the interval between my arrival and the celebration of the festival sped swiftly and pleasantly away. At length the shades of that evening fell—the thirteenth of the month—which awakens such solemn yet joyous reminiscences in the soul of every Hebrew—that evening which preceded the day of our national redemption from the bondage and ignominy of Egypt. Never shall I forget the sensations which thrilled me in that hour, when the last gleams of the departing sun

* Exodus xii. 3.

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were forsaking the pinnacled heights of Zion and Moriah, and the moon, approaching her full-orbed beauty, began to brighten every object with the reflected light of her serene countenance. Many a time, as my gentle Adah well knows, have I participated in the holy rites which that evening was about to initiate afresh; but never before did they speak to my heart with an eloquence so sublime or a power so irresistible. This was owing, doubtless, in part, to the holier ground on which I then stood, and the exciting associations by which I found myself for the first time in my life surrounded.

What a scene was exhibited in the Holy City on that glad and glorious evening! Your imagination, my sister, must supply the place of my pen, in attempting to pourtray it. You well know that my allusion is to that singular and significant ceremony—the searching of Jerusalem for leaven. Not a dwelling was there, within the wide circuit of the city, in which the inmates might not be seen, with an anxious air, carrying on this exploration, by means of innumerable wax candles, which were thrust into every corner, hole, and crevice, where it was deemed probable that the minutest particle of any leavened substances had found a lodgment. The law on this point having always been extremely strict, and the penalty upon those whose houses are not thoroughly purged from all leaven being a sentence of excision from the commonwealth of Israel,* this sacred task is one involving much care and solicitude on the part of every devout and God-fearing Jew. All other occupations were for the time suspended, in temple, synagogue, palace, bazaar, market-place, and private dwelling. The universal attention of all classes and ages—from the priest to the hewer of wood and the drawer of water—was absorbed in this serious search. At this period, too, a deep, impressive silence was observed. For, after uttering the brief preparatory ejaculation, “Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King everlasting, who hath sanctified us by his commandments, and hath enjoined us the putting away of leaven,” each citizen became mute until the work of exploration was concluded. All the leaven that was collected, was, as with us, carefully stored away in a vessel or box, in some secure place, until the following day; and the operation being thus completed throughout Jerusalem, the dumb

* Exodus xii. 18, 19, 20; xiii. 7.

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again sent up its bee-like hum and happy murmur into the night air.

the slumbers that distilled upon the eye-lids of Israel throughout that night were neither deep nor long. The visitations were far too crowded, the incidents of the past or the anticipations of the morrow were too vivid and stirring, and the untiring converse of long-separated friends in many instances carried too far into the night, to allow of more than a few brief snatches of repose to myriads of those who were then embraced within the guardian walls of the city of the Great King. Full of unrest myself, I early quitted my chamber, and climbed the tower of Antonia just as the sun began to gild the golden pinnacles and marble façade of the temple with his effulgence. What a spectacle did he reveal to my wondering eyes! Every housetop, far and near, was teeming with life and movement! Multitudes, unable to secure accommodation within the interior of the houses, were glad to spread their mattresses on the flat roofs, and sleep beneath the watch-stars! With the dawn of day they were astir. And when I came forth to view the unexpected panorama, I found them all variously engaged; some still slumbering, some arranging their attire, others, of either sex, either adjusting their luxuriant tresses or anointing their beards, while not a few were in the temple-wards in rapt devotion.

The first day of unleavened bread being now fully come, it was by the majority of the people made a holiday. All labour, however, is not absolutely interdicted; and it appears that there is no want of agreement among our learned expounders of the law as to the hour when all secular employment should be suspended. A controversy has long existed on this point between the celebrated rival schools of Shammai and Hillel, which, as no real question is involved, has issued in a compromise, leaving it almost much to the discretion of the people whether the suspension of labour begins on the evening of the 13th, or at noon on the 14th. Hence Jerusalem presented the singular spectacle of part of the population observing the day from its dawn with religious reverence, while another portion might be seen completing tasks requiring immediate dispatch. Another curious anomaly also came to my knowledge, which may be worth mentioning. While these conflicting customs prevail in the very centre and of ecclesiastical authority, it is the practice, in Galilee,

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other districts, for those who are unable to attend the feast, to keep the whole day as a holiday. The reason assigned for this incongruity is, that while such as are confined to their homes at a distance from the city of solemnities have nothing to do in connection with the Passover, except to meditate upon it, and rest from labour in honour of it; those persons, on the contrary, who dwell in Jerusalem or its neighbourhood, often have indispensable duties to perform in preparation for the paschal rites.

No sooner, however, had the sun reached its meridian on this first day of the Passover, than another of those strange and, to the eye of a Gentile stranger, mysterious sights was to be witnessed, which could not be paralleled in any other city of the world. This was the simultaneous destruction of all those substances impregnated with leaven, which had been so carefully gathered and secreted on the previous evening. The work of expurgation, as you are already aware, my sister, may be effected by either of three methods—by the immersion of the leaven in water, by consuming it in fire, or by scattering it upon the wings of the wind. These alternatives have been wisely granted by the interpreters of our law, to suit the varying circumstances of our people at different times. Thus, for example, however ready a mode for its disposal the winds of heaven may be to dwellers in small villages and country places, where the strong and steady breezes at once waft it far away from every human habitation, it needs no words of mine to show to you how entirely different the case must be in the narrow streets of pent-up cities, where the air-currents can never be relied on, and where, if entrusted with the charge of expulsion, they would probably only transfer the rejected particles to the recesses of some neighbouring dwelling. With the exception of some, therefore, who, residing in their precincts, mounted the city walls, and scattered their stores into the open country, the great majority destroyed every discoverable morsel of leaven by means of fires kindled for the occasion. The remaining mode—that by water—as you will remember, is the one generally resorted to by our people in Alexandria, it being more convenient, from the close proximity of our quarter of the city to the harbour. While this purging process was going on, Jerusalem presented a singular aspect, and many interesting incidents came to my knowledge which would gratify you much, could I find time to

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relate them. But I must hasten to describe the succeeding phases of this great and solemn feast.

One of the most pressing and pleasant duties demanding attention during the few days immediately preceding the slaying of the victims, is the formation of the paschal companies. In the original institution of the rite, a lamb, as you are aware, was allotted to each family, unless the members of the household were very few, in which case another family was joined to it.* The altered circumstances of our people, however, since their settlement as a nation and the establishment of our temple worship, have led to the gradual introduction of certain modifications of the primitive institute. Thus, at the present time, owing to the enormous influx of strangers on this occasion, the paschal companies are variously composed. Some of them, as of old, consist exclusively of single family groups, where the members are sufficiently numerous to consume the sacrifice, presided over by the father; some, with a nucleus formed of citizens of the capital, embrace in their fellowship long-separated relatives, who are naturally drawn together at such a period by the ties of consanguinity; while not a few of them are fraternities in which a number of congenial strangers have mutually consented to unite together for the celebration of the solemn rite, and who usually elect from among themselves, as president, some one whose age or experience entitles him to that distinction. The number of individuals composing these festal companies, including women and children, fluctuates between ten and twenty, and is regulated by their capacities for eating; it being considered imperative that every person in the group should take as much as is equal to the size of an olive, while no portion of the lamb is allowed to be left unconsumed.†

You have, no doubt, ere this, felt stirring in your sisterly heart, an impatient curiosity to know to what paschal society I attached myself. I think I am able both to satisfy and gratify you on that point; as I had the distinguished honour of sharing the festal privilege in association with one of the noblest families of our nation. I had for my fellow-guests on the occasion, no less eminent personages than the venerable Simeon, his son Gamaliel, a young man of extraordinary promise, and other branches of that great teacher's household. It having tran-

* Exodus xii. 3, 4.

† Exodus xii. 10.

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aspired that one of my objects in visiting the land of my fathers, was to prosecute my search of divine knowledge at the fountain head of sacred lore, I was early honoured with an invitation to accept the hospitalities of the chief rabban of the age.

* * * * *

Just as I had penned these words, I was interrupted in my narration by the abrupt entrance of my host, who had come to announce to me that business of great urgency called him suddenly away to the borders of Cælo-Syria and the valleys of the Lebanon. He invited me to accompany him, and pronounced such glowing eulogiums upon the glorious scenery of the regions through which we should pass, and the magnificence and prosperity of the cities which we might visit on our way, that I at once surrendered to the temptation, and shall start for the excursion early on the morrow. My letter, thus so unexpectedly cut short, I will find means to despatch before my departure; and, meanwhile, I bespeak my Adah's patience for a brief season, promising to complete my description of the festival during the first interval of leisure on my journey. Till then, adieu.



Telegraphing the New Year by fire-signals.

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The Feast of the Passover.

Eden, Mount Lebanon, Iyan 10th.

My dearest Adah—After upwards of a fortnight's rambles in the northern regions of this delectable land, where the balm of health comes wafted on every breeze, and the spirit of freedom and independence steals into the soul from every prospect, I have sought temporary repose in one of the ~~fairest spots to be~~

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found in the lower recesses of this hoary patriarch of mountains. Here, in the outskirt of a charming village, named, from the surpassing beauty of its environment, after the primeval abode of the first human pair, behold your devoted brother, seated in the watch-tower of a luxuriant vineyard, prepared to resume the narration which was interrupted at Capernaum. Before recommencing the description of the paschal ceremonies, however, allow me just to indicate the magnificent and varied scenery by which I am surrounded. The populous village of Eden—which some dim old tradition asserts to be the actual site of Paradise—is seated picturesquely upon the crest of a lofty hill, its terraced declivities being clothed with vineyards, gardens, and groves. All around, stretching away for miles, are similar eminences, varying in form and aspect, and sheltering at their feet valleys, and glens, and pasturages, rich in produce, and contrasting their warm soft beauty with the wilder magnificence of the gigantic hills, and especially of those dressed up in the sombre hues of the everlasting cedars. Yes, I have gazed upon the “glory of Lebanon,” and seen the solemn diadem that for so many ages has encircled his mighty brow. The shadows of these ancient trees are all about me. Beyond and above them, to the north-east, towers a pyramid of bare rock—a giant among pigmies; while in front of me, seen between the tops of intervening hills, sparkle the waters of the Great Sea, that have for so many ages borne rich argosies to the neighbouring emporiums, Sidon and her daughter Tyre. So much for the scene of my present letter-writing; and now for those widely different spectacles in which your gentle heart is so loyally bound up.

My last epistle most tantalizingly broke off just as I was introducing you to the acquaintance of the most celebrated rabban of the age—the venerable Simeon. I need scarcely remind you of the illustrious antecedents of this holy and devout sage. Who has not heard of Hillel, the father of Simeon, and his predecessor as chief rector in the schools of Jewish learning? Who does not know that such was the respect and awe inspired by his character and attainments, that his life, together with that of his energetic disciple and rival, Shammai, was spared by the incensed Herod when he put to death every other member of the Great Council? And while thus honoured in his ancestry, *there seems every probability of his being equally honoured in*

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his posterity, since his son Gamaliel is a young man of extraordinary attainments. The noble qualities of his character have already won my esteem, and rendered me proud to number him among my heartiest friends. The prospect of pursuing my studies in such noble companionship has already diminished that reluctance to settle down to the solid pursuits of learning, which I have dreaded as likely to result from my present fugitive and exciting mode of life. He is destined, I doubt not, to rise to great eminence among our rabbis.*

Not content with admitting me to the privileges of a paschal guest with his household, I was, for the purpose of affording me a better insight into the sacred rites, chosen to officiate at the temple as the delegate of the family party. For you must bear in mind that, from the prodigious number of participants in the passover, it would be impossible for the inner court of the temple, spacious as it is, to contain even a tithe of the hosts that would press for admission. To prevent the unnecessary crowding of the sanctuary, therefore, and to facilitate the preliminary operations of slaying the victims and offering up their blood before the Lord, it is the custom for each paschal group to appoint one of its members as its representative, by whom, in conjunction with the priests, these onerous duties are discharged. Such were the honourable functions imposed upon me; and though I trembled with anxiety lest, in my inexperience, I should fall into some serious error, the appointment nevertheless inspired me with a secret gladness of soul. But even after the great diminution of sacrificers caused by this arrangement, the number is still so immense that they are obliged, ordinarily, to proceed to the Court of Israel in three successive companies. I had the good fortune to belong to the first division of paschal delegates, and will now proceed to describe to you what I saw and did on this memorable occasion.

After the expulsion of leaven, which, as I have already explained, was accomplished about mid-day, large numbers of devout people repaired to the temple, to be present at the evening sacrifice, which, in order to afford time for the slaying of the paschal victims, is accustomed on these extraordinary occasions to be offered two hours before the usual time. Let the imagination of my sister picture me to herself, between the seventh and eighth hours of the day,† as I issued from the portals

* Acts vi. 34—40.

† About half-past one o'clock.

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of one of the finest mansions of Zion, clad in a garb of singular fashion, and furnished with equipments indicating the solemn errand on which the wearer was bent. This attire was kindly supplied by the family whom I represented. As I passed along the crowded avenues conducting to the temple, numerous figures similarly garbed, and pressing onward in the same direction, might be discerned at every stage of the walk. These, like myself, were on their way to aid in consummating one of the most affecting and significant rites of our sublime ceremonial. Overpowered with emotion, and absorbed in reflections upon the duties in which I was speedily to be engaged, I headed little as I hurried towards my destination. My interest centred, for the time, in the sanctuary of the God of my fathers.

Crossing the bridge which spans the Tyropœon, I entered the court of the Gentiles, and made my way round to the Beautiful gate, in the eastern front of the court of the women. On ascending the steps conducting to this more elevated platform, I ascertained that the evening service was on the point of concluding. A column of dark smoke was curling upwards into the calm blue sky—the very emblem of divine pacification. The odours of the incense which had just been burnt still pervaded the court and cloisters. Throngs of worshippers were bowed in varying attitudes of adoration and prayer, while the priest was coming forth from the holy place to bless the people. The benediction pronounced, a movement took place in the mighty gathering before me. Some departed to their homes, while not a few seemed resolved to tarry and witness the transactions of which the sanctuary was about to become the scene. The awe-inspiring silence that had reigned but a few moments before was gone, and was succeeded by the soft rustle of ten thousand unsandelled feet upon the sunlit pavement, and the low hum of hundreds of subdued voices. Priests and Levites were fitting to and fro with signs of haste in their movements, and with an unwonted sense of responsibility impressed upon their countenances.

Meanwhile, the paschal delegates were momentarily multiplying. Those who had been scattered among the worshippers during the celebration of the evening service, might now be seen separating themselves and flocking together in front of the magnificent ascent which leads from the court of the women to the court of the priests, anxiously awaiting the signal which

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should summon them to the fulfilment of their solemn, semi-priestly functions. Others emerged, single and in groups, from the shadowy cloisters and colonnades to which they had awhile retreated for coolness or comparative seclusion; while up the several flights of marble steps that communicate with the vast outer court—that of the Gentiles—they were pressing forward in entire ranks.

At a signal from the superintendent of the rites, the temple trumpets emitted a succession of thrilling blasts, to intimate that the arrangements of the priesthood were completed, and that the paschal delegates were at liberty to approach the precincts of the great altar. Those, accordingly, who were stationed nearest to the semi-circular flight of steps which sweep across half the breadth of the court, immediately commenced the ascent; demeaning themselves, however, with no indecent haste, but with a decorum and reverence befitting the dwelling-place of the Holy One of Israel. In this foremost rank happened to be your privileged brother; and it will tend greatly to simplify my description of the singular and impressive transaction, if I limit it, as far as possible, to my own personal share in the engagement.

Never shall I forget the sensations that came over me at the moment when, reaching the summit of the marble ascent, the gorgeous recesses of the temple burst for the first time upon my dazzled vision. Directly before me were a succession of raised seats stretching nearly across the entire court. These were occupied by musicians and singers, who, just as the van of our company passed through the Nicanor gate, struck up one of those ravishing strains of harmony which, from the days of Solomon until now, have rendered the temple music of Jerusalem the admiration of the world. In front of the orchestral platform rose the huge altar on which the daily sacrifices are offered, upon which numerous priests were diligently employed, piling up and igniting fuel in quantities commensurate with the oblations which were about to be consumed. But far above every intervening object, and eclipsing all else in architectural splendour, rose the central sanctuary—the shrine of that Deity, the anniversary of whose ancient loving-kindness we were about again to commemorate. But little time was allowed me for reflection, or the indulgence of emotion. Solemn duties were to be discharged. The court of the priests rang

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yet, as I looked down upon the compact throng still standing below, the number seemed scarcely diminished. ~~For long,~~ during a pause in the music, a voice was heard declaring that no more sacrificers could be admitted; and immediately the massive leaves of the portal were closed.

The sacred though sanguinary rites were now to begin. Notwithstanding the crowded state of the court, no confusion or disorder was visible. By the exertions of a well-organised body of Levites, of long experience in the disposal of large masses of people, the most admirable arrangements were effected, every one having at once his proper position in the great ceremonial assigned to him. Those upon whom it devolved to commence the work of slaying the paschal victims, were stationed on the north side of the altar, where there were an immense number of stone blocks and other appliances provided for that purpose. It fell to my lot to form one of this first company. A flock of lambs and kids having been brought from the adjoining chambers, and all other matters being in readiness, the silver trumpets again sent their resounding clangour through the vast edifice. Each sacrificer took his intended victim and led him to the place of slaughter. At this moment, to my astonishment, the band suddenly struck up, and the choir, together with the companies present, joined in a sublime and overpowering shout of praise. Then the trained choristers commenced singing, with orchestral accompaniments, the Hallel. This magnificent hymn, the effect of which upon its hearers admits of no adequate description, comprises, I need scarcely remind you; the 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, and 118th Psalms. These odes are said to have been chosen for choral recitation at our great festivals, on account of the loftiness of the strains in which they celebrate the stupendous deliverances and divine marvels which glorify the earlier epochs of our national history. As the melodious thunder of the "Hallelujah!" was dying away in distant echoes among the hills, the choir chanted the first sentence of the Hallel:—

"Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord!"

Immediately after which the worshippers responded in richly blended tones, varying from a clear treble to the deepest bass, "Hallelujah!" Again was another clause of the Psalm sung; and again did the startling "Hallelujah!" peal forth a

the chorus to the sacred song. This order continued to be observed throughout the entire Psalm, varied, however, by the occasional repetition of some sentiment upon which it was desired to bestow special emphasis.

At the conclusion of this song of praise there ensued a brief pause, during which the slaying of the victims commenced, which was continued without intermission until every delegate present had fulfilled his task. The affecting work of slaughter—the sprinkling of a portion of the blood of each lamb or kid upon the altar, and the pouring forth of the residue at the foot thereof—the presentation of the fat and viscera to the priests, to be consumed as a burnt-offering before the Lord—together with the subsequent fleeing of the animals—occupied the greater part of two hours. During the time these processes—so revolting in themselves, yet so solemn from their associations—were proceeding, the music never ceased; it continued to the end to shed its hallowing spell over our spirits; for as soon as the six Psalms composing the Hallel were sung, we began again, going through them as before; so that by the time we had completed our duties, we had rehearsed the Hallel three times.

Over some features of the scene witnessed by me on that occasion I must drop a veil. Many of the details of the mysterious transaction would shock your gentle nature. Let it suffice to remark, that the extraordinary dispatch secured arose out of the excellence of the arrangements. Thus, for example, instead of every person making his way through the crowd of his companions to convey the blood to the officiating priests, a line of delegates was formed from the slaughtering-place to the altar, by whom the consecrated fluid was passed from hand to hand. To facilitate the fleeing of the animals, all the pillars in the precincts of the altar are furnished with hooks, on which they are hung. When these were insufficient for the purpose, recourse was had to a very simple contrivance to prevent delay. Each animal was suspended from a staff, which was made to rest upon the shoulders of two of the sacrificers, who thus reciprocally aided each other. It was evident, from the aptitude displayed by many in the duties of the day, that they had oftentimes before officiated in the same manner. The spectacle of so much suffering innocence, however, affected me *inexpressibly*; and stirred deep ponderings in my mind. The whole subject of sacrifice is to me, at present, an insolu-

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enigma. There is in it, I conceive, a deeper significance and a more vital spiritual import than this generation of Jews have fathomed. May He who is the Sun of his people speedily send us a clearer light! Oh, that Messiah would come in this our day!

As soon as the last member of our company had sacrificed his victim, and its warm blood had been sprinkled upon the blazing altar, the tide of music suddenly ceased, and the shivering trumpets again resounded. This was at once the signal for our retreat, and for the incoming of another division. Immediately all again was movement, sedate and quiet. The scene melted away in order to renew itself. The magnificent Nicanor gate, as by magic, unfolded its massive leaves, and admitted a fresh influx of men, at the same moment that the first party was retiring by the numerous doors on the north and south sides of the court of Israel. The court became vocal with the bleatings of a fresh flock of consecrated creatures, which were being driven in to supply the places just vacated by those we were bearing away on our shoulders.

You must not understand, however, that we instantly repaired to our homes; since it is customary for those who take precedence in the solemnization of their paschal rites to tarry for their less favoured brethren. The first company, accordingly, remained on the temple mount, and the second band, after their duties were over, in the open spaces between what are called the ramparts. By the time the victims were all sacrificed, twilight had begun to steal over city and temple, and under cover of the momentarily deepening shades of evening, we took our departure from the sanctuary with feelings of no ordinary solemnity. The growing darkness, of which I was made more sensible on plunging into the narrow streets of the city, in its association with the affecting service on which I was employed, reminded me vividly of the terrors of that wondrous night from which the dawn of our national existence dates. Most of the sacrificers, I may add, are wont to bear their passover with them to their homes or lodgings. Some few, however, arrange to have the passover conveyed by servants. In accordance with this practice, my friend Gamaliel had provided a devout *ol servitor*, who met me at the outer temple gate, and relieved *u* of the sacred burden.

On our arrival at the mansion of my host, the slain lamb

at once consigned to the cook of the establishment, by whom it was prepared for roasting. In this operation, one uniform method is adopted by all the paschal companies. A spit, made of the wood of the pomegranate tree, is thrust lengthwise through the lamb or kid, by which it is suspended in an earthenware oven before a fire. The use of an iron roasting spit or a gridiron is interdicted. Not a limb of the sacrifice is allowed to be broken.* Whoever infringes this law incurs a penalty of forty stripes. While these culinary preparations were proceeding, I retired to purify myself by means of a bath, and to put on my festal garments. When I had done this, I seated myself at the open lattice overlooking Jerusalem, then reposing in holy beauty beneath the flooding lustre of the full moon. Soothed by the divine tranquillity of the hour, and the solemn memories of the scenes in which I had so lately mingled, I was gradually sinking into a meditative reverie, and becoming oblivious of the lapse of time, when I was startled by the sudden appearance of my friend Gamaliel, who had come to announce that everything was in readiness, and that the paschal guests were only waiting for my presence to commence the repast.

Making suitable apologies, I descended with him to the banquet-room. On entering it, I was overpowered with the splendour of the spectacle. It was a spacious apartment, gorgeously decorated with the costliest appliances of art and luxury. It was brilliantly illuminated with lamps made by the most skilful Roman artificers; while ranged round the double rows of tables, upon couches lined with the richest Syrian crimson, there flashed upon my eyes a galaxy of Hebrew beauty such as I have never seen surpassed. At the head of the upper table, under a canopy of purple, embroidered with golden thread, in a recumbent posture, was the venerable Simeon, upon whom devolved the duty of presiding at the feast. Immediately to his right, a vacant place had been left for me, which I speedily occupied. Beyond me, to the bottom of the right hand table, attired in robes of snowy whiteness, set off by a blaze of jewellery, reclined about a dozen Jewish ladies. These were the daughters, the daughters-in-law, and the granddaughters of the aged sage. Ranged in front of the left hand table were the husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons of the beautiful maidens and matrons opposite. A cheerful gratification

* Exodus, xii. 46.

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was visible on the countenances of all, as far removed from gloomy moroseness as from graceless levity.

At my entrance, the roasted paschal lamb had not yet been placed before the company. Close to the right hand of each guest there stood a silver cup, containing a small quantity of wine, to which water is added according to the taste of the drinker. At a convenient distance from each person, too, there was placed a basin of water, in which to wash their hands. As soon as I had taken my position in the group, the celebration of the festival began. Raising himself upon his left elbow, the venerable host, as "rehearser of the passover," lifted the mingled cup in his right hand, and pronounced the following blessing: "Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast created the fruit of the vine. Blessed be thou for this good day, and for this holy association, which thou hast given us for joy and rejoicing. Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the times." Rabban Simeon then quaffed off the draught, in which he was imitated by the rest of the company, it being incumbent upon every guest at the paschal supper to drink off four cups of the pure fruit of the vine. The wine having been drunk, we all washed our hands, the officiator meanwhile uttering this ejaculation: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the washing of our hands."

Immediately after this initiatory ceremony, the servants, who had retired, re-entered the supper-room, bearing with them the various provisions constituting this singular and mystic banquet. There were the three divinely-ordained dishes—the cakes of unleavened bread, the paschal lamb roasted entire, and the bitter herbs. Besides these original ingredients of the feast, however, the scribes have added two other dishes; and, accordingly, on the occasion I am describing, there was placed upon the table a bountiful supply of peace-offerings, together with a vessel filled with thick sauce, called charoseth, a compound of dates, figs, raisins, and other fruits, mingled with vinegar, and which is designed to commemorate the clay in which our ancestors toiled in the house of bondage.

The table being thus furnished, the venerable president, after blessing God for creating the beneficent fruits of the ground, took between his fingers a small portion of the bitter salad, which he dipped in the sauce, and ate. The dishes of herbs

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and charoseth were then passed round to the company, each person being expected to swallow a quantity equal at least to the size of an olive. This strange commencement of the feast seems to be intended to excite the wonder and curiosity of the juvenile guests, and to prompt them to inquire into the origin and significance of the custom. If so, their surprise was likely to be enhanced by the singular proceeding that immediately followed. For no sooner had the green herbs been partaken of by all present, than the dishes were borne away untouched. Another cup of diluted wine was now placed before each individual; and just at this juncture, an interesting and intelligent-looking child broke silence by asking the reason of the extraordinary usages of the evening. Few among the offspring of our people are probably ignorant of the meaning of these observances; yet for this familiar acquaintance with the marvellous incidents of our early history, they are mainly indebted to the instruction so winningly conveyed on occasions like this. This custom is also regarded as a fulfilment of the divine injunction, thus recorded in the books of Moses:—"It shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's pass-over, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians and delivered their houses."

Smiling benignantly upon his fair interrogator, the venerable Simeon began kindly to explain to the young persons present the solemn reminiscences which were fostered by the passover feast. "Children," he remarked, "our fathers were all servants like the men-servants and maid-servants who now wait upon us; but on this night, many centuries ago, the Lord redeemed them and brought them forth to the enjoyment of a glorious liberty." Then he proceeded to describe, with a charming simplicity of diction, the events of that never-to-be-forgotten night, when the wail of woe and the sharp shriek of sudden agony ascended from the populous cities of the Nile, and which became the signal for our redemption from debasing bondage. After which, turning to and addressing the rest of the company, he continued: "How different is this night from all other nights! For on all other nights we eat leavened or unleavened bread *indifferently*, but on this night unleavened bread only. On ordinary nights we eat any other herbs; on this night ~~but~~

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herbs alone. On other nights we eat flesh either roasted, stewed, or boiled; but on this night we eat roasted flesh only. On all other nights we wash but once; on this night we wash twice. On all other nights we eat either sitting or leaning indifferently; on this night we eat reclining." Then, taking up one of the sacred scrolls lying by his side, he read the following graphic passage, so appropriate to the occasion, and accompanied it with a running exposition so felicitous and eloquent, that, by the sentiments expressed and the pictures thrown out, our minds were brought into a state of hallowed sympathy with the rite we were celebrating. "A Syrian, ready to perish, was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation great, mighty, and populous: and the Egyptians evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage; and when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression; and the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand and with an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, and with signs and with wonders; and he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, even a land that floweth with milk and honey."* Thus, beginning with our disgrace, the good old man, following the course of the inspired historian, and glowing as he proceeded, ended with our prosperity and glory.

Close upon the conclusion of this stirring address, the dishes which had been so inexplicably removed were again restored to their places on the board. This done, he lifted up the paschal lamb, and exclaimed, "This is the passover which we eat, because the Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt." Then taking up the dish of lettuce, endive, succory, and horchound, he said, "These are the bitter herbs which we eat in remembrance that the Egyptians made the lives of our fathers bitter in Egypt;" and, holding up the thin flat cakes of unleavened bread, he added: "This is the unleavened bread, which we eat because the dough of our fathers had not time to be leavened before the Lord revealed himself and redeemed them. Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praise, to laud, to glorify, to extol, to honour, and to magnify Him who hath done for our fathers, and for us, all these wonders; who

* Deut. xxxiv. 5-9.

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hath brought us from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to rejoicing, from mourning to a good day, from darkness to a great light, from servitude to redemption; therefore let us say in his presence, Hallelujah!" He then recited the former part of the Hallel, consisting of the 113th and 114th Psalms, and concluded with a formula of thanksgiving.

The second cup of wine, previously poured out, being drunk off at this stage of the proceedings, and the second ablution of the hands performed, we were allowed to address ourselves to the more substantial portion of the feast. The officiator taking up one of the crisp unleavened cakes, broke it, and placing the fragments upon a whole cake, offered thanks to God as the author of the fruits of the earth. Both cakes were then distributed among the guests, each of us eating our portion in conjunction with more of the bitter salad, which, as before, was immersed in the fruit-sauce. After swallowing these somewhat nauseous morsels—so significant and palpable a symbol of the sufferings of the immediate descendants of the patriarchs—our appetites, sharpened in most cases by a six or eight hours' fast, eagerly welcomed the fourteenth day peace-offerings, a bountiful portion of which was supplied to each guest. This dish, which is of comparatively modern introduction, consists of the thank-offerings usually presented to the Lord early on the first day of the festival. The residue of the victim, after the altar and the priests have had their allotted share, is taken home and roasted for the paschal supper. This practice has arisen out of an impression that the guests are bound to eat of the sacrificial lamb to satiety, which, from the insufficiency of the provisions prescribed, where the paschal company is numerous, is physically impossible. The scribes, therefore, have enjoined the prior eating of the peace-offerings until the keenness of hunger is appeased, after which the guests are expected to conclude the meal with the passover lamb, every one present being required to eat not less in quantity than the size of an olive.

Having consumed all the flesh from the skeleton of the lamb—the law enjoining that no portion of it should be left until the morning*—water was brought in and set before us for the third time, with which we again cleansed our hands. Then another cup of wine, known as the "cup of blessing," was

* Exodus, xii. 10.

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handed to each person, before partaking of which our devout host fervently extolled the goodness of God to us as a people, and dwelt especially upon his paternal love as evinced in the institution of the festival which we had just been celebrating with so much gladness of heart. By this time, the evening was deepening into night, and it became desirable, for the sake of the children present especially, to conclude the sacred ordinance. This was done by singing, with great zest and enthusiasm, as well as musical taste, the remainder of the Hallel, from the 115th to the 118th Psalms. Some of the maidens of the party accompanied the vocal harmony with the viol, the harp, and other instruments, which were played with exquisite skill and sweetness. If this magnificent song of praise, as performed by the trained musicians of the temple, overwhelmed me by the grandeur of its harmony and the startling outbursts of its choruses, the same strains, heard in that brilliant domestic sanctuary, amid the excitements of those solemn rites, stirred all the holiest feelings of my soul, and fired me with religious rapture. Oh, that my Adah could have been at my side on that happy occasion!

While the Hallel was being sung, the fourth and last cup of diluted wine, called the "cup of the Hallel," was drunk; and after the cessation of the music, a prayer and thanksgiving, as sublime in sentiment as it was simple in language, uttered in an impressive voice by the Rabban, closed the services of that memorable evening.

It will, no doubt, have struck my thoughtful sister in reading the preceding description, that the mode of celebrating the passover in our time differs considerably from the original observance of the rite. The variations, however, are such as do not affect the significance of the institute, and were naturally suggested by the altered circumstances of our nation. Thus, for instance, instead of eating the supper in a reclining posture, it was primitively partaken of in haste, each guest having his loins girded, his sandals on his feet, and his staff in his hand, as in preparation for a journey to be immediately undertaken. But after the settlement of the tribes, these signs of unrest no longer corresponded with their outward condition, which became henceforth one of security, freedom, and repose, of which the recumbency of the paschal guests is a beautiful symbol.

I have thus, my dear Adah, attempted to give you some dim

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conception of the aspect of things in Jerusalem on the fourteenth of Nisan. But the account will be imperfect unless I add a scanty sketch of the more prominent observances of the subsequent days of the festival. The day immediately succeeding that consecrated to us by so many awful yet glorious memories, was, as I need scarcely remind you, kept as a holy sabbath. This exemption from toil, however, did not extend to the temple, for on that day the duties of the priests and Levites were unusually heavy. I have already alluded to the "peace-offerings" which had just been slain in hecatombs and eaten at ten thousand paschal boards. These oblations were followed on the morrow by other sacrifices. These consisted of a burnt-offering and a double peace-offering, one of the latter being presented in honour of the solemnity, and the other as an expression of the joy of the time. When you reflect that almost every Jew comes up to Jerusalem under the influence of the divine injunction, "None of you shall appear before me empty,"* and that not fewer than a million persons were present on that occasion, you may conceive the thronged state of the temple courts, the enormous number of sacrifices offered, the multitude of white-robed priests required, and the immense labour connected with the altar service. The "peace-offerings for the solemnity" are called the Hagigah, and generally consist of either an immolated bullock or a sheep;† while the "peace-offerings of rejoicing" are a grateful recognition of the fact that the Lord, in commanding the entire male population of the land to repair to the three great commemorative and eucharistical festivals, desired that they should be rendered occasions of fraternal intercourse, of festal gratification, and of universal joy. And such indeed, except among a few of the more morose and unsocial Pharisees, they evidently have become.

There is one other characteristic custom to which I must allude in conclusion. Returning homewards on the evening of the fifteenth day, just as the shades of night were beginning to settle upon the city, I suddenly was made aware of the approach of an immense concourse of people. Apprehensive that I might be unable to stem the living torrent, which was evidently making for one of the city gates, I stepped aside and took refuge in a recess in the street, from whence I could watch the proceedings, and guess, perchance, the object of the advancing

* Exodus, xxiii. 15.

† 2 Chronicles, xxx. 24; xxxv. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

multitude. I had not long to wait before I descried in the dim twilight three figures in the front of the dense mass, curiously habited, each bearing in his hand a basket and a sickle. From the popular interest displayed, I felt assured that great importance was attached to the singular errand on which these emissaries were beset. Hanging on the outskirts of the crowd, I was led outside the city gates, and down to a spot known as the Valley of Ashes, close to the brook Kedron. Here, it appears, there is a plot of ground eminently favourable to the early maturing of vegetation, and where accordingly, from year to year, a small planting of corn takes place, for the purpose of furnishing the first-fruits which are required to be waved before the Lord during the passover week. It is not until after this presentation that harvest operations are allowed to commence. The scene which I was witnessing, therefore, was invested with the solemnity of a religious act, and partook of a national character. The three reapers who descended the valley to gather the first sheaf of another year's ripening bounty were representatives of all their brethren dwelling from Dan to Beersheba. Having put in their sickle, and filled their baskets with the precious grain, they returned, still followed by a large company, to the temple, where it was parched by being passed through fire. On the following day, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, and accompanied with august ceremonies and great rejoicings, the consecrated sheaf of the first-fruits was waved before the altar. A part of this beautiful service, moreover, consisted in the presentation of a portion of the flour of the parched corn, mingled with oil and frankincense. These significant rites performed, any of the worshippers were at full liberty to return to their homes—a privilege of which many availed themselves, although the city continued to swarm with strangers and resound with gladness until my departure.

It is fortunate for you, dear Adah, that I have finished everything of importance in connexion with the passover, since my term of leisure has expired, and I can hear the voice of my kinsman amid the dense foliage of the vineyard, shouting to know my whereabouts. Now that his business in this neighbourhood is transacted, he will be impatient to quit immediately. So farewell for a season. My next epistle will probably be addressed to you from the Holy City, whither I expect to repair *in a few days*.

Yours, &c., HEBER.

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Jerusalem, 16th of Sivan.

Well, my beloved sister, here I am once more within the enclosures of the Holy City, at the termination of another of our incomparable feasts—the Pentecost. This eucharistic festival takes place, as you are aware, exactly fifty days after the presentation of the sheaf of the first-fruits, described at the close of my last letter; and is designed to afford to the whole congregated nation an opportunity for celebrating the goodness and beneficence of God in the bountiful fruits of the field which they have just reaped and garnered. Truly, this is a beautiful institute of indulgent Heaven! Would that I could set the brilliant, the variegated, the picturesque reality before you, my sister! To do this worthily, I must possess the spiritual insight of a David, the graphic power of a Moses, and the rich-hued pencil of an inspired Isaiah. But, lacking the soul of poetic fire, and the vivid touches of bardic genius, I must do my best, before immersing myself in the studies which chiefly brought me hither, to pourtray some of the more salient features of this grand festive gathering. Indeed, I fain would accomplish this delightful task while my recollections of this most stirring era of my life are fresh upon me, and the fountain of feeling remains unsealed. For, like a series of dissolving views, the spectacles of the last few days seem to be still passing before my enchanted gaze—every scene a change of beauty, every deed an act of homage to the Great King, and every sound a new modulation in one sublime, long hymn of praise. I see them still—the charming summer excursion of the festal companies through the luxuriant land on their way to Zion—the mid-day halt in some romantic sheltering grove or dell—the evening bivouack in the streets of one of the “stationary” cities—the arrival at the metropolis of the tribes, and the warm welcomings that there greet each pilgrim band—the pomps of the temple worship—the pageantries of the priesthood—the imposing myriads of the gathered flock of Israel—the marvellous collection in every part of the sanctuary of the fruits and flowers consecrated to the Almighty Proprietor of the land, in grateful recognition at once of his lordship and of his loving-kindness—the happy groups everywhere conversing apart, in the streets, in open areas, and in the temple courts—the brisk commerce carried on during the middle days of the festival in the ordinary haunts of business, and in the shady valley outside the city walls—these,

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and a hundred minor aspects of this august occasion, I remain still vividly before me, and under their influence I now proceed to throw off a few rapid sketches.

After quitting the vale of Eden, we bent our steps towards Capernaum, visiting on our way homewards the famous maritime cities of Upper Galilee. The country through which we passed was then in all the bloom and glory of summer; and the harvest operations, which are later by some in the north than in the south of Palestine, were rapidly progressing. On arriving at Capernaum, I found that preparations were being made for an almost immediate journey to Jerusalem in order to be present at the coming feast. Nor were our folk singular in this respect; for the entire population of the city seemed to be similarly occupied. Maiden taste and matron thoughtfulness, the experience and counsel of age, and the delicate handiwork of childhood, were alike called into requisition on the occasion. Provisions, adequate to the period of abstinence, were purchased and carefully stowed away; freewill offerings of the most varied description and of the choicest character were temptingly arranged; garlands and bouquets of flowers, the least likely to fade, were fashioned by graceful and skilful hands, for the purpose of adorning not only the pilgrims, but also the beasts of burden, and the animals destined for sacrifice, which were to accompany us; while many a sharp-witted tradesman, taking advantage of these great periodical gatherings of the nation to do in a short space of time a large and lucrative amount of business, had collected large quantities of merchandise for disposal at this great annual market.

Owing to the distance we had to travel, it was necessary to start five or six days before the commencement of the festival, it being calculated that we should be not less than four days on the road. The journey is almost invariably accomplished on easy and pleasant stages, since it is deemed incompatible with the sacredness and solemnity of the occasion to degrade the march into a toilsome undertaking. The pilgrim band, accustomed to travel slowly and musingly, and only in the cooler hours of morning and evening, spending the heat of the day in some well-chosen encampment, overcanopied by palm-trees and refreshed by fountains or streams. Another reason, too, for gentle travelling consists in the encumbered condition of the *companies* proceeding to the "city of solemnities." Many

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our countrymen, although not commanded by the law, permit their wives, their unmarried sisters, and often their children, to accompany them to these national conventions. Besides these fair attendants, moreover, whose delicate strength has to be consulted at every stage, some of the bands are preceded by a little flock of sheep and oxen, whilst others are impeded by a caravan of asses and camels, heavily laden with the first-fruits of numerous families, as well as the multifarious merchandise to which I have already alluded.

The morning of the first of Sivan (June) was fixed for our departure. Everything being in readiness the night previous, we rose at early dawn, assembled at an appointed rendezvous, organised our band which consisted of between twenty and thirty persons, elected a captain, and were emerging from the southern gate of Capernaum just as the sun's disk began to appear above the horizon. On reaching the outskirts, we discovered that some parties had got the precedence of us, and might be seen winding along the hilly crests of the western shore of the lake; while other bands were still mustering their members as we passed along the streets. The inhabitants of the city were all astir, for there were perhaps none who were not either going themselves, or who had not some relative or representative bound for Zion. Hence there were hundreds of persons—chiefly aged men and women, with mothers and children—collected at every convenient spot, to enjoy the sight of the festal processions as they defiled past them, and whose pious benedictions followed us as far as their voices were audible. It was indeed a picturesque and joyous spectacle, calculated to make any heart swell with emotion. We moved forwards in the most orderly and ceremonious manner. In the front of the company, under the care of an attendant, was the ox destined for sacrifice, wearing a garland of olive branches and flowers upon his head, and having his horns gilded. Then came a musician, who enlivened the spirits of the party and led their sacred songs by the mellifluous tones of a flute; and never before could I enter so feelingly into the spirit and meaning of that divine ode commencing, "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go up into the house of the Lord," &c., as when I heard it sung, with true Jewish enthusiasm, as we issued from the gates of Capernaum and wended our way across the Galilee hills. The body of the pilgrims came next, consisting of

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sexes, and of all ages, from the man of hoar hairs to the mere stripling and the young damsel of twelve summers. Behind, and bringing up the rear of the cortége, followed the camels and asses, richly laden with the first-fruits of this year's produce, consisting of wheat, barley, grapes, figs, apricots, peaches, dates, pomegranates, olives, and numerous other articles; besides a large supply of similar luxuries for consumption during their absence from home, and for presents to their citizen friends.

Such was the procession of which I formed a part on that cloudless summer's morning; and as we proceeded on our way, numerous companies, bound for the same destination, could be discerned by us dotting the hill-slopes and the verdant valleys of the country. The aspect of the land at this season was replete with charms. The terraced hill-sides were clothed with vineyards, beneath the luxuriant foliage of which peeped the empurpling clusters. The wide-spreading fields from which the harvest had just been reaped, threw out by contrast the gorgeous decorations of the emerald pastures, where flowers of all hues vied with each other in brilliancy and beauty. Through scenes like these we bent our steps until about an hour before noon, when we came to a halt at the western foot of Tabor. Here, in a secluded glen—at once quiet, cool, and refreshing—we encamped beneath the outstretched arms of a noble sycamore. A pellucid streamlet, gushing fresh from the mountain side, went murmuring by, on the verdant bank of which we were soon reclining in delicious repose, and partaking of our mid-day meal. The repast ended, the next five or six hours, during which travelling with any degree of comfort would have been impossible, were divided between slumber, pleasant conversation, and songs of praise. We then, as the sun declined in the sky, and the cooler airs of evening began to play around us, resumed our journey, which we continued until we reached Shunem, at the base of little Hermon, where we spent the first night of our delightful pilgrimage.

On reaching this border city of Issachar, we found the approaches and the streets already well-nigh choked with other festal groups who had arrived before us. Being situated on the edge of the great plain of Jezreel, Shunem was early chosen as one of the "stationary" cities, in which the pilgrims to Zion are accustomed to assemble at night during their journeys to and from Jerusalem. Although it has long fallen into decay, it

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still retains its ancient privilege. Singular indeed was the scene which it presented on the night of my visit. The sun had long disappeared beyond the western hills, and the country outside the walls was becoming shrouded in the evening twilight, while a solemn hush had fallen upon hill, and plain, and valley; but within and around the gates might be heard the hum of a multitude. This concourse was broken up into groups, most of the members of which were speedily reclining upon mats spread upon the ground, surrounded by baskets of fruits, by sheaves and packages; while, in a spirit of glad fellowship, they were for some time engaged in recounting to each other the enjoyments and incidents of the day. For you must understand that these pilgrim bands seldom impose upon the hospitality of the citizens where they thus rendezvous, but are accustomed to encamp in the open streets. One main reason for this practice is, to avoid the ceremonial defilement that might be contracted by entering the abodes of the inhabitants, whereby they would be legally disqualified for participating in the sacred rites of the approaching festival. For some time I moved about musingly among these happy companies, inhaling the fragrance that breathed around, and listening to the merry laughter of the young, the sedate converse of the aged, and the sweet harmonies that ascended from the lips of the more devout and spiritual; nor was it until almost every sound was hushed, every light extinguished, and every eye was closed in peaceful slumber, that I sought my primitive couch.

As soon as the earliest blushes of morning suffused the eastern sky, the presidents of the pilgrim bands were awake, and roused their fellow-travellers by the thrilling proclamation: "Arise! and let us go up to Zion, to the Lord our God." This welcome summons fell gratefully upon our ears, and in a short time we were prepared to resume our journey Zionwards. Band after band, in an immense procession, issued from the southern gate, again singing in concert those sacred strains which the gifted Asaph had composed and bequeathed. The journeyings of the next three days, though varied by change of scenery and freshness of interest, partook of the same general character as the one I have already described. *I shall therefore pass over this portion, and hasten to relate a few particulars concerning our approach to the Holy City.*

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It was near the twelfth hour of the day when we climbed the last acclivities which hid Jerusalem from our anxious eyes. Numerous companies were in advance of us, and many more were wending their way, in picturesque order, in our rear, as far as our gaze could reach. At length, on gaining the summit of an eminence on Olivet, the sacred capital burst upon us, engirdled with its mighty bulwarks, crowned by its gorgeous sanctuary, and blazing with the glory of an evening sun. And now it was that the patriotic ardour and religious enthusiasm of the Jewish character flashed forth. Every eye was entranced, and every heart was kindled by the sight. The greater part of our band, as well as of those which continued momentarily to arrive, paused, fell upon their knees in adoring gratitude and admiration, or threw up their hands towards heaven, while they spontaneously commenced singing that ancient and stirring ode of our nation :—" Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the Great King. God is known in her palaces for a refuge ;" and so on, until they came to the climax of the sublime pean, " for THIS GOD is OUR GOD for ever and ever ; he will be our guide even unto death "—and here the voices of the multitude assumed an emphasis of strength and triumphant fulness that absolutely startled me, and awoke the echoes of the amphitheatre of hills that encircle the city of the tribes.

The splendour of the spectacle, the witchery of the music, the rush of holy associations, the sympathetic excitements of the hour, and the near prospect of repose after all their fatigues, rallied the sinking energies of the pilgrims for the last stage of the journey. The valley at our feet, abounding with gardens and groves, and dotted over with innumerable tents and moving figures, allured us on ; and the ample gates of the city opened their arms to embrace us. Before commencing our descent, however, a messenger was despatched by each company to announce the new arrivals and to arrange for our reception. While he was on his way, preparations were made for entering the city and meeting our friends in a befitting manner. The wheat-sheaves were wreathed with lilies and the first-fruits crowned with garlands ; the baskets, some of which were of *silver filagree*, were decked out with much taste, and all their *freshest fruits and flowers* were exposed to view. Each party in the phalanx now unfurled its banner, on which was inscribed

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the name of the town or stationary city to which it belonged. Thus equipped, and headed by the president, we swept onwards, at a joyous pace, towards the goal of our desires. On nearing the gate, a group of the priesthood, in their pure white vestments, advanced to meet us. Behind them came a body of citizens, clad in holiday attire, many of whom were expecting some of their kindred from the country, and had thus come forth to give them an early greeting. In the open area within the gate was a company of Jewish maidens, robed in white, their dark tresses flashing with jewellery, and their ivory brows encircled with chaplets of flowers. Like the companions of Miriam and Deborah in an earlier age, these damsels held in their hands a timbrel or a harp, with which they were prepared to accompany the exulting strains of the pilgrims as the procession entered within the walls. The words selected to celebrate this happy consummation of their journey, with the palaces of Zion around them, and the majestic temple shining full in view, consisted of that inspiring ode, which has been used by generation after generation of God's people without ever losing any portion of its freshness and interest:—

“I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord.

Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!

Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together.

Thither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel, and to give thanks unto the name of the Lord.

For there are set thrones of judgment—the thrones of the house of David.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee.

Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces.

For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee! Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.”

As we passed along the streets of the Holy City, singing this sublime song, the tradesmen came forth from their shops and bazaars to offer us a fraternal greeting, exclaiming in all the warmth of their hearts, “Oh, our brethren of Capernaum, &c., you are welcome to the city of our solemnities.” Myriads of other inhabitants, too, of all ranks, stood at the doors, or in the balconies of their houses, and showered upon us their salutations, as we moved along towards the dwellings of our kindred, or to our temporary lodgings. As regards myself, you will be interested to know that my warm-hearted cousin refused to allow me to quit the company with which I had travelled so pleasantly from Galilee, so long as they continued in Jerusalem. I was only too happy to accede to this arrangement.

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by which I secured the most agreeable companionships during the "feast of weeks."

The morrow after our arrival was partly devoted to repose, and partly to preparation for the first day of the festival, which, together with the last, is always kept as a holy day, during which all labour is suspended, and the mighty congregation consecrates its precious hours to the solemnities of the temple service. At length the sixth of Sivan dawned, yet not before the majority of the citizens were astir. Long ere the grey vapours of night had withdrawn from the crests of Olivet, the sonorous tones of a trumpet were heard proclaiming to the silent city the commencement of the festival. This signal was followed by the opening of the gate of Nicanor; simultaneously with which a deputation of priests might be seen moving on the city walls, from whence, at different points, they announced that the sacred ceremonies of the day were about to begin. A group of the same distinguished order, attired in their festal robes, visited also the four corners of the temple, to perform the same important office by the triumphant clangour of the silver trumpets consecrated to these special occasions.

Through the glorious vista exposed to view by the unfolding of the brazen gates of the sanctuary, could be dimly seen the Templar Levites, hurrying to and fro in the broad shadows of the porticoes. The morning watch were still pacing their measured rounds, while the water porters were bearing large vessels of that essential element to cleanse the altar and its purlieus. And above the gate of Shushan, in the eastern façade of the temple, the sacred fire of the brazen altar might be seen to flash forth more vividly, and to send up a denser column of smoke into the sapphire sky, as the attendants fed its flame with fresh combustibles.

As day got up, the signs of the approaching festival multiplied on every side. On going forth into the streets shortly after sunrise, streams of people, decked with nosegays and attired in holiday garb, were already in motion. Some of them were hastening towards the gates, to meet and welcome such of their friends from the country as had been unable to reach Jerusalem on the previous evening. Others were hurrying to *the places they had secured for viewing the spectacles, the processions, and the pageantries of the occasion.* Not a few were *engaged in decking out their windows and doors with branches*

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of trees, and garlands and festoons of flowers; while from their balconies and house-tops banners of white linen floated, surmounted also by boughs and wreaths of roses and lilies. These decorations were intended to denote the verdure that flourished around Mount Sinai at the promulgation of the law, of which event the Pentecost is regarded as a memorial. You cannot conceive, my dear sister, the picturesque effect produced throughout the entire city by this floral garniture, many of the streets presenting the appearance of continuous arbours, pleached and engrafted with nosegays. Besides these occupations, many of the moving multitude were getting ready their own offerings, and preparing for the part they were themselves to take in the solemnity. In whatever direction I bent my steps, I met with glad, bright faces, and even strangers as I passed them wished me joy of the happy day.

It was yet early in the morning when the processions began to form, and proceed to the temple for worship and sacrifice. Most of the people walked to the house of the Lord in companies, headed by a leader, and attended by musicians. Some of these bands assembled in the spacious courts belonging to the mansions of the inhabitants; others formed in the open areas of the city; but probably an equal number organized themselves in the valley of Jehoshaphat. When the appointed hour arrived, the tramp of this vast sandalled host commenced; music struck up as by enchantment from all quarters; and the living pageant swept on in pomp and glory to the shrine of Deity. The musicians and people of each company continued playing and singing until they reached the temple mount, when every man, from the noble to the peasant, took his basket upon his shoulder, and went forward till he came to the court of Israel. The following are the words in which they poured forth their joyous and exulting feelings:—

"Hallelujah! Praise God in his sanctuary: praise him in the firmament of his power.

Praise him for his mighty acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness.

Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psalter and harp.

Praise him with the timbrel and dances: praise him with organs, psalteries, and organs.

Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him with the cymbals.

Let everything that hath breath praise him.

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description. Scattered on the declivities of Olivet, under the sycamores that fringe the banks of Kedron, or under the shadow of some projecting crag, might be seen groups and circles of the happy pilgrims to Zion, richly robed, and often crowned with chaplets of flowers. Some were talking, some singing, some feasting, and not a few were bargaining. A few parties, better able to afford the indulgence, had supplied themselves with elegant tents, which, from their pure white colour and the little streamers flying from the top, contrasted pleasantly with the emerald tints of the valley's bosom. Here and there might be seen companies of banquetters, both rich and poor; for it is the beneficent custom of our people on these religious festivals to have great entertainments outside the walls, at which the residue of the peace and free-will offerings are consumed, and to which strangers, orphans, widows, and the poor, are freely invited.* How, my dear Adah, can we sufficiently admire and extol the humanity and benignity of that law which thus procures for the outcasts of society a few days of plenty, kindly recognition, and happy fellowship.

But, besides these features of the spectacle, I must not omit to refer to the numerous booths and stalls, some of them spacious, that rose in every direction, in which the most multifarious merchandise was collected, and around which crowds were continually gathered. Here might be procured articles of every description, both utilitarian and luxurious; from the pottery and hand-mills for domestic use, wine-presses and ploughs for the vineyard and the field, to the rarest cosmetics of the lady's toilet. Here was the honey of Hebrón, the fine linen of Bethshan, rose-cakes from Damascus, glass from Sidon, balsam from Jericho, myrrh from Arabia, and other luxuries which time would fail me to enumerate. With such elements of gratification at their command, can you wonder that this annual harvest home should be anticipated with ardour and celebrated with enthusiastic delight? Here, for the present, my excellent sister, I must conclude. Promising you, however, an early renewal of these communications, I remain your affectionate brother,

HEBER.

* Luke xiv. 12-14; Matt. xxii. 9, 10.

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For several succeeding months, during which time Heber was diligently engaged in the studies which had attracted him from his Egyptian home, letter after letter continued to keep up a loving communion between brother and sister. But as the matters touched upon in these communications are foreign to the subjects which we are attempting to illustrate, we shall pass over them in silence. At length, however, towards the close of autumn, an epistle was despatched from Jerusalem filled with the most startling intelligence. During the census of the resident population of Palestine, which was being carried out with great rigour by the austere Cyrenius, a decayed branch of the royal house of David had come from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the ancestral city, to be enrolled. Owing to the influx of strangers brought together from all parts of the land on the same errand, all the places of public resort were thronged, so much so indeed that many of the poorer visitors were compelled to put up with the most wretched accommodation. Such was the condition of the humble pair from Nazareth. They had no choice but to share with the cattle the shelter of the stabling of the caravansera. While tarrying here, under these distressing circumstances, a mysterious birth took place, accompanied by divine omens. Angels appeared to some shepherds who were watching their flocks by night on the plains of Bethlehem, and announced the event as the advent of the long-expected Messiah. A strange star shone nightly over the spot, which attracted attention far and near from its singular brightness and beauty. The rumour of the wonderful stranger spread like lightning, and visitors flocked to the scene of the nativity, each one on his or her return contributing to augment the excitement. On his presentation in the temple, according to the law, the venerable Simeon, recognising in the extraordinary babe the Redeemer of Israel, took him in his arms and blessed him. This fact, when known, added immeasurably to the public sensation. The common people were everywhere hailing him as the promised Deliverer of their nation, sent to cheer their hearts and revive their hopes just as their independence was threatened with extinction. The priesthood became alarmed; the Pharisees sneered; the Sadducees scoffed; Herod, though almost at the point of death, was at first seized with a panic on the advent of this unexpected rival of his dynasty; but stung by jealousy and rage, he ordered the massacre of all the infants in Bethlehem, determined at all hazards to exterminate the royal babe of David's illustrious lineage. Whether the infant Jesus perished with the other innocents was unknown by Heber when he wrote these wondrous tidings. Such was generally believed to have been the case. We, however, know how, warned of God in a dream, his parents took him secretly by night and fled into Egypt, where they abode till the storm was overpast.

But it is not our intention to dwell on this theme. We have referred to it incidentally as illustrative of the chronology of the period under review. At the close of the letter relating the preceding facts, there is a sort of postscript, describing some of the characteristic features of the Feast of Tabernacles; and with this we conclude these sketches of the GREAT FESTIVALS OF JERUSALEM.

The all-engrossing topic of the time has tempted me to extend my remarks so far, as to leave but the scantiest space to refer to the last of the three great festivals of our people, which commenced on the 15th day of Tizri (corresponding with the end of September), and continued for eight days. The first and last days of the feast are observed with the strictest sanctity and solemnity; but the *intermediate* ones are devoted to every kind of *innocent gaiety and merriment*; indeed it is by far the *most jocund occasion* enjoyed by the nation, which, as at the

quitting the temple, the worshippers pass in slow and solemn procession round the altar of burnt offering, and, in doing so, each one places a willow branch against it, accompanying the act with the petition, loudly uttered, "Save now, I beseech thee, O God! O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity!" And then, as they turn away and quit the court, they heartily pronounce what is called the benediction of the altar: "Beauty be to thee, O altar! Beauty be to thee, O altar!"

The joyousness of the morning service, however, is far transcended by that of the evening rites, which, from their wildness and extravagance, seem scarcely to comport with the sacredness of the spot on which they are celebrated. Indeed, it is a proverb among our brethren here, that "he who never saw the rejoicing of the drawing of water, never saw rejoicing in all his life." As soon as the shades of night have fallen, multitudes flock into the court of the women, where preparations have been made for a general and unrestrained rejoicing. Four huge golden candelabras, with four golden basins filled with oil attached to each, have been lighted, which diffuse a brilliant illumination. The balconies around the court are filled with females; while upon the marble pavement below are assembled thousands of distinguished Jews, including members of the Sanhedrin, rulers of synagogues, rabbis of the schools, together with nobles and grandees from all parts of the land. The fifteen steps, leading from the court of Israel into that of the women, are occupied by the Levitical orchestra. At a musical signal, the whole body of great and learned and reverent men, holding lighted flambeaux in their hands, fall to dancing, leaping, and capering with all their might, indulging too in the most extraordinary gesticulations, and singing hymns and lauds all the while, to the great amusement and delight of the common people, who stand by looking on. In these exploits—these curious outgoings of a nation's joy—the greater part of the night is spent; the chief actors in this religious comedy conceiving that the more they abase themselves—like David before the ark—in these exhibitions, the more they deserve the commendation and applause of the spectators.

With this partial sketch of this most exciting festival I must conclude my letter, merely adding that the succeeding day's ceremonies were, to a great extent, a repetition of those thus hastily described.

Yours, &c.,

HEBER.

LIFE OF PAUL, THE APOSTLE



Saul keeping the clothes of the witnesses at the stoning of Stephen.

HISTORICAL and religious interests have all, more or less, a personal aspect. The biographies of great men constitute at once the illustration and charm of human progress. God acts by instrumentality. By men he establishes the august mystery of his providence; and, though he is "his own interpreter," in

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the great work of interpretation he again employs the services of men. We can never entirely dissociate even abstract systems from the names of those influential individuals by whom they were founded, and to whose intelligent and persistent devotion, under God, their establishment must be attributed. This is true, not only of the more uniform and natural phenomena of history, but of the unusual and supernatural also. We cannot dream of old Roman glory, for instance, without seeing the shades of the Cæsars moving grandly in the forefront of the picture. Mahomet will be remembered until Mahometanism shall be forgotten. The faith of ancient Judea is eternally associated with the name, because it was historically associated with the mission, of Moses. And Christianity is only a system of significance and power as it embodies the grace and magnifies the glory of Him "whose name is above every name."

There have been very few, however, who have risen through the struggles and labours of life to honours and renown thus exalted and universal. The fame of the great mass of even the most famous is secondary and subordinate, not primary and supreme. If only those were remembered by mankind who have founded nations and enduring systems, but few would survive the common oblivion of death; the muster-roll of saints and of heroes would be cut down to a brevity almost dishonourable to the race, and oppressively discouraging to the ambitious amongst men. It is given, therefore, to those who faithfully serve, as well as to those who victoriously command, to secure for themselves the rewards of fame; and those who fill well a position inferior to many, may, by the radiance and consistency of their virtues, supersede in glory those who occupy with indifference the highest stations. The man who, by his physical or moral prowess, wins for himself a throne, at the same time wins a corresponding celebrity; the patriotic minister of an imbecile monarch will hand down to posterity a noble reputation, whilst the object of his service shall descend into an ever-gathering obscurity and contempt.

The gospel will never be known as the production of Paul, though the world is infinitely indebted to Paul for its exposition and confirmation. It is called by the name, as it was eliminated *from the love, the labours, and the endurance of Christ.* In the *holy emulations of discipleship*, it will never be legitimate to say, "I am of Paul," or "I am of Peter;" the confession and

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the consecration must be to Christ alone. And yet Paul or Peter or John has each his individual character, worthy of the distinctest recognition—has each lived a life, and performed a service, the motives, bearings, and issues of which demand the most reverential investigation and the most grateful acknowledgment. In pursuing this investigation in the case of the “Apostle of the Gentiles,” let it not be imagined, then, that we exalt the servant at the expense of the master. To understand Christianity, it is needful that we understand Paul, its great and its authorized expositor. It was the peculiarity of Paul’s life that he glorified Christ in all he did. “God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Christ Jesus, my Lord,” was the protest of his lips, confirmed by a long career of sacred and unwavering devotion. The great purpose of a man’s life is as abiding as his fame; it can never be thwarted. By all that Paul did in his own day, he magnified the Saviour of sinners; by all that shall be honestly done with Paul’s life and writings in any age, the Saviour of sinners must still be magnified.

In presenting to our readers a brief biographical sketch of this illustrious servant of God, therefore, we need not employ a single word in vindication either of the legitimacy or the importance of the subject. Neither need we spend a single moment in specifying any of the elements of its attraction and sacred interest. The intimate connection of Paul’s labours with the early extension of the gospel in the earth, has already entitled him to the grateful reverence of mankind; and, as everything which may throw light on the character of the *man* will reflect itself in the writings and the labours of the *apostle*, we shall feel more than a personal encouragement to proceed with care and even with enthusiasm through our task. The church is indebted to Paul for its clearest interpretations of the nature of its faith; to him the world is indebted very mainly for the practical blessings of Christianity. This double obligation will induce us to follow his earthly course with solemn solicitude, and we hope will secure for us the deep sympathy of a wide circle of readers.

The materials for a consecutive and complete biography of Paul are limited in form, but are unusually full in suggestiveness and import. *His first years are but very partially alluded to in sacred writ.* The Book of the Acts of the Apostles will afford us a summary sketch of his early, and a tolerably

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adequate report of his middle and most active life. There is much information, also, respecting his missionary tours and toils incidentally communicated in the Epistles. A gloomy obscurity rests over his last years, and all the knowledge we can command of his experiences at this period must be gleaned from sundry hints contained in his own letters, and from a few words of his disciple Clement, which, fortunately, the world has not lost. It will be found, however, that a judicious use of materials which may appear thus scanty, with an occasional appeal to contemporaneous literature, may be made to furnish an account more consecutive, elaborate, and authentic, than could be dedicated to the memory of almost any other man of so peculiar a sphere and of so early an age.

The nature of our subject, we think it well here to premise, will demand that more than a bare chronology of events shall be sought in our enquiries. In order to understand Paul, either in his natural individual character, or in his labours and triumphs as a servant of God, it will be necessary to comprehend, at least in some sort, the diverse religious and social influences under which his mind was trained to its stupendous grasp and its inflexible purposes. However supernaturally aided, his temper and his doings may be submitted to those calculations by which we ordinarily test and explain the idiosyncrasies and distinctive features of men. We shall have, therefore, as far as is possible with our materials and our space, to ascertain the position of his family; the customs, manners, and general intellectual and moral resources of the city in which he was born; the education he would be likely to receive, first in the schools of that city, and afterwards under the more distinguished tuition of Gamaliel at Jerusalem; the progress of his faith, through the sublime process of his conversion, from an intolerant, devout, and intelligent ritualism, to a broad, severe, and liberal apprehension of spiritual christianity; the contact of his renewed judgment with the superstitions with which he had of old been familiar on the one hand, and with the systems of philosophy and of idolatrous worship with which in his wide wanderings as an "ambassador for Christ" he would become for the first time acquainted, on the other; the sufferings, mortifications, and conflicts which so richly stored his heart with the invaluable fruits of experience; the condition, intellectual, social, and religious, of the populations among which he moved, and to the

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diverse peculiarities of which it was his constant aim to adapt himself, as the expounder of the new faith:—all these things will come within the scope of our investigations, and will lend the charms of vastness and variety to our occupation.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SAUL.

From the investigations we have made, we are disposed to accept the common and natural supposition that Saul was born at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia. We are not unmindful, however, of the tradition, reported by Jerome, that his native place was the small town of Gischala, in Galilee. This tradition is incredible on several grounds. That Saul's parents once resided there may be probable; but that, at a very early age, Saul was living in Tarsus is certain; and the supporters of the tradition that he was not born in that city attempt to account for his early removal from Gischala by the gross anachronism, that the taking of the town by the Romans rendered such a step necessary. It need scarcely be said that this event happened at a late period in the history of the Jewish war. Paul himself says, "I am a man *which am* a Jew of 'Tarsus;'"* and, "I am verily a man *which am* a Jew, born in Tarsus, &c."† Jerome seems to have adopted the tradition above mentioned for the purpose of adding to the literal significancy of the Apostle's declarations, ‡ "I am an Hebrew of the Hebrews;" and, "Are they Hebrews? so am I." This, however, is plainly the result of interpreting the words in too restricted a sense; for though Paul was (as we shall shortly see) by birth a Hellenist, it does not follow that he could not, therefore, speak of himself as a Hebrew. We are, consequently, compelled to acquiesce in the decision of Neander that "Jerome must have taken up this false account (*talem fabulam accepimus*, are his own words) without proof, in a very thoughtless manner."§

With a civic pride, which is more than pardonable, Paul speaks of himself as "a citizen of no mean city."|| The boast was not an empty one. Tarsus was situated near the western border of the Cilician plain, where the river Cydnus flows in a rapid stream from the snows of Taurus to the sea. As we have said, it was the capital of the whole province. Its

* Acts xxi. 39. † Acts xxii. 3. ‡ Phil. iii. 5, and 2 Cor. xi. 22.

§ History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, &c. Biblical Cabinet, vol. xxxv. p. 91. || Acts xxi. 39.

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ancient coins (many of which have been preserved, and may still be seen at the British Museum) bespeak its greatness through a long course of ages; in the period which intervened between Xerxes and Alexander, under the Roman sway, and long after Hadrian had rebuilt it. The surrounding soil was of the most luxuriant fertility, and the natural beauty of the district, bounded by the mighty Taurus, was an appropriate ornament to the commercial and scholastic distinctions of the city. The port was formed by a large basin, which is now entirely dried up; "a bar is stretched across its mouth, and no bark enters its forsaken channels."* Its better population (at that time very considerable) was composed mainly of Grecians, by whom the Greek language was spoken, and Greek literature was studiously cultivated. It must not be supposed, however, that the general inhabitants of the province were either of Grecian origin, or spoke the Greek tongue, for, when Cyrus came with an army from the western coast, and, still later, when Alexander penetrated into Cilicia, they found the inhabitants barbarians. The accomplished authors of "The Life and Letters of St. Paul" thus illustrate the peculiar character of the place:—"Like Brest in Brittany, or Toulon in Provence, it was a city where the language of refinement was spoken and written, in the midst of a ruder population having no literature of their own.†

The river Cydnus, which then flowed through the middle of the city, but which now holds its course half a mile east of the town through a region of gardens, has been made historically and classically illustrious. Alexander the Great nearly died from bathing in its waters. Upon its surface, also, took place the famous meeting between Mark Antony and Cleopatra. Our great dramatist has thus described the scene:—

Enobarbus. When she first met Marc Antony,
She purs'd up his heart, upon the river of Cydnus.

Agrippa. There she appeared indeed! or my reporter devised well for her.

Eno. I will tell you:—

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfum'd that
The winds were lovesick with them; the oars were silver;
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made

* W. H. Bartlett's "Footsteps of our Lord," &c., p. 84

† "Life and Letters of St. Paul," by Conybeare and Howson.

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The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggars all description.

. From the barge

A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her; and Antony,
Enthroned in the market-place, did sit alone,
Whistling to the air; which, but for vacancy,
Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,
And made a gap in nature.

Ag. Rare Egyptian!

Eno. Upon her landing, Antony sent to her
Invited her to supper: she replied,
It should be better he became her guest;
Which she entreated. Our courteous Antony
(Whom ne'er the word of "No" woman heard speak),
Being barbered ten times o'er, goes to the feast;
And for his ordinary pays his heart
For what his eyes eat only.*

Thus that clear cold stream, on the banks of which the infant Saul undoubtedly often played, has been invested with varied additional interests. A military hero gamboled dangerously in its waters. It was the theatre on which unrivalled beauty displayed its charms, to the pitiable intoxication and pardonable shame of a great and noble Roman. And it has received the passing homage of one of the greatest poetic geniuses that our country, we might say the world, can boast.

But the celebrity of Tarsus is not derived alone, or chiefly, from the classic associations of the river which flowed through its midst, and which, when the snows of Taurus were melting, rushed impetuously over the neighbouring falls. It achieved a higher fame, by the excellence and distinction of its literary and scholastic institutions. In this respect, it was worthy of comparison with Athens and Alexandria. Indeed, Strabo gives it the pre-eminence over those and all other cities. He says: "The inhabitants of Tarsus were so zealous in the pursuits of philosophy and the whole circle of Greek study, that they surpassed even the Athenians and Alexandrians, and, indeed, the citizens of every other place which can be mentioned, in which schools and lectures of philosophers and rhetoricians were established." It was most likely in consequence of this distinction that Augustus made the city free; that is, allowed it

* "Antony and Cleopatra," Act. ii. Scene 2.

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the privilege of being governed by its own laws and magistrates, and gave it freedom from tribute.

Since those days, like all great Grecian towns, though not in equal degree, Tarsus has sadly declined. Its decay has been gradual, however; and, though it is now a comparatively insignificant place, it still preserves some memorials of its ancient affluence and glory, and contains a population numbering, it is calculated, not many short of 30,000 souls. In the time of Abulfeda, that is, at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, it was surrounded with a double wall, and was occupied by Armenian Christians. It is now inhabited by Turks, who pursue their occupations with the ordinary lassitude and serenity of their race, and permit the evidences of forlornness, decay, and submissive despair to accumulate continually around them.

The modern name of the city is Tersoos. "The neighbouring plains," says Mr. Bartlett, "furnish considerable exports of corn, which, with imports destined for the interior of this part of Asia, occasion the appointment of several consuls, who here live in a state of enforced exile from their native land, and are glad to welcome an occasional traveller, as one who reminds them of the existence of the civilized world."*

THE PARENTAGE, CITIZENSHIP, AND TRADE OF SAUL.

We have no means of ascertaining with any approach to certainty what was the social position of the parents of Saul. His father was a free citizen of Rome, and the son was taught a trade; but the latter of these facts is no more an indication of their poverty than the former is of their wealth. The privilege of Roman citizenship could be purchased only for a very large sum of money; but it was not, therefore, monopolized by the opulent, for it was frequently bestowed in consideration of valuable services rendered to the state, and was hereditary. How the father of Paul became possessed of it, history affords no information; and tradition is fatally uncertain. Some have wrongly supposed that Paul secured it, not by inheritance, but because he was born in the enfranchised city of Tarsus. This explanation, however, is obviously incorrect. We read † that *when Paul was*, by the chief captain, ordered to be scourged, *he turned unto the centurion that stood by and said: "Is it*

* "Footsteps of our Lord and his Apostles," p. 84. † Acts xxii. 24-25.

lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncon-
demned?" The centurion reported to the captain this caution.
The captain said unto Paul: "Tell me, art thou a Roman? He
said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum
obtained I this freedom." Now, this reply seems to intimate
that, in the estimation of this officer, Paul was not in a station
which rendered it probable that he could have purchased his
freedom. Paul explains this matter by distinctly saying, "But
I was free born." The birthright, however, must have been
an inheritance from his father, and not the consequence of any
civic privilege; for though, as we have seen, Tarsus was enfran-
chised by Augustus, the charter was limited, and conferred
neither the *jus coloniarum* nor the *jus civitatis*. True, Tarsus
did afterwards become a Roman colony, and its inhabitants
would thereby be entitled to the distinction of citizenship; but
this did not take place till long after the time of the Apostle,
and, consequently, cannot explain the dignity which he claimed
with such advantage to himself, when the prejudices of the
rulers and people of the holy city placed his person, not to say
his life, in jeopardy. And the whole narrative is in consistency
with this view. At the very commencement of his address he
had declared that he was born in the city of Tarsus; this asser-
tion, however, secured him no protection from the malice or the
cruel pliability of the chief captain. But it was no sooner
made known that he was a *Roman*, than the unscrupulous harsh-
ness of the officer was changed for the forms of respect; plainly
indicating that his claims as a citizen of Rome did not spring
from his being a citizen of Tarsus.

In the absence of positive information on this subject, specu-
lations have been abundant, and are interesting as proofs of the
restlessness of the curiosity which prompted, and of the inge-
nuity that could invent them. Of these, the most generally
adopted, we suppose because it is the most simple, is, that the
ancestors of Saul, at some period during the civil wars with the
Jews, had rendered important services to the empire, and that,
in honour and reward thereof, the rights and privileges of citi-
zenship had been conferred upon them. Of this, however, we
have no certain knowledge. Nor do we need any. The fact is
undisputed that Saul came into the world a free-born son of
Rome; and because he inherited and did not purchase this
valuable distinction, we have no right to assume, on the ground

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of his possessing it, that he was either conventionally noble or wealthy.

But, as we have already remarked, if the freedom which Paul enjoyed did not necessarily prove his elevation in the scale of society, so neither did his knowledge and practise of a common trade indicate his poverty. The historian of his apostolic progress says of him, when he met with Aquila at Corinth: "And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought; for, by their occupation, they were tent-makers."* This casual statement is sufficiently distinct as to the fact that Saul had acquired some practical skill in this department of manual labour. In his subsequent experiences, he found it necessary sometimes to vindicate his disinterestedness, and he invariably does so by alluding to a fact which he seems to regard as well known, that he at times sustained himself by his own industry. Hence, in his charge to the elders of Ephesus, he says: "I have coveted no man's silver or gold, or apparel. Yea, ye yourselves know, that *these hands have ministered unto my necessities*, and to them which were with me."† Still more emphatic is his declaration to the Corinthians: "Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place: *and labour, working with our own hands*," &c.‡ The poverty and ignominy here confessed, are pleaded rather as the sacrifices of faith than as the hardships of his original condition in life.

Among the Jews, it was a maxim, having the force of law, that every son should be made acquainted with one or other of the common industrial occupations of the time—a maxim, by the way, full of political and social wisdom, by observing which some modern nations might greatly improve their civilization. In accordance with this feature of that race and age, are the testimonies of the most celebrated Hebrew writers. "What is commanded of a father towards his son?" asks one. "To circumcise him, to redeem him, to teach him the law, *to teach him a trade*," &c. Rabbi Judah saith: "He that teacheth not his son a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief." Rabban Gamaliel (Paul's own tutor) saith: "He that hath a trade in his hand, to what is he like? He is like to a vineyard that is fenced." The most eminent of Jewish teachers and priests had conformed themselves to this sensible custom. Rabban Jochanan

* Acts xviii. 3.

+ Acts xx. 33, 34.

‡ 1 Cor. iv. 11, 12.

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Ben Zaccai, who was vice-president of the Sanhedrim, had been for four years a merchant. Rabbi Judah, the great cabbalist, bore the name and trade of Hhajat, a shoemaker or tailor. It was no degradation of Paul, therefore, morally or conventionally, that he was a maker of tents.

The precise nature of this employment, as practised by Paul, has been variously explained. The Fathers suppose Paul to have been "a worker in leather, or a tent-maker." Chrysostom says: "By his trade he was employed upon skins." This supposition has evidently arisen from the fact that war-tents were made of leather. A kind of shaggy, rough-haired goat was very common in Cilicia, the hair of which animal was manufactured into a sort of thick and very coarse cloth. This manufacture was common in Paul's province, and it has been thought by some that he would probably select this as his chief occupation. The cloth thus manufactured was called *cilicia*. It was used for various purposes, but chiefly for the covering of tents in war, and upon ships; also for the tents of shepherds, more especially in Syria and on the Euphrates. Paul's knowledge of this business would enable him to work in the countries which he visited. We must not suppose, however, that he never made tent-cloth save from those materials which his native province furnished; otherwise, how could he so easily have pursued his vocation in districts where such materials could not be readily obtained?

Paul's parents were descended from Abraham, and were of the tribe of Benjamin.* Of their character, temper, and occupations we know nothing. His father was a Pharisee.† His mother does not receive a single allusion from his lips or pen throughout his reported public career. This circumstance may appear, at first, rather extraordinary; especially as other and more distant relationships are distinctly specified. For instance, we learn from Acts xxiii. 12—22, that he had a sister, whose son, his nephew, rendered him a voluntary, delicate, and useful service when his fidelity had involved him in personal danger. In his Epistle to the Romans he speaks of Andronicus and Junia, of Herodian, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, as "his kinsmen."‡ By the word *sungenes*, Lardner decides that he must mean more than "his countrymen;" whilst Tholuck, in his commentary on the epistle, says that "whilst it may

* Phil. iii. 5; and Rom. xi. 1. + Acts xxiii. 6. ‡ Rom. xvi. 7, 11, 21.

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designate these individuals as the Apostle's relatives, it may also merely denote that they were of Jewish extraction. The latter is the more probable." The words "my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," are employed by him* with an obvious reference, not to the family circle, but to the whole Jewish race.

If personal curiosity were at all admissible in such an investigation as this, we could almost afford to regret that we know nothing of the mother of Paul. We should look with reverence on the portrait of a woman so distinguished in her child. Her experiences, history, manners, disposition—the features of her face, the impulses of her heart, and the varied endurances of her life—would be a pleasing subject of contemplation. We can hardly dissociate the peculiar energy as well as tenderness of Paul's nature from the influences which would surround him in his earliest home. His fiery intuitions, his strength of purpose and of will, his uncompromising fidelity, his strange and awful manliness of conscience, and his wonderful and captivating sensitiveness of feeling, require the explanation of maternal dignity, wisdom, purity, and love. But such an explanation is purely ideal. Why are the facts missing? John the Baptist imparted the lustre of his destiny to his mother's name, and Elizabeth is honoured among women unto this day. Mary has more than realized the benediction of the angel: "Hail! thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women." Jesus could not leave the earth without affectionately commending his mother to the care and protection of the disciple "whom he loved." But the mother of Paul has been memorialized by no recorded blessing of heaven, and by no passing panegyric of her son; and even tradition, as busy with the reputation of the dead as is gossip with the reputation of the living, has preserved no epitaph—no rumour of her excellences, no hint of her destiny. Did she die whilst as yet her Saul was the innocent and mirthful child? Or did she live to behold his greatness, and to witness the many hardships of his devout and active career? Did she weep over his conversion from the faith of his fathers, or did she rejoice with him in the gospel of his Lord? We ask these questions *intuitively*. History gives us a suggestive silence as its reply. *The New Testament is not a romance written to satisfy the*

* Rom. ix. 3.

longings of human curiosity, but a narrative and an explication of "the great redemption;" and Paul, as the divinely-ordained expositor of the plan of salvation, was true to his purpose; he knew nothing among men "save Christ and him crucified." He fell into no autobiographical confessions; his faith was never sacrificed to his vanity; his devotion never postponed to his egotism. Christ was "all and in all" to his heart; and, surely, Christ is enough for any of his students.

THE EDUCATION OF SAUL.

Whatever might have been the position of Saul's parents, and whatever the history of his mother, we have positive testimonies that the strictest laws of the Israelitish faith would be applied to the discipline of his infant mind, and that no sacred lessons and no restraints would be wanting in the formation of his character. Rejoicings would be indulged at his birth, and solemn ceremonies would attest the unreservedness with which he was consecrated to the service of God. In writing to Timothy,* he says: "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures;" which intimates that pious parents among the Jews took care that their offspring at a very early age should be familiarized with the divine literature of their nation. From the Talmud we learn that this practice was commonly and religiously observed. Jehuda Ben Thema prescribes:† "At five years of age let children begin the Scripture; at ten, the Mishna; at thirteen, the subjects of the law." This appointment will appear premature to the English judgment, but it should be remembered that the inhabitants of oriental lands come to maturity at an earlier age than those of colder and more fickle climates. In writing to the Galatians, Paul speaks of himself‡ as "separated from his mother's womb;" but whether this signifies more than the ordination of his mission and office from the beginning by God, or whether it includes, also, the fact of his having been dedicated by his parents to the sacred profession, we take not upon ourselves to decide. Some have thought that the name given to him at his circumcision "on the eighth day" was chosen as a pledge of his consecration to a holy office—a suggestion which, we may say here in passing, does not carry much weight with it, but which we shall reserve for further criticism.

* 2 Timothy, iii. 15.

† Pirke Aroth. c. 5, sec. 21.

‡ Gal. i. 15.

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on a subsequent page, when the name, and the change of name, will come under consideration.

But there are two elements which must be taken into account in any estimate of the religious and intellectual influences by which, during his childhood and his youth, Saul would be necessarily affected. These influences will be best appreciated by paying a moment's attention to two great radical divisions which obtained among the Jews, and which, for their intrinsic importance, as well as for the relation they sustain to the case now in hand, are worthy of a little careful investigation. The first of these distinctions was purely religious or theological—that of Pharisees and Sadducees. The second was an inevitable consequence of geographical separation and the national associations which it involved—that of Hellenists and Arameans. Other minuter divisions might be specified, but as they do not materially affect the present enquiry, we shall pass them by.

The Sadducees were not numerous, but they included generally the wealthier, and, perhaps, it may be said; the more refined, learned, and aristocratic among the Jews. They occupied the highest offices of the priesthood, and possessed the greatest power in the Sanhedrim. They professed not to hold the doctrine of a future state, nor did they recognise any spiritual existence independent of the body.* They protested against the sacred books being overloaded with traditions; nor would they have life encumbered with a number of minute observances, in addition to the divine and comprehensive laws which had been given for its guidance. It must not be supposed, however, that this liberalism was urged as an apology for licentiousness. They did not advocate any practices or principles that could be fairly said to tend to open immorality. On the contrary, they adhered strictly to the moral tenets of the law, as opposed to its mere formal technicalities. Calm, learned, elevated, they were the rationalists of their age, free from enthusiasm and careless of sectarian aggrandisement. They taught with the dignity of indifference, and passed away their lives in inactive refinement and cheerful serenity.

The Pharisees, on the contrary, would "compass sea and land to make one proselyte." Their power and influence among the masses of the people was immense. They were ostentatious in their observances of the ceremonies of their religion. The

* Acts xxiii. 8.

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political life and national independence of the Jews being threatened with extinction, directly by the attacks of Roman prowess, and indirectly by the barbarous imbecilities of the family of Herod, they were roused to intense enthusiasm in the defence of their laws and their faith, which they considered the only centre of national unity that any longer remained to them. Any efforts, from any quarter, to curtail or to undermine the injunctions of their law, or the religious doctrines which those injunctions involved, provoked their zealous opposition and their angry resentment. They were disposed rather to accumulate the articles of faith than to sacrifice them; and, so far from permitting the indifference of their own sect, or the hostility of the Sadducees to effect any relaxation of devotional rites and responsibilities, they insisted on their severest enforcement, and continually strove for their multiplication. Their service was a slavery, their faith a fear, their piety a vain display. Hypocrisy was a frequent fruit of the sentiments and customs cherished among them; but it was not a necessary fruit; and when the Pharisee was sincere, he was the most uncompromising, consistent, and self-sacrificing of all God's children. The severity of his moral economy was sustained with heroic satisfaction, and the pomp of his worship was but the splendour of humility.

As we have seen, Paul was a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee, and the temper of his whole life declares that he was one of the best of the class to which he belonged. He accepted the severities of Judaism with sublime acquiescence, and cherished its doctrines and precepts as the veritable ordinances of God. He was a devotee in whom enthusiasm was strangely combined with intelligence, and with the deliberation of conscious purposes.

Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin; and this tribe was one of those which, on the dispersion of the Jews, had their lot cast in countries where the Greek language was spoken. This dispersion began early, as our readers well know. The first great development of the long disaster was compulsory, and commenced with the Assyrian exile, followed by the Babylonian exile; and its victims settled on the coasts and islands of Western Asia. Those Jews of Palestine and Syria, with those who lived on the Tigris and the Euphrates, interpreted the holy books through the Targums, or Chaldee paraphrases, and spoke kindred dialects of the language of Aram. They are on ~~this~~

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ground called Aramaic Jews. Another dispersion of the Jews took place through countries where the Grecian tongue prevailed. Their settlement began with Alexander's conquests, and was continued under the successors of those who partitioned the empire. Their chief city was Alexandria. They commonly used the Septuagint translation of the Scriptures, and are called the Hellenistic Jews, or Jews of the Grecian speech.

To this division Paul belonged ; and we now begin to perceive how the circumstances of his birth and education were qualifying him for his illustrious labours as the Apostle of the Gentiles. His associations, studies, and habits of thought as a Pharisee, whilst moulding his nature to the requisite firmness, energy, and moral strength, would, at the same time, render him familiar with the grand historical developments of the Divine Revelation, and thus clarify and consolidate his apprehensions of the new Christian economy which he was called to proclaim and to vindicate. On the other hand, his associations, studies, and habits of thought as a Hellenist, whilst they would have a tendency to soften the lofty antipathies of his Jewish pride, and thus liberalize and refine his general sentiments, (as cosmopolitan intelligence will mould a man to cosmopolitan sympathies), would also intellectually prepare him for intercourse with men who otherwise would have been to him mere foreigners whom he must scorn, or whom, at the dictate of evangelical mercy, he would compassionate and patronise. Had Paul been a Sadducee, and not a Pharisee, his conversion would have worn all the coldness of a mere philosophic change of opinion, adorned with the learning and the catholicity of his Hellenistic culture ; whilst, had he been an Aramean, and not a Hellenist, his conversion would most likely, humanly speaking, have been but an extension of his fierce prejudices as a Jew, and his labours would have been cramped, not only by the narrowness of Israelitish traditions, but by his natural incapacity to address himself to men, to whose language, literature, and modes of thought he would have been an utter stranger. A Sadducee and a Hellenist—his faith would have been an anomalous mixture, and an insipid dilution ; a Pharisee and an Aramean, it would have been an inflexible prejudice ; its appeals circumscribed by the partiality of his information, and its moral power debilitated, either by the arrogance of his national pride, or by the vain condescension of his religious charity. But, being a

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Pharisee and a Hellenist, he combined all religious fervour with the capacity for a universal exposition and application of religious truth.

Too much, however, must not be inferred from these observations. They are not intended for a moment to suggest that Paul was, in any large or general sense, familiar with Grecian literature. His first lessons in scripture history would most likely come to him through the medium of the Hebrew tongue. His parents were Hellenists truly, but they were not Hellenizers in theology; they were Pharisees of the strictest sect. And Hellenistic Jews did not mingle without care and dignity with Greek society. In Paul's writings there are three quotations from Greek poets;* but these seem to have been learned from social intercourse rather than from personal reading. It has been well said by Heuke,† that the question, whether Paul was or was not well versed in Greek literature, is not to be determined by the number of his quotations from the Greek authors; but by the general structure of his style, by his mode of argumentation, and by the whole arrangement of his thoughts. Neander, with his usual propriety, remarks: "A man of his mental energy, whose zeal overcame all difficulties in his career, and whose love prompted him to make himself familiar with all the mental habitudes of the men among whom he laboured, that he might sympathise more completely with their wants and infirmities, might be induced, while among people of Grecian culture, to acquire some knowledge of their principal writers. But in the style of his representations, the Jewish element evidently predominates. His peculiar mode of argumentation was not formed in the Grecian, but in the Jewish, school."‡

Undoubtedly, the language of Paul's infancy was that idiom of the Hellenistic Jews in which his epistles are written. The Jews of all ages have entertained strong prejudices in favour of their ancient and national language, and it is possible that Paul might have learned his first sentences from the scripture in Hebrew; but it is certain that he must have been acquainted with the Septuagint version at a very early age. And the mixed population of Tarsus (brought together by the fame of its

* Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33; and Titus i. 12.

† See Heuke's *Trans. of Paley's Hor. Paul.* pp. 449—451.

‡ *History of the Planting of the Churches.* Bib. Cab., vol. xxxv. p. 92.

schools, and of its commercial advantages) would strengthen the tendencies of this Hellenistic culture. That city would be thronged by men from various countries, dressed in the costumes of their diverse nationalities, and speaking their native languages. St. Basil says that, in his day, Tarsus was a point of union for Syrians, Cilicians, Isurians, and Cappadocians. There, also, was the Greek scholar and merchant; the agent of Roman luxury was there; and among this throng the infant Saul was trained. A mind so restless and capacious as his, must have imbibed some of the influences which would thus surround him. Being as yet a child, his impressions would be but partially enlightened, but they would be deep. His knowledge of human nature would be enlarged. He would, in his future journeyings, recognise many a national custom, and many a development of character with which, in his infancy, he had been struck; and the recognition would relieve the embarrassment of his uncertainty, and impart confidence to his mind. The rigid intolerance of his faith having been subdued by the omnipotent grace of God, the information acquired in his first days would tend to the production of a corresponding ease, dignity, and power of address.

Giving full force to this side of the question, let not the interesting features of the other be forgotten. Do we understand what the training of a Jewish mind like Saul's involved? Sensitive, clear, impulsive; strong in his feelings, and quick in all his intuitions; his intellect swayed by a soul full of the intensest enthusiasm, and acquiring, by the steadiness of his application, the variety of his studies, and the earnestness of all his aims, a strange elasticity and a mighty penetration; and intellect and soul illumined by an imagination, restless in action, and divine in the objects of its contemplation; how vivid, entrancing, edifying, and consolidating (if we may use the word in such a connection) would be those sacred stories with which his childhood would be interested, and by which his character and his faith were sought to be formed! It is generally admitted that extravagant fictions, like Robinson Crusoe, have a tendency to foster courage, sensibility, and chivalric greatness in those who are devoted to their perusal; and a thousand instances might be cited in confirmation of such a sentiment. But Saul's mind was constantly familiarized with the solemn *realities* of a supernatural Providence. Romance, not written

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by human poets, but enacted by the Almighty, was the theme of his first and his enduring study. The stories of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob would be to him, not simply the methods of his innocent entertainment, but the holy traditions on which his knowledge of the God of Israel rested. He would read of the destruction of Pharoah and his host in the waters of the Red Sea, not to revel in ideal horrors, but to learn how awful was the power, and how sacred was the law of God. The thunders of Sinai would reverberate around him, a solemn attestation that God did speak. The songs of Zion, or the lamentations which were uttered by the waters of Babylon, would echo around his cradle. Especially would he be familiar with the history of his own peculiar tribe. And mysterious words had been spoken, long time since, by men to whom he was taught to ascribe prophetic authority, and which every child of the race might hope applied to himself. Jacob had said with all but his last breath, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil."* How these words would inspire to faithful action, to stalwart resistance of every foe, to righteous joy before the Lord of Hosts. Then what subduing peace would they give when associated with those other words, spoken by Moses: "And of Benjamin he said, the beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him; and the Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders."† Such were the promises on which his hopes and his ambition were fed! promises which ordained him to illustrious service, to noble conflict, to certain triumph, to immortal security, to ineffable companionship with the Holy One! Well might his heart grow bold, and his life glow with sacred heroism! That he should have been a bitter persecutor, who cannot understand? That he should become the most laborious and successful of all the apostles of Christ, how natural! The stupendous phenomenon of his conversion intervenes between the exploits of a glorious Jew, and the exploits of a glorious Christian; and we feel that the connecting link was scarcely more Divine than was the education that prepared him for it, or the services to which it led.

We are unable to fix the precise date of Saul's birth, and, consequently, the chronology of his life is, throughout, more or

* *Gen. xlix. 27.* † *Deut. xxxiii. 12.*

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less uncertain. Ancient and unauthorized accounts affirm that he was born in the second year after Christ. Though this account pleads no evidences of correctness, however, it bears upon its face the stamp of probability. Paul was a young man when he engaged in his first persecution against the Christians.* His epistle to Philemon, it is concluded, was written about A.D. 62; and in that epistle he calls himself "Paul the aged," a term which, according to the usual notions of that age, would imply that he was then about sixty years old. That, at the time of his conversion, he had arrived at years of discretion, seems evident from the authority with which he had been entrusted by the rulers of the Jews, to carry out his cruel designs against the followers of the Messiah immediately after the martyrdom of Stephen. Usher and Pearson suppose Paul to have been converted about the year 35; Basnage, Michaelis, Heinrichs, Kohler, and Schott fix it at 37; Eichhorn at 37 or 38; De Wette at 35 or 38; and others at various times between 31 and 42. The conclusion to which Hensen, Neander, and Hug have arrived seems the most probable, that it took place in 36. Paul describes himself as having been *brought up*† at the feet of Gamaliel—an expression which implies that he went to Jerusalem during the period of his boyhood, most likely at that period when the rabbinical system of education began, that is, somewhere between the tenth and the thirteenth year of his life.

His first lessons would, undoubtedly, be received under the parental roof; certainly he would not be sent to any of the Greek schools. It is possible that he might have gone to some room connected with the synagogue, in which, according to the fashion of the time, teachers and children would be seated together on the floor, and would pursue their avocations amid an incessant buzz of voices. There, however, he would do no more than acquire the very rudiments of learning, reading a little, and, perhaps, learning to write. This religious knowledge would be chiefly attained by hearing the law read and expounded in the synagogue, and from listening to the arguments and discussions of learned doctors. As enquiry was encouraged among the Jews at a very early age, we can imagine young Saul often putting shrewd and innocent questions to these erudite expositors of the truth; and it is pleasant to know that his curiosity would

* Acts vii. 58. † Acts xxii. 3.

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be received with kindly interest, and responded to with pleasure and condescension.

By what route and by what agencies he would travel to Jerusalem, we have no means of ascertaining. Speculating on the probabilities of the case, we may suppose that he went thither by water, the eastern sea having at that time been cleared of the pirates by which it had been so ruinously infested. He would approach Jerusalem not without keen and pious emotions. "Thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord; to testify unto Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. There is little Benjamin their ruler, and the princes of Judah their council, the princes of Zebulon and the princes of Nephthali; for there is the seat of judgment, even the seat of the house of David." At the early age of twelve, his whole nature would be active and impressible. His imagination would glow with every sacred dream, his eye would be quick to detect the varied objects of solemn interest as they would arise before him. His mind would analyse with rapid ingenuity the associations of the "holy city," outstretched before him, not one of which would his well-stored memory let slip. He would recall the prayers and vows of David, and, in devout sincerity, would make them his own:—"Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek thy good."*

We have now followed Paul to the first great step in his life. He begins to appear to us as an independent personage. He has left his home, and is at Jerusalem. What is he doing there? And who are his counsellors?

The period at which Saul went to Jerusalem was eminently favourable to the earnestness and efficiency of his studies. Herod was dead. It is most probable, also, that Archelaus had ceased to govern and was already in exile. It is impossible to ascertain with certainty who was in power, but we have every reason to believe that it was either Coponius, or Marcus Ambivius, or Amius Rufus, or Valerius Gratus, one of the four governors who preceded Pontius Pilate. Every symbol and attribute of independence had been abolished, and the city was now under military *surveillance*.† The impress of Rome was stamped on everything. Although the practical independence of the place was lost,

* Psalm cxxil. 7-9.

† Luke ii. 3, 4.

out the wisdom of the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men; and where subtle parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables. He will serve among great men, and appear among princes: he will travel through strange countries, for he hath tried the good and the evil among men."*

This describes the nature of the studies in which Saul would be chiefly engaged. The instruction of the doctors of the law, of which Gamaliel was one, consisted exclusively in the interpretation of the Scriptures. "The object of this interpretation was, partly to develop from the inspired word the prescriptions of ecclesiastical law; and, partly, to connect with biblical interpretation various kinds of instruction in ethical science."† The historical meaning of the words was fixed; the sense in which the writers originally used them was discovered; the full significancy in which the Spirit designed them was sought; and some grand abiding truth, which they embodied or involved, was discussed. Great latitude of interpretation was allowed; and while all the resources of learning were appealed to, no check was imposed upon the reason or the imagination of the expounder. So that with the sobriety of investigation was blended the vivacity of free speculations. These instructions were oral and catechetical, and every manifestation of the spirit of free inquiry received the fullest encouragement. Subtlety, pungency, and ingenuity were cherished as virtues; and that which could adorn debate, as well as that which might contribute to its utility, was zealously cultivated. Irreverence, however, was uniformly restrained; and, though the striking aphorism or the illustrative analogy would be received with applause, a flippant criticism or profane remark would be severely condemned. So that the whole discipline would be favourable to keenness, quickness, expansion, elevation, and sobriety of mind.

That Saul was eminently earnest and prosperous in his application, he himself intimates, when he says how he profited in the Jews' religion above many his equals in his own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his fathers.‡

* Ecclus. xxxix. 1—4.

† See Tholuck's *Essay on the Life and Writings of Paul*, chap. ii.

‡ Gal. i. 14.

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He was ever conscious, also, of the conscientiousness of his motives, and of a desire to sustain the lustre of his accomplishments by a life of corresponding virtue. Hence he says to Timothy : * " I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience." Nor can it be denied that the common failings of human nature were his also. He protests, that his motive, as an apostle, was not to please men, and seems to confess that such had been his great object before he became the servant of Christ. †

For twenty years we may suppose he was thus engaged, disputing in the synagogue, or listening to his wise and illustrious preceptors. How he spent the whole of these intermediate years, between his first journey to Jerusalem and his presence at the death of Stephen, we cannot know. It is hardly probable that he would return to Tarsus. If he remained in Jerusalem, he could not have been unacquainted with the wonderful works of Jesus. For, during a portion of this time, be it recollected, those Divine deeds were being performed. The Messiah was then living his God-life, and teaching his heaven-truth.

We have no data for answering the question whether Saul ever saw Christ in the flesh. We do not think with Olshausen that the passage, " though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more," ‡ implies that Paul really had known Jesus during his earthly life. We agree rather with Neander, that the words are used in a purely hypothetical form. We can hardly conceive, however, that had Paul known Jesus, as some have imagined, there would not have been a single direct avowal of the fact in all his addresses and epistles to those to whom it was his great desire that Jesus should be made known, and many of whom had been his observers and his companions on the earth.

Whilst Saul was attending in the synagogues and disputing with the disciples of the new faith, those disciples were beginning already to experience the fruits of human jealousy and ill-will in their own midst. The old differences between the Hellenistic and the Aramaic Jews were not quite extinguished, and in the dispensation of the charities of the church, the Hellenists complained that partiality was shown to the Hebrew Christians, and that their own widows were neglected. § This dissatisfaction soon came to the apostles' ears, and they, avoiding

* 2 Timothy i. 3. † Gal. i. 10. ‡ 2 Cor. v. 16. § Acts vi. 1.

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the embarrassments of financial administration themselves, suggested the appointment of a committee of seven men, duly qualified to superintend these and similar affairs.* It is noteworthy in passing, that the men chosen all bear Grecian names—a suitable rebuke of the cavilling spirit shown by the complainants. Of these, two receive a cursory notice in addition to the specification of their names. One is described as a proselyte of Antioch, a Syrio-Grecian city. The other, Stephen, mentioned first, and honorably eulogised, is declared to be a “man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.”† This is the first allusion made to a being who is the hero of the narrative of the next chapter, and who has attained a threefold claim to immortality: he was a mighty advocate of the truth; he was the first martyr to the gospel; and the sublime story of his execution is eternally associated with the conversion of Saul.

There had already been one persecution of the ambassadors of Christ.‡ This was instigated by the Sadducees, of whom was the chief priest. Their aversion to the doctrine of the resurrection was roused by the prominence given by Peter to the resurrection of Christ, as the very central and basal fact of the whole system he had proclaimed. This persecution was subdued by the liberal expostulation of Gamaliel, the tutor of Saul.

The second mention made of Stephen, shows him working miracles.§ He is a man of power. He is next represented as engaged in formal and earnest controversy with the various sects of the Jews. In all their synagogues the great question of the day is exciting wonder and debate. In all of them Stephen is found, arguing with irresistible skill, and preaching with irresistible power. To these forcible appeals Saul is most probably listening. In these momentous controversies he is, most likely, taking an active and prominent part. But even Saul could not gainsay the bold and startling propositions of his opponent. Enraged at his success, yet incompetent to prevent it, the sophists whose prejudices this strange teacher had defied, and whose errors he had exposed, suborned men to testify that he had spoken blasphemy. He is brought, amid a crowd of angry sectarians, into the presence of the council, where the solemn charge of blasphemy is preferred. “And all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face, as it had been the face of an angel.” His danger is his inspiration,

* Acts vi. 2, 3. † Acts vi. 5. ‡ Acts v. 17, 40. § Acts vi. 8.

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and he already grows radiant with the anticipated splendour of his destiny. The magnificent address in which he vindicates himself, it comes not within our present aim to analyse. A perusal of it may, however, be respectfully commended to the reader; and if it be carefully considered, whilst its artistic ingenuity, its logical acuteness, and its moral majesty will be admired, some light will be acquired for the clearer understanding of what shall follow.

Growing brave as he proceeds, he at last breaks out in a stern rebuke of their cruelty, their bigotry, and their wanton rejection of all God's messengers. This enrages the hearts of his auditors against him, and they gnash upon him with their teeth. He turns from this dismal spectacle to gaze on the Ineffable glory. And he beholds the glory of God, and Jesus *standing* on the right hand of God—standing; not sitting as he is usually represented. St. Chrysostom has beautifully remarked on this expression, that "it is as though he had risen from his throne to succour his persecuted servant, and to receive him to himself." He proclaims the vision that entrances him, and thus repeats his blasphemy. The people are maddened. They rush upon him with one accord. They cast him out of the city.* The witnesses must cast the first stones at the victim of their falsehood; † they throw off their garments, and the young man Saul receives them at his feet, whilst he listens to that prayer stronger than death, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." And he, the young man Saul, is startled by that loud and mysterious voice of the kneeling man before him:—"Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

Saul and Stephen—how they alternate in the narrative! The clothes fall at the feet of Saul, and they stone Stephen. Saul is consenting to his death; and devout men carry Stephen to his burial. As for Saul, he made havoc of the church!

But the arrow has entered his soul. That martyrdom, and his share in it, he will never forget. The death of Stephen shall yet be to him the first impulse of a new life, repeating itself in every pulsation of his regenerated heart. It is not at all inconsistent with the sensation created by this event that he should immediately abandon himself to the savage mission of exterminating the followers of Jesus. Human nature, in its more radical transitions, generally assumes this attitude. And our

* See Levit. xxiv. 14; and 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13. † Deut. xxi. 22.

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estimate of the depth and keenness of the impression made upon Saul's mind is more than a speculation on the probabilities of the case. The character of the transaction would be just such as must appeal with effect to the sensitive and heroic heart of the witness. That it did so, his own words abundantly testify. When narrating his own conversion to his enemies at Jerusalem, he confesses that his share in the martyrdom of Stephen was his plea against the command addressed to him that he should depart out of Jerusalem.* "Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee. And when the blood of thy martyr, Stephen, was shed, I, also, was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him." His allusion specifically to the martyrdom of Stephen does more than indicate the general excitement it had created; it implies that in his own estimation it was the most remarkable incident in the career of his own cruelties; and the care with which he associates himself with the transaction, as also the minuteness with which he details the part he took in it, plainly proclaim how solemn and abiding were the emotions it had enkindled within him. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that Paul's defences of himself are formed very much on the model of that speech of the martyr of which he had been an attentive auditor. There is a remarkable similarity in the address delivered at Antioch.† And the plea, developed with such skill and earnestness by Stephen, that he was attached to the true principles of the Mosaic revelation, is claimed by Paul for himself, in his defence before Agrippa.‡

But however deep was this impression, and however salutary its ultimate effects, its immediate result was a recklessness and unscrupulousness of animosity to the "sect of the Nazarenes," under the ravages of which the whole church of Christ shrunk appalled. No sooner was the savage deed accomplished, than "he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison."§ He breathed out "threatenings and slaughter." He deliberately sought official authority for his ferocities, and secured his formal appointment to a mission of cruelty and destruction. "He went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way,

* Acts xxii. 17—21. † Acts xiii. 16—22. ‡ Acts xxvi. 1—22. § Acts viii. 2.

whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem"—the Sanhedrim having power to adjudicate in such cases.

Some have supposed that Saul had become a member of this body. One can easily conceive that his zeal as a persecutor, and his eminence as an advocate, would secure him such a distinction; and he, on one occasion, makes use of an expression which seems to require it to give it emphasis and propriety. In speaking of his efforts to crush the rising communities, he says, that when those whom he had shut up in prison were put to death, he gave his vote against them.† If he were a member of the Sanhedrim, however, he must have been married, for one qualification necessary to membership was the possession of a family. It is generally imagined that Paul never was married. We see not that such a supposition necessarily follows from his own allusions to the subject. He says, "he would that all men were as himself;"‡ and to the unmarried and to the widows he says, "It is good for them, if they abide even as I." But this form of expression would be quite consistent with the fact that he had been married, and was now a widower. That he had no wife at the time he wrote this letter is obvious; but it does not, therefore, follow that he never had one. This, however, is one of the questions which human curiosity will ask, but to which human knowledge can furnish no certain reply.

His notorious diligence secured for him the obtainment of his desires. And he had done dreadful things! It is impossible to read the various allusions made by Luke, and by himself, to this period of his life, without shuddering. He was abandoned to all the abominations of persecution. In his unmitigated animosity, he made no distinctions of rank or of sex. Gentle and helpless women were treated with the same summary harshness as their sterner fellow-disciples. They were scourged, mocked, imprisoned, slain. His terrible reputation had preceded him even to Damascus, and Ananias had been so familiar with the rumours of his desperation, that he distrusted the command given to him to go and minister unto him. Yea, even the mission which he had received was understood, and we can imagine with what terror the poor defenceless disciples were expecting his arrival.

But a different issue was appointed. The journey, undertaken

* Acts ix. 2, 3. † Acts xxvi. 10. ‡ 1 Cor. vii. 1.

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with such savage fanaticism, was not to end as the vain persecutor imagined. He was destined to meet even the Lord Jesus himself on his way to Damascus, and, in such a Presence, what were his briefs and charters of injustice? What were his notoriety, and pride, and prowess now? Lo! the brightness of this revelation blinds him, and he falls before the object of his fierce hate—a stricken sinner—a humble suppliant—a prompt disciple!

The Scriptural narratives of Saul's conversion are unusually full. The minuter circumstances by which the extraordinary event was accompanied are detailed with a care, and repeated with an emphasis, which happily place the record above the necessity of critical comment, and which divinely attest its great importance. We have three distinct accounts. And their mutual consistency is as remarkable as their individual completeness. The first is given by the historian of the Acts of the Apostles;* the second constitutes the main part of Paul's defence of himself, on the steps of the castle at Jerusalem, when he had been assaulted by the people;† and the third will be found in his address before king Agrippa.‡ It would be quite superfluous to enter into any comparison of these accounts; and the story, as furnished by them, is so entire that to repeat it would be worse than a waste of space.

It is impossible, however, to picture Saul on this journey to Damascus without feelings of the deepest interest. It is the crisis of his whole life. Inflamed with religious hatred of the new sect, and empowered by the high priest to achieve the brutal purposes of his zeal, as he walks along strange thoughts undoubtedly pass through his mind. Intent upon his cruel enterprise, he yet cannot escape the recurring visions of his memory, and, it may be also, the troublesome expostulations of his reason. That sacred death of Stephen, and his gracious prayer to heaven, are not forgotten. The controversies of the synagogue, and the warmer disputes of the temple, are repeated in his recollections. There is something critical, terrible, mysteriously questionable in this business, to which he is committed; his subtle mind and impulsive soul are absorbed in it. Busy thoughts and entrancing reminiscences are his companions. His purpose is so dark that it throws no light on his pathway. Who shall say what incertitude he feels as he

* Acts ix. 3—22.

+ Acts xxii. 1—21.

‡ Acts xxvi. 9—21.

walks along? Who shall guess to what point and issue his burning meditations are tending? Who shall detect the nature of that profound problem in the solution of which his conscience is engaged? Is reason trembling already towards the truth? or is prejudice strengthening itself for the approaching barbarities it has instigated? Does the bold and relentless *Jew* pant for vengeance on the foes of his faith? or is the *man* being gently subdued by the dawn of a great light which is about to fall upon him from heaven? If the premonition has already disturbed his purpose, what a sublime realization of the anticipated captivity this miraculous revelation will be! If conscientiousness had given no hint, what an inconceivable surprise! But, whether expected with dread, or absolutely unthought of, the light suddenly bursts forth, and its unearthly splendour overwhelms him. For our own part, we incline to the opinion that the inward workings of Saul's mind had prepared him for this strange argument. So great a soul would not be converted by mere physical force. There had been the shakings of old convictions, perhaps the resistance of new. The voice addresses him, therefore, not in a tone of authority, nor in the form of controversy, but with words of gentle and winning expostulation—"Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Yes, this cruel antagonism was wanton, and was persevered in against a growing suspicion that it was wrong. Truth had already touched his heart; and, wavering between the resolution of his bigotry and the honesty of his conscience, he covers his inward vacillation by a show of unusual earnestness. This kind reproach from the lips of a Being he has already begun to love is all that is now necessary to bring him to a decision. And, hence, the decision is prompt and firm as his nature. The conversion had been a process; but it was brilliantly consummated under the excitement of a personal interview with 'the altogether lovely.'

It is easy to ask questions by way of reducing this grand transaction from the solemnity of a Divine expedient to the accidental effect of an ordinary natural occurrence; but such questions rather imply a depreciation of the moral significance of the event, than an enlightened desire to spiritualize it. "Was this great light that suddenly struck Saul blind, a flash of lightning?" We answer, it was the glory of the Ineffable. "Was the sound that came to him, as in sensible words, the

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roll of thunder?" It was the voice of the Omnipotent. That glory and that voice need no explanation; and they explain all that happened by their sacred influence. God spake unto his servant; his servant recognised the hallowed Power, and humbled himself before Him. He yielded to the arrangements made for the completeness and the comfort of the great change; and now, ordained to a more glorious service, by an authority all supreme, he waits, in lowly submission and grateful willingness, for the signal to depart on that career of evangelical activity and illustrious service which he was destined to run. In subsequent numbers of this serial we will endeavour to trace, with the reverence of disciples and the affection of companions, the course of his journeyings and the character of his toils as he pursues them.



THE BLIND PERSECUTOR LED INTO DAMASCUS.

LIFE OF PAUL, THE APOSTLE.



Paul's embarkation at Seleucia.

THE CONSECRATION.

Damascus is the oldest and one of the most splendid cities in the world. Its fame is coeval with the life of the earliest patriarchs; Isaiah described it, in his day, as the head of Syria; * and Lamartine found it, in our own times, one of the

* Isaiah vii. 8.

"predestinated capitals" of the world. It is richly watered by the "river of Gold," which Naaman preferred to all the waters of Israel,* and which has its origin among the rocks and the brushwood that surround the base of Antilibanus. It was, and is, a place of great commercial activity. "Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool."† Its buildings were magnificent, and the most fruitful gardens lay beautifully interspersed amongst them. In every garden fountains sprang up, and their light streams and sweet murmurings gave a fairy enchantment to the locality. The sun was reflected on the flowing rivers; and amid the bustle of business, there might be continually traced the resources of serene and tranquil enjoyment.

Into this city Saul is led—the captive of the Lord—silent, humiliated, and blind. The too great light has overpowered his faculties of vision; and for the space of three days he has been in total darkness. His soul is in a bewilderment of memories and unaccustomed agitation. His purposes, made with such pride, and avowed with such assurance, have been all upset; his very faith has been shattered at a blow; and dazzled into eclipse, he sits in absorbed meditation, neither eating nor drinking, so long as the scales are on his eyes.

But to the true convert, God brings deliverance; to the nobly distressed, consolation comes. Ananias, "a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there,"‡ and a "disciple" of the Lord Jesus, instructed by a vision from heaven, overcomes his dread of the persecutor, as well as his scepticism of the great change reported concerning him, and administers to him at the same time physical deliverance and spiritual joy; and, as the stricken man receives his sight, he arises, and is baptized in those waters of Damascus which were the charm and health of the city, and the boast of Israel, but which will henceforth have to him a sanctity and a sweetness more than their own.

The crisis is over. The mysterious revolution of a great soul has been completed. A very miracle of regeneration has been wrought. But the natural habit of the character remains unchanged. The Christian is as prompt, zealous, and active as had been the Jew. After strengthening himself with meat,

* 2 Kings v. 12.

† Ezekiel xxvii. 18.

‡ Acts xxii. 12.

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and, during certain days, having made the acquaintance of the disciples which were at Damascus, he straightway preaches Christ in the synagogue, that he is the Son of God. The Rabbinical and Pharisaic learning he had acquired in their own schools, made mighty by long practice in controversy, by the excitement of a recent conversion, and by the conscious repute he had won as the bitter assailant of the cause he now for the first time defends, he turns against the Jews, confounding them and proving that Jesus is the very Christ.

JOURNEY INTO ARABIA.

The narrative of Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, is a mere summary, and therefore in some sense incomplete. The first persecution of Saul is there reported to have taken place at Damascus 'after that many days were fulfilled.' From Paul's words, in his letter to the Galatians, however, we learn that this period was not all passed at Damascus, but that, retiring for a season from those who were enraged at his apostacy, he sought safety and seclusion in Arabia.*

The term Arabia is variously applied to a range of country extending from Damascus to the Lebanon, and even to the borders of Cilicia. With what limits it is to be understood in this connection we have no means of ascertaining. It is quite impossible, therefore, to trace the course which Saul would take in his journey. And the nature of his occupations during this interval is involved in equal uncertainty. That he would be inactive, it would betray the grossest misconception of his nature to imagine; but whether his activity was directed to the preparation of his mind for the responsibilities of the future, or whether it was devoted to the instruction of the people among whom he would move, it is beyond our power to decide. Reflection, study, and a rigid examination of his new faith, would be eminently suited to his position, his vocation, and his destiny. If his labours were public, they were certainly obscure. The idea pleases us that his time was chiefly occupied in investigating the foundations and the nature of the gospel, and that his social intercourse would be embraced as a favourable opportunity for testing his arguments and his conclusions. Thus his private meditations, and such quiet missionary enterprise as might naturally offer, would alike contribute to that

* Gal. i. 17.

LIFE OF PAUL, THE APOSTLE.

clearness of conception, ardour of devotion, and enlightenment of belief, for which in all his subsequent history he was so remarkable.

The chronology of this period is inexplicably confused. How long, therefore, Saul remained in Arabia, we cannot discover. He intimates that after three years he returned to Jerusalem; but whether this includes the period of his residence in Arabia or not, we are not informed. The expression of Luke, "after that *many days* were fulfilled," it has been argued by Dr. Paley signifies a space of "three years." For an example of the use of the phrase in this sense, see 1 Kings ii. 38, 39. We incline, after calculations which we have neither space nor desire to record, to the opinion that about three years elapsed between Saul's first labours in Damascus and his journey to Jerusalem.

COURAGE—DANGER—ESCAPE.

The privacy of Arabian life was ill suited to the enthusiasm and devotion of Saul's nature; and so, in spite of the prejudice with which he knew the inhabitants of Damascus regarded him, he returned again to that city. With our knowledge of history, and of the impulses which too generally govern human life, we can hardly profess surprise that his ardour, and still more, his success as an ambassador for Christ, should awaken their bitterest hatred. A conspiracy of the foulest malignity is formed against him. The outraged Jews are mutually pledged to his assassination. Once more the mistake is committed, of fancying that if an advocate of objectionable opinions can be got rid of, the opinions themselves will be exploded. Saul the apostate must be slain.

Fortunately, the victim of this plot is well informed of the designs of his enemies; and he wisely determines to disappoint them, by fleeing from the city. To do this by the ordinary route is impossible, however; for the political condition of the place being favourable to the wishes of the bigoted and blood-thirsty, "they watched the gates day and night to kill him."* Saul himself explains that there was a mutual understanding between his religious antagonists and the military officer having command of the gates:†—"The ethnarch kept watch over the city, with a garrison, purposing to apprehend him." What were the precise functions of this officer it is very difficult to

* Acts ix. 24.

† See 2 Cor. xi. 32.

determine. Perhaps he was appointed to regulate the affairs of the Jews who dwelt in the city; perhaps only an officer and friend of Aretas accidentally residing in the place; or perhaps a subordinate civic and political power. At any rate, it is obvious that the Jews had great influence over him.

Those who have walked round the walled cities of the East will have noticed that, at certain distances, houses are built to overhang the walls, with windows opening upon the outer country. It was through one of these windows that Saul escaped from the hands of his enemies. He was let down by the wall, in a vessel of wicker-work—a sort of basket. That such a method of flight was necessary, only reveals the extremity of the case. Not only were the Jews ready to seize upon him, should he attempt to pass the gates; but it was considered unsafe to remain within the precincts of the city, though never so carefully secreted. Concealment, however, be it said, would not suit the impatient devotion of Saul. Too wise in his zeal to hazard a premature martyrdom, he was yet too zealous to live an inactive life, merely to protect himself from injury; so he adopts a clandestine flight; first to free himself from immediate danger; and, second, to renew his opportunity of labouring in the cause of his new and adored Master. The ingenuity of the device had been more than once tested. In the same way did Rahab let down the spies. Thus, too, did David escape from Saul. In both these cases it was successful; and Saul also found it not to fail.

JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

Reflecting on these "perils by his own countrymen, and perils in the city," he bends his steps once more towards Jerusalem. He had, in his earlier life, felt how solemn it was to tread the streets and to approach the temple of "the house of God;" he had made himself a name among the crowd of its distinguished children; traces of his zeal and monuments of his bitter rashness would meet his eye at every step. When he first entered those sacred gates, it was as an unquestioning and unreserved devotee of Moses. When he left them, not long since, it was as the fierce antagonist of the crucified Jesus, and with the blood of Stephen still damp upon his soul. And now, he returns to weep over the follies of those whom in folly he had led, and to worship the Saviour over whose barbarous

death he had often exulted! Oh, very sacred, very sad, and very anxious are his meditations as he makes his advent! The blood-thirsty persecutor is behind; and only God foreknows what mockeries and wrongs await him!

From an expression dropped by him in his epistle to the Galatians,* we learn that the immediate motive for this journey was a desire to see Peter, his fellow apostle. Not that he sought instruction in the great principles of Christianity from this old and experienced disciple. Though Saul was "as one born out of due time," he received his first lessons from the first hand; and with an independence and a reliance on himself, which was made up of his reliance on the Divine Spirit, by whose power he had gained his emancipation, he adopted his own methods to learn, and his own style to teach, the gospel which *he* also had received direct from God. Yet had he heard of Peter's fame; and a curiosity to know the Chief of the Twelve—a desire to have fellowship with him who had been the companion of the Lord—was it not natural?

One would have rejoiced to witness their first interview: astonishment on the one side, outstretching frankness and affection and brotherly zeal on the other; a shade of suspicion and uncertainty on both! But the communion, we may imagine, was not at first thus personal. Saul "assayed to join himself to the disciples;" he was repulsed; "they were all afraid of him."† They had heard undefined and contradictory rumours about his conduct at Damascus, and his retirement to Arabia, but they could not believe that he was really their brother disciple; and he had come to them in such haste, that he had with him no letters of recommendation from saints whose names they knew, and in whose integrity they had confidence.

"The son of consolation," however, was at hand. Barnabas, a benevolent supporter of the poor,‡ and who had probably long known Saul (Cyprus, his native country, not being far from Cilicia), related to the suspecting community the grand incidents of the strange visitor's career; and, with such facts before them, the man himself being there, testifying by the workings of his countenance how true they were, they could no longer withhold their confidence. From James the Lord's brother, and from Peter, he received the "right hand of fellowship;" and he was

* Galatians i. 18.

† Acts ix. 28.

‡ Acts iv. 36.

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with them, coming in and going out at Jerusalem, speaking boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus.

NEW TROUBLES—THE OLD HOME.

The suspicion with which Saul was received by the Christians at Jerusalem, was followed by the intense animosity of the Jews. This hatred, however, was to result in a new and wonderful development of the genius and mission of that gospel against which it was directed. In a trance, Saul received the first intimation that he was to declare "the truth as it is in Jesus" unto the Gentiles.* He remonstrated with the Spirit, urging that his notoriety as a persecutor would give him power as an advocate with the Jews. The injunction, however, was absolute; and when the LORD spake, Saul was an obedient listener.

He was accompanied out of the city by his brethren, who seem to have been ignorant of the peculiar office to which he was destined; or, at any rate, to have been mainly influenced by solicitude for his personal safety. "They brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus."† Respecting his occupation here, the divine narrative is altogether silent. Saul himself, referring to this period in his letter to the Galatians, simply states that he went into "the regions of Syria and Cilicia."‡ The existence of Christian churches in this district is subsequently notified;§ and the inference naturally is that Saul established them during the present visit. At any rate, we may imagine that unusual interest would be awakened by his re-appearance among the inhabitants, and especially among those celebrated philosophers whose learning and eminence so largely contributed to the renown of the city. Here he would renew the associations of his youth; meeting with a reception of strange astonishment from some, of outrageous hatred from others, and, let us hope, of warm-hearted affection from at least a few. The controversies in which he would occasionally engage, would receive a tone from the revelation that had been recently made unto him, that he was to be the Apostle of the Gentiles; and, although we have no immediate reason to suppose that he gained any converts from the new class to which he had been authorized specially to appeal, the broad ground on which he based his reasonings would excite considerable sensation and inquiry. The labours of the synagogue, moreover, would be

* Acts xxii. 17—21. † Acts ix. 30. ‡ Gal. i. 21. § See Acts xv. 22—41

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relieved by the fellowship of the domestic circle; unless the bitterness of prejudice overcame the impulses of natural love—a supposition that is pleasingly disfavoured by the fact already alluded to, that not a few of his relatives, at some time, received the faith of which he was so distinguished a minister.*

ANTIOCH.

Near the abrupt angle formed by the coasts of Syria and Asia Minor, in the opening where the valley of the Orontes passes between the mountain ranges of Lebanon and Tarsus, lies the ancient city of Antioch, the capital of the Greco-Syrian kings—a place which, in the apostolic age, could boast many magnificent buildings and great commercial eminence. Its climate salubrious, and its situation beautiful, it attracted the opulent and the luxurious of many lands. Poets here sought their earliest inspirations; great generals came hither in their glory to die; and among its higher patrons many imperial names are numbered. Its general population, however, were dissipated and worthless. Heterogeneous in the extreme, the disturbing and degrading spirit of faction most banefully prevailed; whilst the representatives of each particular race exhibited in notorious extravagance their characteristic imperfections. Oriental superstition, Chaldean astrology, Jewish duplicity, here flourished. The people of the city knew no entertainment higher than the frivolities of the drama; whilst in the suburbs, and especially in that of the famous Daphne,† vice held perpetual festival.

Into this city, after the death of Stephen, and in consequence of the violent persecutions of which that event was the inauguration, certain “men of Cyprus and Cyrene” brought the word of the Lord Jesus.‡ The great preparation for extending the basis of the church, we may suppose, was at the same time being wrought on the mind of both Peter and Saul. Whether the conversion of Cornelius was the first victory of the gospel among the Gentiles we need not trouble to inquire; it is detailed as the grand *typical* instance, and in this, rather than in any accidental or designed priority it may have, consists its significance. To many Grecians in Antioch, “the word” had proved “the power of God unto salvation;” the knowledge of which was received with such joy by the disciples at Jerusalem

* See Rom. xvi.

† See Gibbon, ch. xxiii.

‡ See Antiq. iii. 15, 3; xx. 2, 5, and 5, 2.

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that they commissioned Barnabas to visit the locality. This visit was gladdening to himself and useful to the church, for the work of preaching so increased upon his hands that he went to Tarsus for Saul, whose co-operation he desired.

The silence of the historian respecting the occupation of Saul at Tarsus, and the readiness with which he seems to have responded to the desire of Barnabas, are favourable to the supposition that he spent his time chiefly in private preparatory study and discipline, and that he there awaited the call of Providence to the activities in which he was afterwards so abundant. How long he had remained in this comparative obscurity, we find it impossible with any certainty to decide. We now approach the period of his career, however, when the chronology becomes clearer, and when his life is crowded with continuous and exciting incidents.

In the midst of evangelical labours, greatly relieved by the sympathy of brethren, and by large success, the tender sympathies of Saul are elicited. Earthquakes had, in the time of Caligula and Claudius, done damage to the city; and these were followed by wide and dreadful famine. The reign of Claudius was, in this respect, peculiarly unfortunate. In the fourth year of his rule, we are told by Josephus that the price of food became enormous, and great numbers perished.* It was an interesting coincidence that just when Helena, the mother of Isates, king of Adiabene, and a recent convert to Judaism, was relieving the poor in Jerusalem, by purchasing corn from Alexandria and figs from Cyprus; the Gentile Christians in Antioch should be subscribing of their substance for their poor brethren in Jerusalem, who, being despised for their apostacy, would be more likely to suffer from the general scarcity and from social neglect. It is still more interesting that the first demonstration of the new idea of the unity of mankind should be thus generous and impressive. And we cannot but rejoice that Saul, the once bigoted Jew, should be appointed, together with Barnabas, to carry the contributions of Christian Gentiles to suffering Christian Jews.†

Another notable circumstance connected with that period and that place is, that there and then the followers of Jesus first received the designation by which they are now universally known, and which, indeed, forms the general characteristic of the

* Acts xi. 19, 20.

† Acts xi. 27—30.

whole civilized world. "The disciples were called CHRISTIANS first in Antioch."* From the beginning, they had been mentioned only in terms of contempt and reproach. They were known among the Jews as the "sect of the Nazarenes;" and out of Nazareth no good thing could come. It would not be likely, however, that Jews would call the disciples of Jesus "Christians;" for the word "Christ," meaning the same as "Messiah," was one which was particularly sacred in their esteem. They believed that Jesus was a false Christ; they would, therefore, carefully avoid confounding *his* followers with themselves when the *true* Christ should come into the world. The word "Christian," then, undoubtedly originated with Gentiles, who now began to view the disciples of Jesus as distinct from the Jews. The Gentiles had ever regarded the Jews with scorn for *expecting* a Messiah; here were those who actually believed that the Messiah *had come into the world!* In derision, therefore, they called them Christians.

Saul's visit of mercy to Jerusalem was brief, but it must have been full of thrilling interest to him; for, at about this time, exciting events were happening. James, the brother of John, and an apostle, had been barbarously slain by Herod the king. Peter was in prison, waiting for a similar death at the instigation of the same power. Heaven was busy on earth, delivering Peter from captivity, and smiting with dreadful fatality the proud and cruel monarch. And, above all, the word of God was mightily growing and being multiplied. These absorbing incidents, however, did not divert the attention of the messengers from their duty. Their business was special, and when it was accomplished, they returned again to Antioch, taking with them Mark,† of whom Saul afterwards wrote that he was "profitable to him for the ministry."‡

Their return to Antioch is soon followed by their dedication to missionary enterprise. There are in the church here certain "prophets" or teachers—men of great power as expounders of truth and exhorters of the people—and, whilst they are engaged in the solemnities of their worship, they receive a revelation from God, commanding them to separate Barnabas and Saul to their appointed mission. With renewed devotions, *in simplicity* and affection, the ordination is performed, and the *distinguished* disciples are sent away.§

* Acts xi. 26. + Acts xii. 25. † 2 Tim. iv. 11. ‡ Acts xiii. 1-3.

SELEUCIA AND CYPRUS.

We are not told whether Saul passed from Antioch to Seleucia by land or by water. The Orontes, which comes from the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, flows on continuously to the sea, winding round the bases of majestic rocks and precipitous cliffs, or along by luxurious and verdant banks, in a stream never very clear, but always deep and rapid, and which, therefore, was navigable by vessels of a considerable size. They could have come by this route. It seems, however, from the mode of expression employed in Acts xiii. 4, that they travelled by land to Seleucia, and there embarked for Cyprus. If so, they would have a journey of five or six leagues, crossing the river at the north side of Antioch, passing along by the foot of the Pierian hills, by a track then much used, but now covered with wild and abundant vegetation.

Seleucia, sometimes called Seleusia ad Mare, and sometimes Seleucia Pieria, was situated on a rocky eminence, and united the two characters of a sea-port and a fortress. Protected nearly all round its circumference (which is described to have extended to four miles) by its position, it was a place of great military importance, and was often contended for as for "the key of Syria." The harbour lay to the west, and was defended by strong artificial forts. On the south side of the city was an immense excavation, leading to the sea, the extent and course of which may still be traced. It was here that the missionaries and their companion embarked for Salamis. "As they cleared the port, the whole sweep of the bay of Antioch opened on their left, the low ground by the mouth of the Orontes, the wild and woody country beyond it, and then the peak of Mount Cassius rising symmetrically from the very edge of the sea to a height of five thousand feet. On the right, in the south-western horizon, if the day was clear, they saw the island of Cyprus from the first."* They would approach the island with deep interest, as it was the birth-place of Barnabas,† and undoubtedly familiar to Mark, his kinsman.‡

The geography of the island has been until recently untrustworthy and partial. The survey of Captain Graves has done much towards the correction and completion of our knowledge, and now the charts are clear and reliable. *Salamis was*

* "Life and Epistles of Paul," vol. 1, p. 150. † Acts iv. 36. ‡

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a large city, lying low by the sea-shore, to the north of the river Pediceus, and surrounded by an extensive plain, which the population cultivated into corn-fields and orchards. The land of Cyprus was distinguished for its productiveness, and its great mercantile port was the centre of a large trade in fruit, wine, flax, and honey. This will explain the fact that so many Jews dwelt there. To these was the ministry of these evangelists confined. They taught in the synagogues, of which several existed. How long they continued here, and with what amount of success they were favoured, we are not informed. They went from Salamis to Paphos, a distance of about one hundred miles.

Paphos was at this time the residence of the Roman government; and the proconsul at present ruling there, Sergius Paulus, was a candid and learned man. Luke describes him as a "prudent" man,* "who desired to hear the word of God." According to the superstition of his age and country, he had in his court a Jewish sorcerer, named "Bar-jesus," who had given himself the Arabic name "Elymas," or "The Wise," and this man exerted his influence over the mind of the proconsul in an endeavour to turn him away from the faith. By a miracle of divine indignation, the false prophet is at once exposed, refuted, and rebuked; and the proconsul, astonished at what he sees, and won by the doctrine in which he has been instructed, becomes a disciple of the Lord.†

CHANGE OF NAME.

Hitherto we have called the apostle by the name of "Saul." In the narrative, an epitome of which we have just given, the parenthesis occurs, "who is also called Paul."‡ Up to this time the sacred historian has used the name "Saul;" henceforth he drops it, and employs the other, "Paul." Jerome suggests that the apostle took up the name "Paul" from respect to this proconsul, Sergius *Paulus*, who was his convert. Such a suggestion is at once discountenanced by the fact that it is specified as belonging to him before that conversion had taken place. Moreover, the parenthesis implies that Paul was a name by which Saul was already well known. This objection applies equally to the theory of Augustine, who refers the change to the literal meaning of the words. It seems more probable that the two

* Acts xiii. 7. † Acts xiii. 6—12. ‡ Acts xiii. 9.

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names belonged to him from the beginning, the one, "Saul," being used when he was among the Jews, and the other, "Paul," the Roman form, being used when among Gentiles. Certainly the practice of having a double name was common, even from the very earliest times; and very frequently did Jews, especially those whose fate it was to mingle much with other races, adopt a foreign, as well as the original, cognomen. It is, therefore, appropriate, now that the labours of the apostle begin to be so largely known among the Gentiles, that the Roman form of his name should be used by his biographer; and this reason for the change, at this particular period, is at once more natural and more interesting than that which Jerome saw fit to adopt. We can hardly conceive that Paul would so revere the official dignity of a deputy-ruler as to change his name in honour of him, though he treated him with kindness and received the gospel at his hands.

PAPHOS, PERGA, AND ANTIOCH.

The missionaries, for motives unexplained, direct their course towards Pamphylia. In a boat, the size and fashion of which it would be mere speculation to guess, they embark at Paphos, a harbour of no great importance, and sailing past the promontories of Drepanum and Acamas and across the Pamphylian sea, they land at Perga, a city chiefly famous for its temple of Diana, and an annual festival held in honour of the goddess. What they did here and how long they stayed are not reported. The only incident mentioned in connection with this visit is a rather melancholy one: "John (Mark) departing from them, returned to Jerusalem." * Mark seems to have been a tender-hearted, impulsive, and somewhat fickle man. Perhaps on his arrival at Perga, he found a vessel bound for Jerusalem, his early home and the home of his fathers; and, it may be, too timid to brave those "perils of robbers" which would attend any labours in this district, where a marauding host from the adjacent mountains made continual havoc, he decided to embrace the opportunity to return; at any rate he abandoned the heroes of the cross, just when they might have most benefitted by his co-operation; and we may adopt the shrewd explanation of his conduct suggested by Matthew Henry, who remarks: "*Either he did not like the work, or he wanted to go and see his*

* Acts xiii. 13.

mother." It is pleasing to find in connection with this man, that he did not altogether apostatize from the faith, * and that Paul in his latest life could say of him that he was "profitable to him for the ministry." †

Crossing the southern portion of those bleak uplands which stretch through Phrygia for a hundred miles from Mount Olympus to Mount Taurus, Paul would approach the city of Antioch, in Pisidia, by the margin of the spacious and magnificent lake of Eyerdir. Describing the position of this city, Strabo says: "In the district of Phrygia, called Paroreia, there is a certain mountain ridge, stretching from east to west. On each side there is a large plain below this ridge; and it has two cities in its neighbourhood; Philomelium on the north, and on the other side Antioch, called Antioch near Pisidia. The former lies entirely in the plain, the latter (which has a Roman colony) is on a height." In addition to a native population, which spoke the rough Pisidian language, Greeks and Romans in considerable numbers inhabited the city, and among them a few Jews were scattered. Full liberty of public worship being allowed to all Jews throughout the Roman empire, they here assembled in their synagogue on the sabbath day. Into this synagogue the two strangers entered. Most likely they each wore the "tallith," which was the badge of an Israelite. They sat down with the people. The ceremonial part of the service being concluded, the rulers of the synagogue invited them to address the assembly. Paul stood up, beckoned with his hand, and began his address with the impressive words: "Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience." ‡ It is unnecessary to analyse the oration here delivered. The sensation created by it seems to have been somewhat extraordinary. The Gentiles were equally moved with the Jews, and besought Paul to repeat his words when they should again assemble. The Jews also, when the congregation had dispersed, still clung to Paul and Barnabas. The week did not pass without adding to the excitement which had been occasioned; and on the following Sabbath the synagogue was crowded; Gentiles and Jews flocked together in abundance; the grand work of religious reformation was *fairly inaugurated*, and the people were all alive with curiosity, astonishment, and controversy. The Jews, ever an exclusive

* Col. iv. 10, 11.

+ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

‡ See Acts xiii. 14-41.

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race, were envious at this popularity of the Christian teachers; the Gentiles, so long scorned by the Jews in the name of God, were pleased now to have the gospel of God addressed to them by one who had been a famous Jew; Paul perceiving the angry prejudices of the one class, and the ready willingness of the other, with bold candour avowed himself the minister of the Gentiles: this enraged those already sufficiently disturbed, and for the first time a scene of confusion and abandoned bigotry was enacted, the like of which was in after times not seldom repeated. But the confusion contributed to the success of the apostolic mission; for "the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region." The Jews, however, were only aggravated by these triumphs; and, raising a persecution against the brave men by whom they had been achieved, they expelled them from the city. Through the agency of the ladies of respectability in the city, those who occupied positions of power were brought to the support of the persecution; and, though we are not informed that the magistrates of the colony were induced to pass a sentence of formal banishment, for the present the apostles were obliged to depart from the colony. Truth once again was in conflict with prejudice. As is ever the case, the ambassadors of truth were compelled to retire; but truth, taking advantage of this wrong, flourished more abundantly; and even the injured victims, in sublime composure, could pass on their way undisturbed by the attacks so basely made upon them.*

ICONIUM.

Iconium, now called Konieh, has far more interesting traditions than Pisidian Antioch. It was the cradle of the rising power of the Turks; it was the capital of the Seljukian sultans; it had a great share in the growth of the Ottoman empire. But in the time of Paul it would be much like other cities of the district, differing from Antioch in this respect, that then it had not been constituted a Roman colony: there would be the same immoral frivolity among the Greeks, the same official pride among the Roman governors, and the same bigotry among the Jews of the place. It is not surprising, therefore, that the apostles should have experienced the same treatment they had

* See Acts xiii, 44—51.

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received at Antioch. The small differences of detail are fully pointed out in the sacred narrative.*

LYCAONIA AND THE GODS.

Hearing of a design to stone them, the apostles fled from Iconium into the district of Lycaonia, labouring more especially in the cities of Lystra and Derbe. This district, populated with an uncultured race, speaking a language of primitive rudeness, extended from the ridges of Mount Taurus and the borders of Cilicia on the south, to the Cappadocian hills on the north. Bare and dreary for the most part, it yet afforded excellent pasture for sheep, and was the seat of an immense and profitable trade in wool. The sites of these scenes of missionary toil and adventure, Lystra and Derbe, are now lost in absolute uncertainty.

The gospel is here tried by a totally new experiment. It had already conquered the well-informed mind of Sergius Paulus; it had also undoubtedly engaged in conflict with the higher developments of Grecian philosophy. But at Lystra the heathenism of the people had been relieved by no educational culture, and still assumed the unsophisticated superstitions of its original form. Now Lystra was under the tutelage of Jupiter, who had a temple ostentatiously situated in front of the city gates. The belief common to the ancients, that the gods sometimes in the shape of men came down from heaven, naturally prevailed here; and when Jupiter thus descended, it was supposed he was accompanied by Mercury, who was the companion and messenger of the gods.

It is very easy to imagine Paul with a group of these Lystrians about him, speaking to them, in the Greek language, which they would in a measure understand, of Him whose worship they had corrupted, and who in mercy had designed their salvation. At his feet sits a poor man, a cripple from his birth, listening with intense earnestness to his speech. Paul turns upon him a steadfast look; and, finding him fit for the joy, bids him stand upright. The man, who had never walked, now leaps to his feet, and finds a happy command over his long impotent limbs. *The people, amazed, cry out in their native dialect (perhaps a barbarous corruption of the Greek, or, perhaps, a rude original*

* Acts xiv. 1-6.

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language), "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." And it is no mere spasmodic astonishment. They deliberately elaborate the idea they had in rashness conceived. Paul being of insignificant appearance, yet the "chief speaker" of the occasion, they name Mercury, the god of eloquence; and Barnabas, of august presence, and wearing the dignity of silence, they call Jupiter. The priest and the people unite in worship; to which they are about to join *sacrifice*! Paul and Barnabas now, in their turn, are amazed; and rushing into the midst of the crowd, they rend their clothes, and with loud cries, in noble words, they expostulate with them, disclaiming all supernatural associations; yet even by these means scarcely can they restrain the people!

Alas, for the capricious passions of the populace! Bitterly prejudiced Jews from Iconium, and even from Antioch, have followed Paul, malignantly determined to blast his fame, or to rob him of his life. They "persuade the people" that he is a devil, perhaps, or a sinner in league with devils; and those who but just now would have madly offered to him sacrifices, stone him until, thinking him dead, they ferociously drag him from the city. Their blood-thirstiness is fortunately too impatient. Paul revives, to the great delight of his astonished and grieving fellow-disciples, and reappears in the city; and the next day departs with Barnabas for Derbe.* In this place, which was not far from the Black Mountain, and certainly not far from Lystra, they seem to have met with no opposition, and with considerable success; for "they preached the gospel and made many disciples.†

THE RETURN.

Paul has now completed his first missionary tour; and he revisits—who shall say with what anxiety and affection?—the scenes of his endurances and his toils, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch. Everywhere he confirms the souls of those whom he had himself converted, exhorting them to fidelity, and encouraging them to a patient bearing of every injustice. Seeking to provide for their future edification and increase, the apostles ordain elders in every church; and thus, commending them to God, they take their departure. They descend through the *Pisidian mountains* into the plain of Pamphylia. Pausing for

* Acts xiv. 20.

† Acts xiv. 21.

a while to preach the gospel at Perga, they do not sail to Syria by the river Cestrus, but keep on their way, across the plain to Attalia, a city built by and named after Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamos, who intended it to command the trade of Syria and Egypt. It still exists, and retains much of its original importance. Behind it lies the great plain, through which flow the waters of the "Catarrhactes," a river-bed which perpetually changes its fashion and its course. Before it, along the shore on each side, cliffs rise in long lines, and over them the river rushes in waterfalls to the sea. There they took ship and sailed to Antioch, from which place they had started; and here, in social fellowship with those who had witnessed their ordination and wished them "God speed" when they set out, they rehearse their sufferings and their success. "And they abode long time with the disciples."*

CONSPIRACY—CONTROVERSY—CONFERENCE.

If Christianity had done nothing else but break down the strong division between the Jewish and Gentile races, its history would not be destitute of glory or of advantage. This division had become inveterate through ages of experience in prejudice, contempt, and angry isolation. Through every part of the Roman Empire the Jews had been long dispersed, and they opposed to the licentious practices and ungoverned speculations of their neighbours, a life of rigid legality and a ritual of severest worship. They were hostile to the Gentiles; for their philosophy they regarded as but the sanction of their dissipations; whilst, in so far as they had a religion at all, it was, in their estimation, but a corrupt and degrading idolatry. The Gentiles also were more than passive in the maintenance of their characteristic peculiarities. They despised the solemnities of the temple as the gorgeous trappings of superstition; and a life of virtue was sneered at as a life of slavery. This mutual contempt bred alienation. Now, how can this alienation be subdued? It is radically, fatally inwrought on both sides, and fortified by every sanctity of religion and every social impulse. Experience only deepens and embitters it; it grows strong with action; it thrives by every instance of its own manifestation. It cannot for a moment be supposed that there will be ever any spontaneous reconciliation; nor will either be ever

* Acts xiv. 21—28.

overborne by the other. The Jew can never give up his *law*; the Gentile will never yield his *liberty*. It is plain, therefore, that the mortal antagonism of the two races can only be terminated by the consentaneous subjugation of both. This subjugation it was one of the first offices of Christianity to achieve.

It can easily be understood that the chief difficulty in the accomplishment of this sublime object would present itself in the stalwart and profound self-righteousness of the Jews. The great sacrifice, after all, must be on their part. For were they not "the peculiar people?" Had not their exclusiveness been of Divine injunction? Was not their "law" given by God? Every element of their religious life but confirmed and justified, and would therefore be likely to conserve, their fancied national superiority. The Jews must be taught to perceive that liberty was the true law; the Gentiles were but called upon to accept a law which should make their liberty true. Both classes had to be redeemed from pride; but the one had to be redeemed from the pride of piety; the other only from the pride of natural independence.

We have said thus much by way of explaining the circumstances which it is now our duty to narrate.

Certain busy Judaizers, hearing of the successes of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles, conspire against them. They clandestinely go down from Judea to Antioch. They come in "unawares." With the subtlety of their tribe, they endeavour "privily to spy out" * the liberty which was enjoyed in Christ Jesus. They disturb the souls of the disciples by teaching them that they cannot be saved without circumcision.† This dishonourable and dangerous propagandism the apostles earnestly oppose; whereupon there is "no small dissension." The effect is, notwithstanding, that the Syriac Christians are greatly unsettled, and it is determined that Paul and Barnabas with

* It may be necessary here just to remark that we accept the decision of the great majority of Biblical critics, that the visit to Jerusalem alluded to in Galatians ii. 1 is the same as that described in Acts xv. We know, indeed, that there has been considerable discussion on this point, nor do we pretend that it is without difficulty. But to the conclusion mentioned we are favourable. It would be inconsistent with the immediate objects and the prescribed limits of this work to go into this controversy; we therefore content ourselves with referring our readers to an elaborate survey and, as we think, a satisfactory settlement of it by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson. Vol. i. pp. 244-252.

† Acts xv. 1.

certain others, among whom is Titus, (see Gal. ii. 3) shall go to Jerusalem and confer with the apostles and elders about this matter. So interested is the church in the question, that they bring their representatives on their way. The course taken is that by the long Roman road which follows the Phœnician coast line, and thence through Samaria into Judea. As they pass along, they declare the conversion of the Gentiles, thus causing great joy to all the brethren.

Great progress has obviously been made by the gospel. Here are towns scattered throughout an immense district, and in all of them are the disciples of Christ to be found. Moreover, it is worthy of notice, that this conference at Jerusalem, where the mother church of Christendom still exists, has a very different object from those which we have previously reviewed, and in which our hero took part. The former were devoted to the question, whether or not Christianity was true; *this* is dedicated to the more advanced question of what Christianity requires of its professors.

It may also be remarked that this conference is called by the brethren; is confined in its topic to the immediate question in dispute; professes no authority for all time, but seeks to settle a pressing and a temporary difficulty; is open and free in the manner in which it is conducted; and is decisive, not through the authoritative voice of any particular member or members, but through the overwhelming force of the prevailing opinion. And yet it cannot be denied that more was involved than a mere factious division, or a small and local and short-lived controversy. The conclusion arrived at has a principle at its basis, which constitutes a charter for the church in all ages. In the very first Christian council, the great question of spiritual freedom is settled for ever!

From the tenor of the narrative (Acts xv. 1—29) it would appear that the more insignificant, and therefore, most likely, the more troublesome members of this convention speak first; and, as is always the case when the ignorant and the bigoted dispute, there is considerable confusion. Peter, by a curt but striking address, secures silence, in the midst of which Paul and Barnabas relate the story of their recent enterprise. James, the brother of the Lord, commonly called "the just"—an austere ascetic, but a brave, holy, and faithful disciple—suggests a practical conclusion, which is adopted. A letter is written to the

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Christians in Antioch, confirming their freedom, yet cautioning them against practices which, being common in the idolatries they had forsaken, but which still abounded, were the grand supports of Gentile immorality and vice. With this document, by which his independence and his rectitude as an apostle are confirmed, Paul leaves Jerusalem—where, for the only time of which we have any record, he has met John, the “beloved disciple”—where he has held sweet converse with many friends well beloved—and where he has renewed many of the thrilling associations of his faith and his history; and taking with him his well-tried companion Barnabas, and also Barsabas and Silas, “chief men among the brethren,” he departs again for Antioch.

APOSTOLIC DIFFERENCES.

Paul and Barnabas continue in Antioch for a considerable time.* During this period we are inclined to believe, contrary to the decision of Neander, it was that Peter visited the city, which visit resulted in a somewhat violent dissension between the two apostles. That Peter was eminently impulsive all his life declares. That he was pitifully weak in the presence of public opinion, we have more than one fact in confirmation. On the present occasion, his conduct is undeniably ignoble and inconsistent. For a period, he meets with Gentiles without any reserve, adopts their habits, unites with them in social intimacies, and, in short, fulfils the spirit of that letter to which he was so prominent a party. By and bye, however, certain men come from Judea, and in fear of their prejudices, which he had himself openly condemned, he separates from all his old companions, and exemplifies again the spirit of repulsive and pharisaic exclusiveness. Thus he was at once indulging an unmanly disposition and hazarding the unity, harmony, and freedom of the church. Paul, therefore, “withstood him to the face.”† When Jesus looked on Peter, after that he had denied him, “he went out and wept bitterly.” We have every reason to believe that the same readiness to repent would be shown after this public expostulation by Paul. At any rate, it is very pleasing to find that the dispute extended no further; and that, long afterwards, the victim of a rebuke so righteous and so severe should be found speaking of Paul as “our beloved brother.”‡

* Acts xv. 35.

† Gal. ii. 11—21.

‡ 2 Peter iii. 15. 

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QUARREL AND SEPARATION.

Human nature is the same in all ages. This dispute between the two great leaders had a specific theological as well as natural significance. Another misunderstanding now arose, which could only be ascribed to those differences of temperament and feeling universally prevailing between man and man. It seems that Mark was again at Antioch. Another grand evangelical tour was projected by the two apostles. Naturally enough, Barnabas would like that his nephew should accompany them; and, as naturally, Paul, remindful of the young man's former failure, would object to such an arrangement. By every argument he might use, however, the pride and the love of the relationship which subsisted on the other side would be offended; and the more fervently Barnabas should plead, the more earnestly would Paul resist. It is humiliating to find that souls so long bound together in mutual affection, as well as in a common faith and common toils, could divide on so slight a ground; and yet it is interesting, for it proves that they were, even according to their own words, "men of like passions with ourselves."

"The contention," we are told, "was so sharp that they departed asunder one from the other."* Whether they separated in anger, or by amicable concession to a necessity mutually felt, we cannot ascertain. Certain it is, they parted. Barnabas took with him Mark, and visited the insular portion of the field they proposed to review; while Paul took Silas, who had remained at Antioch after the mission on which he had been sent was fulfilled,† and selected the more continental portion for his route. We now lose sight of Barnabas, and are left to our own suppositions as to the services he rendered to the great Christian movement, which was now beginning to spread an influence far and wide. We have no reason to suspect him of apostasy, or of spiritual declension. Indeed, Paul afterwards alludes to him as an apostle still at work in the Saviour's cause.‡ We have previously seen that Mark was subsequently restored to the good opinion he seems to have sacrificed. With his new companion, then, Paul now sets forth on his second journey. Many incidents happened to him by the way, which will render it interesting for us to follow him.

* Acts xv. 36-41.

† Acts xv. 22, 24.

‡ 1 Cor. ix. 6.

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REVIEW AND CONFIRMATION.

The apostolic narrative naturally gives prominence to those whose more heroic services distinguished the rise and growth of primitive Christianity. Hence, whilst we are told simply that Barnabas sailed unto Cyprus, we have, in relation to Paul, the additional information, that he departed "being recommended by the brethren unto the grace of God.* The imposing circumstances by which Paul had been brought into the faith and the service of Christ would be sufficient to explain this pre-eminence; and it was justified by every characteristic of the man, and by every act of the apostle.

His first labours in this second route are devoted to the churches of Syria and Cilicia. It may be gathered from an incident we will briefly specify, that his visit here was by no means a superfluous or unnecessary occupation of time. The apostolic decree, which Paul brought with him from Jerusalem,† was addressed not only to the Gentiles in Antioch, but to those in Syria and Cilicia also. We may, therefore, reasonably infer that the simple faith of the Christians resident in these districts had been assailed by Judaizing teachers. What measure of success had attended their mission of corruption we are not informed; but we cannot hesitate to believe that Paul would be received by them with sacred welcomes, and would find full scope for all the riches of his zeal and love whilst he remained among them.

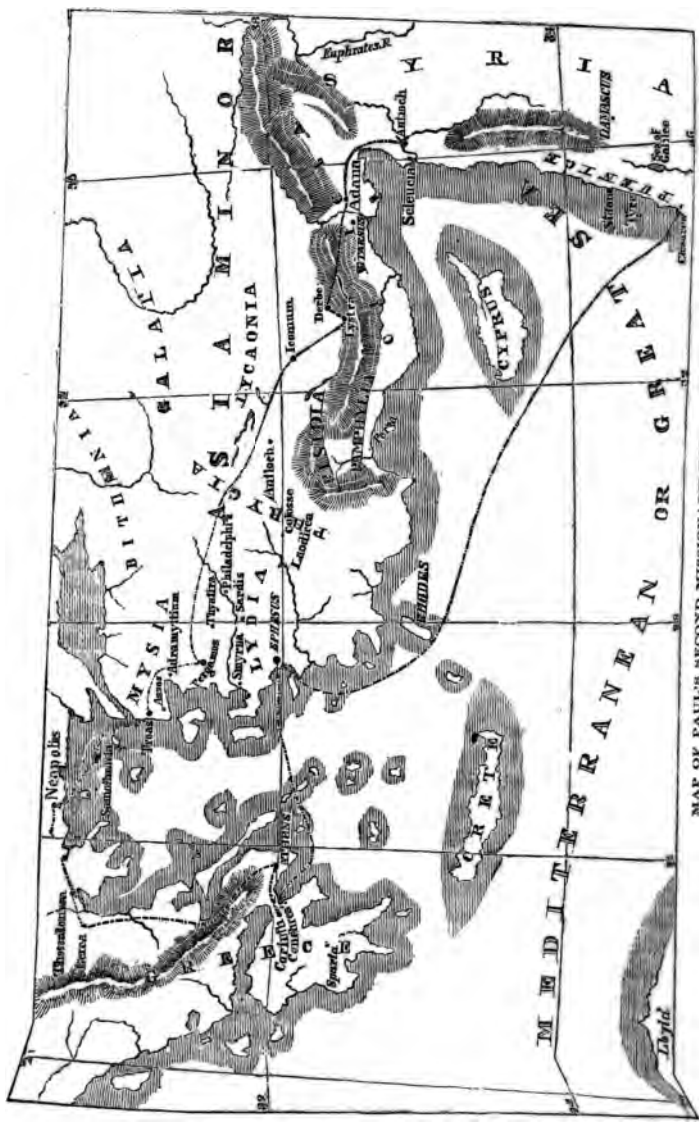
He would, most probably, leave Antioch by the bridge over the Orontes, and cross Amanus by the Beilan Pass, formerly known as the "Syrian Gates." Passing through Alexandria and Issus, he would enter the Cilician plain, and, most likely, visit Adana, Ægæ, and Mopsuetia, at that time conspicuous cities. Nor can we imagine that his native Tarsus would be passed by without a call. In all these places we may suppose companies of Christians, more or less numerous, existed; and Paul went among them, meeting many old friends, most of whom were his own spiritual children, and confirmed them in the faith of the gospel.

A NEW COMPANION.

We need not follow Paul again on his journey into Asia

* Acts xv. 40.

† Acts xv. 23.



MAP OF PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY TOUR.

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Minor. Sufficient be it to say that, by a route we have already traced, he came again to Derbe and Lystra—most probably in the spring of the year 51. But, having arrived at Lystra, we may pause a moment to notice the association, close, dear, and lasting, which was established between Paul and Timothy. This young man had been converted by Paul when on his previous tour. This fact we gather from three others: 1st, Paul meets him now as a “disciple;” * 2nd, he writes to him as to “his own son in the faith;” † and 3rd, in his second epistle, he reminds him of events that happened during his first journey, and of which, therefore, we may suppose the young man had been an impressed spectator. ‡ This Timothy was the son of parents who belonged to different races; his mother being a Jewess, whilst his father was a Greek. He was already known, not only in his native city, but even in Iconium, § for diligence and consistency as a man and as a disciple. From many allusions in the apostle’s letters to him, we may infer that with steadfastness of faith and lustre of virtue there was blended in his character the attraction of amiability. Paul loved him even to tenderness, and would have him to go forth with him. It was in no immediate sort inconsistent with the decree Paul had received at Jerusalem, nor with the catholic principles which he had himself professed, that he circumcised Timothy before they departed. His mother being a Jewess, though a disciple, would rejoice in this conformity to a custom she esteemed sacred; and other Jews in the locality would regard the young minister with augmented confidence.

FROM ICONIUM TO PHILIPPI.

The progress of the missionaries from Iconium was uncertain and irregular. The provinces into which they are described as having made entrance, and from labouring in which they were prevented by the Spirit, had boundaries but ill prescribed; and their limits, confusedly varying from the geographical to the popular, can now be traced with no pretence of certainty. In the map with which we have endeavoured to illustrate this journey, we have given a general outline of the route pursued, guiding ourselves by the authorised narrative, to which we need do no more than refer our readers.

Troas, at which point the record again becomes definite, was the name both of a district and a town. The scene of great

* Acts xvi. 1. † 1 Tim. i. 2. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11. § Acts xvi. 2.

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wars, this region has received a classical eminence in the history of the world. Alexander, of Macedonia, started from this point to overthrow the grand eastern powers; and now Paul of Tarsus, a son of the east, starts from the same point towards the west, in a nobler enterprise, destined to be crowned with a far wider and a more lasting success. The city would be more correctly called Alexander Troas. Founded by Antigonos, it was originally called by his name; but Lysimachus, his successor, having greatly extended and adorned it, changed its name from Antigonos Troas to the one it still retains. Its eminence has been occasioned rather by the dreams and purposes of monarchs respecting it, than by any supremacy either of architectural grandeur, political power, or commercial utility it ever actually acquired. At this place a vision of incalculable significance appeared to Paul. There stood before him a man of Macedonia, saying, "Come over and help us." Such was the simple circumstance in which originated the evangelization, and, it may not be unfitly said, the true civilization of Europe!

The apostle was quick to obey this singular call, and as soon as the morning dawned he was along with his companions—Silas, Timotheus, and Luke, who here joined him*—busy among the sailors of the harbour seeking for a passage to Europe.

Favoured by a fair wind to the south, they made fast for Samothrace, from whence, having anchored for the night, they proceeded to Neapolis. Here they landed, and reached Philippi, of which famous city Neapolis was the seaport, by a journey of about ten miles over a ridge of elevated land connecting together the range of Pangæus with the mountains in the interior of Thrace. Here they abode certain days.

TWO WOMEN OF OPPOSITE CHARACTERS: A PRISON, AND A HOME.

At Philippi there was no synagogue, the resident Jews being few in number. Such as lived there, chiefly women, worshipped in a building of slight and humble structure, open to the sky, temporarily used, outside the city gates, and by the river side.† On the Sabbath the Christian missionaries assembled with those who came here to worship, and, as their manner was, they

* Notice the change of person from the third to the first; Acts xvi. 10.

† Acts xvi. 13.

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addressed unto them the gospel of their Lord. Lydia, a native of Thyatira, and a Jewish proselyte, who is at Philippi by reason of her trade, which is that of a dyer, is impressed by the strange teachers of the strange doctrine, and her heart is opened. The holy adventurers, constrained by her cordial appeals, use her house as their home for the time being.

The beautiful and tranquil Christian fellowship thus cemented is soon disturbed by rougher and more trying scenes. A woman whose name is not given, being possessed of a spirit of divination, is employed by her masters to bring to them gain. It seems they have found it quite a profitable business. Her appeal was to the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants. Some curiosity having been undoubtedly awakened by the labours of Paul and his companions, it is her policy to follow him through the city, and by her gestures and exclamations draw towards them attentions by no means agreeable. Weary of her constant attacks, Paul commands the unclean spirit to come out of her, which, being done, the profits of her masters are stopped. Enraged at his interruption to their godless commerce, they lay violent hands on Paul and Silas (Timotheus and Luke not having been so prominently concerned in this transaction, remain unassailed), and take them to the forum, preferring against them vague charges of having disturbed the peace of the city. By some strange impulse the multitude share their rage, and the magistrates, overcome probably by the sudden commotion, give the order "*Summove, licitor, despolia, verbera*"—"Go, lictors; strip off their garments; let them be scourged." A Roman scourging is no trifling punishment; as Paul himself intimates,* they are "*shamefully treated*." After having received many stripes they are sent to prison, and the jailor receives special orders to keep them safe. Into the inner cell they are accordingly thrust, and their feet are made fast in the stocks. Reader, deceive not thyself by any fancies of the comforts of an English prison in modern times! Howard was no Roman, nor had he then lived; and those who were guilty of the greatest of all crimes, teaching new doctrine, were cast into dismal holes, damp and pestilential.

What mystic souls are these thus cruelly tortured, yet masters of their bonds? Even at the midnight hour, they pray and sing hymns unto God. Their feet are fast, but their faith is *all abundant*; and instead of groans of morose discontent,

* 1 Thess. ii. 2.

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they send forth psalms of solemn worship and cheerful thanksgiving. The heavens are not brass; and God withholds not his omnipotent response to the appeal of his servants. There is a great earthquake. The foundations of the prison are shaken. The prisoners, but now listening to the strange concert, find that their bands are loosed. The jailor awakes in terror; and is on the verge of the last and greatest crime a sinner can be brought to, when the remonstrance of his peculiar victim stays his hand. Perceiving that God is at work in all these things, he procures a light, takes his prisoners from their abominable dungeon, and asks what he shall do to be saved. Paul, gloriously composed, mindful that through faith in Christ, not stocks nor stripes, nor earthquakes could disturb him, replies, "Believe on the Lord Jesus!" God has been the preacher, and even the jailor, with all his household, are converted and baptized. The magistrates, also, have been somewhat agitated by these events, and in the morning send the serjeants, saying, "Let those men go." But no! Paul, who could not be subdued by persecution, is not the man to take advantage of any inglorious opportunity. He, too, is a citizen of Rome, and having been, without trial, privily cast into prison, he will have a public apology for the ill-treatment by being publicly led therefrom. Paul is a brave man as well as a zealous missionary; and, being true in all his purposes, that which horrified others, did but confirm him. The magistrates must bend to this humiliation. They deliver the captives: and Lydia, the meek, industrious, and hospitable, is once more the hostess of men to whose instrumentality she is indebted for all the joys of her salvation. But this is only for a short season. The magistrates have requested them to leave the city, and those who would not yield to tyranny, and who would not tolerate meanness, are alive to the obligations of courtesy. They see the brethren, and depart.*

FROM PHILIPPI TO ATHENS.

Timotheus and Luke remain at Philippi, they not having been even conventionally compromised by the circumstances at which we have just glanced. Paul and Silas pass on their way to *Thessalonica*. Their first stage is to *Amphipolia*, thirty-three miles from Philippi. Having rested here for the night, they

* Acts xvi. 16, 40

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find another day's journey of about thirty miles between themselves and Apollonia. Again weary, they again most likely accept repose, and the next day reach Thessalonica by a journey of thirty-seven miles. Here they remain for three weeks. A great number of Jews crowd together on the Sabbath, and amongst them the apostle may now be found. Accepting their own scriptures as the authority of his argument, he reasons with them that Jesus is the Christ. Many Jews, many Greeks, and many of the chief women of the city, believe. But the old scene is repeated. Unbelieving Jews stir up the people, the consequence of which is that the brethren see it proper to send both Paul and Silas on to Berea.

Berea is beautifully situated on the eastern slope of the Olympian range. Fertile in its soil, and richly watered by many streams, it is a place inviting to sober holiday and thoughtful repose. It has, at the time referred to, a population of from 15,000 to 20,000 souls, amongst whom a considerable number of Jews will be discovered. Here the preaching of the apostle has quickly excited the curiosity and anxious study of the people. They search the scriptures daily, to see if this doctrine be true. But the Jews of Thessalonica, hearing of these things, cannot rest; and, with the very abandonment of bigotry, they follow them, desiring to inflame the passions of the multitude against them.

Again Paul's prominence in labour involves him in isolation in endurance. He is compelled to quit a neighbourhood which threatens soon to become too hot for him, and takes ship for Athens, leaving Silas and Timotheus (who had probably rejoined him at Thessalonica) to carry on the work which he has so auspiciously commenced.

THE APOSTLE IN ATHENS.

It is impossible to approach this portion of our task without feelings of thrilling interest. The city into which the gospel is now brought was even then famous throughout the world, as the very centre and capital of philosophy and the arts. "Built," as Milton grandly says, "Built nobly on the Ægean shore," it was "the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence." There was not a god in the whole vocabulary of mythology but *might be said to have here a temple and worshippers.* *The situation and scenic glories, the architectural, geographical*

historical peculiarities of the city, will form the subject of a separate tract, and may be, therefore, for the present passed over. We shall find it necessary, and perhaps expedient, to confine our observations strictly to the visit of Paul and its effects.

The great apostle is here alone. Dismal grandeur and vast moral desolation afflict his vision, whilst, in silence, he awaits the advent of his companions. Idolatry and vain pretentious disputes occupy the time and the interests of the people. Moved by the spectacle, to him fraught with irresistible sadness, he can no longer keep silence, but disputes with Jews in the synagogue, with the devout people, and with such strangers as he accidentally meets in the Agora, a great market, situate in the very centre of the city. Here the sectarians of philosophy (for philosophy as well as religion has had its sects,) meet him, and with the readiness to discussion which is the marked characteristic of their temper, they immediately challenge him to controversy.

Though trained in a far different school, the apostle shrinks not from the task thus, somewhat rudely, put upon him. He speaks boldly of "Jesus and the resurrection." A various response is elicited. Some ridicule him as a mere babbler; others honour him as a serious teacher of a new religion. All are curious; and they carry him up to the Areopagus, the highest court of the city. On this famed spot the greatest criminals were tried, and the solemn problems of religion were decided. A flight of stone steps conducted hither immediately from the Agora; and at the top of the hill, the judges sat in seats hewn out of the immense rock, whose sides constituted the only walls (the sky forming the roof) of this celebrated hall. Earnestness is now in close contact, as well as in close contrast, with frivolity: the rampant scepticism of the people is brought face to face with the fervent faith of the apostle. With admirable ingenuity, to which the truest fidelity is not for a single moment sacrificed, Paul seizes on such topics of discourse as would be most likely to arrest the attention and subdue the hearts of his auditors, mingling the immutable truths of revelation with happy quotations from their own poets. As in the former instance, this address produces on different minds contrary effects. Again the mockers laugh; again the thoughtful and the sincere desire further information. But Paul has other business before him;

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and having bound a few disciples together in fellowship, he takes his departure for Corinth.

CORINTH AND EPHEBUS.

There was, between Athens and Corinth, all the difference of a capital and a province—of the seat of a university, and the seat of government. Attracted, perhaps, by its mercantile pre-eminence, and by the great number of Jews who resorted thither, Paul carried the gospel to this great metropolis. At the immediate period of his visit, the Jews, who had been banished from Rome by an edict of the Emperor Claudius, would be found here in great numbers. Among them were Aquila and Priscilla, natives of Pontus, afterwards residents at Rome,* who we may suppose were persons of good station, and certainly given to hospitality.† At first the bond between Paul and these people is an industrial one. Subsequently they were united in the sympathies of a common faith. They were tent-makers; and for certain days he abode with them, working with his own hands at his old trade. But he could not neglect his great mission, and he reasoned with the people on the Sabbath, in the synagogue. Being rejoined by Silas and Timotheus, who have followed him from Macedonia, he grows bolder in his speech, and arouses once more the indignation of the Jews. This time he himself, too, waxes indignant, and declares that from henceforth he will go unto the Gentiles. A proselyte, called Justus, receives him into his house, and Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, and consequently a man of very considerable learning and distinction, is one of his first converts; and so important is this accession to the new community esteemed to be, that Paul departs from the usual practice, and baptizes the disciple with his own hand.‡ After this he was encouraged by a vision of the Lord, and he prolonged his stay to the extent of a year and six months—time, we may be sure, thoroughly well spent.

It was during his residence at Corinth that Paul wrote his two letters to the Thessalonians. The first was occasioned by news brought by Timotheus—news of continued love, of strong persecutions, and of some minor theological errors. The epistle explains itself. The excitement which this communication was intended to allay, was rather fostered by it, though the perverse opposition of certain fanatics who had gained the ear of the

* *Romans* xvi. 3,

† *Rom.* xvi. 3; *1 Cor.* xvi. 19.

‡ *1 Cor.* i. 14—18.

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church; and not many months afterwards, Paul found it necessary to address another epistle to his friends and fellow disciples in this locality.

Gallio, originally called Annæus Novatus, has been recently appointed governor of the province of Achaia; and, taking advantage of his unacquaintance with the temper and circumstances of the citizens, the resident Jews unanimously combine in an insurrection against Paul. Gallio, however, comprehends the functions with which he has been invested too well to be betrayed into any squabble about the authority of the Jewish law, and he dismisses the application that has been made to him with a peremptory judgment. Thus secured by official neutrality, the apostle renews his labours with increased earnestness, and continues them for a period of some months. At length taking leave of the brethren, he proceeds to the eastern harbour of the port called Cenchreae, accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla. Here either Aquila or Paul shaved his head in fulfilment of a vow. Commentators are divided in opinion as to which it was.

Paul, having been accompanied by Priscilla and Aquila to Ephesus, there left them. Probably it was their intention to abide in this city. The vessel in which the apostle had taken his voyage was, it seems, bound for Syria, and only called at Ephesus on its way. Paul determined to accompany it, being anxious to arrive at Jerusalem in time for the Pentecostal feast. This being the case, we may safely guess that the day during which the ship staid at Ephesus was the Sabbath, and that Paul took advantage of this circumstance to visit, as was his wont, the synagogue of the Jews. The curiosity of his fellow-countrymen was excited, and their prejudices were not fiercely agitated, for they requested him to prolong his stay. From the reply made by Paul,* it is evident that he felt considerable interest in them. Taking ship again at Ephesus, he would pass by the coasts and islands of the Ægean to Cos and Cindus, and then would cross the open sea by Rhodes and Cyprus to Cæsarea, where he landed. Cæsarea was the capital of the Roman province of which it was the centre. Paul only stayed here long enough to salute the church; but, as it was the goal of his second missionary circuit, we there, for the present, must leave him.

* Acta xviii. 21.

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF PAUL.



Paul's First Missionary Tour.

THREE YEARS AT EPHESUS.

As we have to compress within the limits of the present tract all that is left us to relate of the life and labours of Paul, we shall have no room either for elaborate narrative or prolonged reflection. This is not to be regretted, however, for we have *ready been able to see how Paul became what he was; we*

have followed him through the principal theatres of his enterprise; and we have been brought into contact with sufferings, persecutions, dangers, and fatigues which may be fairly regarded as typical of those that beset his whole career. Our review now, therefore, may become more rapid and generalized, without losing any of its real instructiveness; and we may hasten to those tragic glories in which the life of our hero was consummated, with the full persuasion that our readers will appreciate the experiences and stirring religious adventures by which they were preceded, and from which they chiefly derive their melancholy splendour.

We left the apostle at Cæsarea. From this place he immediately passed—waiting only to salute the church—to Antioch. A brief sojourn here, the occupations of which have not been recorded, was followed by a systematic revisitation of the churches scattered throughout “the country of Galatia and Phrygia.”* It is worthy of note that we have now lost the companionship of Silas, who most probably remained at Jerusalem, and whose name, though honourably mentioned by Peter,† is not again found in association with that of the apostle to the Gentiles.

Paul, at length, came to Ephesus, where, during this visit, he was to witness a great triumph of the gospel he proclaimed. He had been preceded by Apollos, who had learned Christianity from John the Baptist, but who brought to the support of partial information, great ability in the application of Scripture and a wonderful power of eloquence. His preaching had naturally proved mighty, and Aquila and Priscilla, having been among his hearers, were enabled to supply him with many new facts by which his apprehensions of the nature of the gospel were greatly improved. When Paul arrived at Ephesus, however, he found still remaining there several disciples of John the Baptist; and with his accustomed energy he proceeded to correct their views, and so far succeeded that they were baptized again in the name of the Lord Jesus.

It was most probably during the second year of Paul’s stay at Ephesus, that he paid a short visit to his Christian brethren at Corinth—a visit which is not mentioned by Luke, but to which there are obvious references in his second epistle to *that people*.‡ This visit was deeply painful to his mind, for it made him acquainted with habits of licentiousness so

* Acts xviii. 23. † 1 Peter v. 12. ‡ 2 Cor. xii. 14; xiii. 1; ii. 1, &c.

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common, open, and disgusting, that he felt the honour of his faith was compromised by their unrebuked and unpunished indulgence. After his return, he continued to receive reports of these shameful practices; and he at length wrote a letter, evidently severe, in condemnation of them.* Unfortunately this letter has not been preserved to us. In this letter he, by virtue of his apostolical authority, ordained that fornication should be punished by excommunication from the church. Even this chastisement, however, did not produce a satisfactory effect; and other evils were added to those against which it was mainly, if not exclusively, directed. The antagonism of faction commenced. The unity of the church was broken by the introduction of a busy and unyielding party spirit.† Consentaneously with his discovery of this fact, he heard of a most shameless instance of immorality.‡ To the abolition of these disreputable proceedings, and to the correction of some minor faults, the first epistle to the Corinthians is devoted; and it would be quite superfluous for us to pause even for a moment to point out how admirably it is adapted to the accomplishment of that purpose.

But whilst these foreign occupations engaged the apostle's thoughts, exciting scenes at home were preparing for him. Ephesus, famous from the earliest ages for the vastness and splendour of its public buildings, could at this time boast a theatre, perhaps the largest in the world, and a temple gorgeous beyond conception—the famous “temple of Diana.” The national pride in this magnificent edifice (of which no ruins now remain) was only surpassed by the fervour of the idolatry carried on within its walls. Indeed, Diana may be said to have owed her best worship to the magnificence of her shrine, rather than to the religious sentiments of her devotees. Formed in simplicity, and supposed to have fallen from the sky, she was regarded with the utmost reverence; and the glorious charms of the temple, contrasted with the primitive rudeness of the goddess to whom it was consecrated, made its worship a luxury, and its celebrity a grand civic boast.

Great attention having been attracted to Paul's name and doctrine by a curious event, for a record of which we need only to refer the reader to the authentic narrative;§ and Paul, though so far purposing to visit Macedonia, Achaia, and Jerusalem as to have sent Timothy and Erastus forward to make

* 1 Cor. v. 9—13. † 1 Cor. i. 11, 12. ‡ 1 Cor. v. 1. § Acts xix. 13—20.

arrangements for his journey, having determined to continue some time longer in Asia, we can easily understand that some excitement would begin to be manifested in this city, abandoned as it was to idolatry and pride.*

The month of May was yielded up to revelries by the Ephesians and the whole surrounding population, in honour of their far-famed goddess. At such a season those who made portable shrines of Diana found a ready and extensive sale for their goods. A master manufacturer of such articles, named Demetrius, perceiving that the new religion was inimical to the superstitions of his nation, and that, it being now extensively understood and increasingly believed by the people, his craft, as well as his faith, was in danger, called together his fellow-workmen—his own journeymen, and the artizans engaged in his trade. He appealed primarily to their avarice, and cunningly also to their pride and their religious prejudices, and aroused among them a spirit of reckless and angry fanaticism. By the prudence of his fellow-disciples, Paul was kept from the fury of the mob which was speedily collected, and which had assembled within the walls of the immense theatre. Those who knew what they were come for were so desperate, and those who knew nothing about it—the great majority—were so impatient, that tumult and confusion were the chief characteristics of the meeting. So great did the excitement become, that the civic officers found it necessary to use their influence first to appease, and then to disperse the multitude. The town-clerk pleaded the sufficiency of the law, and demanded that, if any had done wrong, they should be formally accused before the deputies, and that the peace and honour of the city should not thus be hazarded by the rashness and timidity of a few interested men. Thus this noisy demonstration, which had been provoked by the success of Paul's ministrations through a period of three years, ended without personal injury to its guileless victim; and he was permitted, notwithstanding the fury of his enemies, to take a peaceful farewell of the friends with whom he had lived and laboured so long and so harmoniously. And this farewell was final. We have no authentic or even plausible account of any personal renewal—save the interview with the elders at *Miletus*—of the association thus interrupted; but though Paul *was never again* at Ephesus, we may be sure his name was long

* Acts xix. 21, &c.

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and gratefully remembered by those whom he had been instrumental in bringing out of darkness into marvellous light.

THE JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

The apostolic history concisely sums up in a few words the progress of Paul during a space of nine months: "He departed to go into Macedonia, and when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece and there abode three months.* We learn, however, from his epistles, some interesting details of his journey. He called at Alexandria Troas on his way.† Here he waited some time anxiously desiring to see Titus, whom, soon after the despatch of his first letter to the Corinthians, he had sent on a special mission to Corinth.‡ He was disappointed, and so he pressed forward. Sailing from Troas to Macedonia, he landed at Neapolis and renewed his fellowship with the saints at Philippi. The whole tone of the second letter to the Corinthians, which was, we have every reason to believe, written from this place, indicates that he was now labouring under heavy and sore depression of soul. The solitudes of his devotion, the responsibilities of his office, and, perhaps, his past experiences and his strong apprehensions that severer sufferings in the future awaited him, undoubtedly had much to do with his sadness; but it is not irrational to suppose that the chronic malady by which he was afflicted§ now troubled him, and that the agonies of the flesh claimed, as they ever will, the sympathetic sadness of the spirit. Indeed, we can hardly understand the peculiar character of the letter he wrote at this season on any other hypothesis than that he was now reduced to great weakness, and oppressed with the irresistible tokens of his mortality. The latter part of the communication so revels in the shame of death on the one hand, and in the triumphs of immortality on the other, that it could have originated only in the mighty conflicts which a keen appreciation of both would occasion.

Titus arrived to cheer him with hopeful news in the midst of these melancholy forebodings. True, the news was not all encouraging. Some of those whose sins had elicited his apostolic rebuke had become more unscrupulous in consequence of *its administration*, and openly charged this brave and martyr-

* Acts xx. 1-3. † 2 Cor. ii. 12. ‡ 2 Cor. ii. 13. § 2 Cor. xii. 7-9.

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souled man with craft, with ambition, with avarice, and all the vices that are associated with hypocrisy. They, however, were but a small minority in the church; and the majority not only disowned their malicious insinuations, but had responded to the appeal of their father in the gospel; they had excluded the incestuous person, and had made a liberal subscription for the benefit of their poor brethren at Jerusalem. The small party of malcontents were headed by an emissary from Palestine, and evidently belonged to that bigoted sect who sought, by any means, to betray Christianity into the corruptions of Judaism;* and one of their chief motives to detract from the honour of Paul was his liberal policy as a religious reformer. In the second letter Paul vindicates himself and confounds his accusers in a passage, the manliness, fidelity, and eloquence of which entitle it to distinction, not only among his own wonderful compositions, but in the literature of the world. It combines the energy of forensic art with the delicacy, fervour, and dignity of Christian grace.

Titus having been despatched once more to Corinth to superintend the collection of aid to the poor in Jerusalem (in company with two other trusted disciples, whose names we have no means of positively ascertaining),† Paul prosecutes his work in the regions to the north of Greece. It is impossible to guess, with any hope of accuracy, the precise route of his travels or the nature of his occupations as he pursued them. Before visiting Corinth, where divisions, in which he was personally and delicately involved, prevailed, he would desire that his letter should work its effect on the minds of the disciples there. Opportunity for the attainment of this natural object having been allowed, he wends his way thither. His purposes are as firm as his feelings are tender. Friendship and piety alike prompt him to vigorous measures, and, if needs be, to decided severity. Upon his arrival, however, his anxieties are painfully diverted by intelligence from the churches of Galatia. The Judaizing teachers have been busy, and, what is worse, successful there also. With admirable promptitude he sets himself to the immediate destruction of this sore evil. He writes that letter, *so rich in argument, in scriptural philosophy, and in eloquent remonstrance*, which for ever will be known as the “*Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians*.” This business accomplished, he

* 2 Cor. xi.

† 2 Cor. viii. 18—24.

commences his solemn enterprise at Corinth. Having to grapple with lawless spiritualists on the one hand, and with the slaves of law on the other, by his preaching and teaching he vindicates the gospel as at once the perfect law of liberty and the perfect liberty of law—as the purity of a spiritual life, and as the spirituality of a pure life. This glorious undertaking occupies him for three months, and Clement, who evidently knew, has left a pleasing testimony of the completeness with which it was achieved.

At this time there resided at Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth, a lady of respectability and wealth, whose piety had gained the confidence of the disciples.* This woman, Phœbe by name, was about to sail to Rome on some matter of private business. Paul took this opportunity of writing a letter to the Christians in that city. To them his name would be well known, although he had had no personal fellowship with them. He had never as yet visited Rome. There were many there, however, whom he had incidentally met in the flesh, and he purposed himself to visit them when on his way from Jerusalem to Spain. As in other churches, so at Rome, there were divisions between Gentiles and Jews; and the main purpose of the epistle is to reconcile them, by showing to the former that Christianity had a philosophy worthy of their respect; to the latter that it was worthy of their respect, notwithstanding that it had a philosophy; and to both, that it was “the power of God unto salvation.” Thus originated the EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS: and as the controversy between philosophy and law has never been terminated, it is an epistle for all peoples and for all times.

Things now began to be more favourable to his long projected journey to Jerusalem. A number of fellow-disciples† preceded Paul and Luke to Troas, where they waited for their arrival. The voyage, which would be ordinarily accomplished in two days, from some unexplained causes, in this instance occupied five days. At Troas, seven days were spent in missionary activity and christian communion. The visit was brought to a close under circumstances that contributed to it a memorable interest. On the Sabbath (that is, the Christian Sabbath) the disciples had assembled in the evening for the purpose of celebrating the *remembrance of their Lord*. They were congregated in an *upper room, which had a balcony projecting over the street*.

* Rom. xvi. 1, 2.

† Acts xx. 4.

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The room was full, and being lighted with many lamps, was unusually warm. Paul's address, moreover, was very protracted. A young man, seated in the balcony, going to sleep, fell therefrom into the street, or court. Paul broke off his discourse and rushed to the poor fellow, and, having embraced what seemed to be a corpse, pronounced him living. The consternation of the people at this tragical occurrence was now turned into joy; and with unusual gratitude they partook together of the solemn feast. With these tokens of affection and religious sympathy, they separated.

Paul's companions in travel and in adventure had, at his request, taken ship before him, and had sailed for Assos. By the old Roman road, this was twenty miles distant from Troas; by water it was nearly twice as far, the vessel having to go round Cape Lecturn. By this arrangement, Paul secured a few hours' longer fellowship with his friends, and a pleasant walk alone. Solitude would have its charms for his great soul at this season; and his journey would be rendered at once sweet and solemn by reflections on the mysteries of his life, the probabilities of his future, and the grand revelations of his God. As he walked along, his heart would move with the varied impulses of wonder, of gratitude, of fear, and of faith; and undoubtedly he would accompany himself with strains of deep though silent thanksgiving, and with the holy thoughts of prayer.

He arrived at Assos in time to meet the ship, and having been received on board, with his godly companions, immediately set sail. They called at this beautiful city, and most probably remained for the night in its harbour. The navigation of these seas being a critical work, it would seem that the day was chosen for the voyage, and that the various harbours on the coast were made available for shelter during the nights. Proceeding by short stages, the vessel at length arrived at Miletus, having paused successively at Chios, Samos, and Trogyllium. At Miletus the ship was detained for some time—a circumstance of which Paul took advantage. To go himself to Ephesus would have been hazardous to his purpose of being in Jerusalem in time for the Pentecostal festivities; so he sent a message from Miletus to the presbyters of the church at Ephesus—a distance of nearly thirty miles—desiring them to come and meet him. *This they did*, and he addressed to them a charge full of excellent counsel and sacred encouragement—a charge in which one

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knows not which most to admire, the spirituality of its import, or the subduing pathos of its personal allusions. In this address, he takes a solemn and final farewell of those with whom he had held sweet intercourse and engaged in many pious services; and commending them to God, whilst he urges them to every Christian word and work, he melts their hearts at the same time that he edifies their faith. In mutual love and sorrow, they together pray. With noble grief these people weep, as they fall upon the neck of him who had been the instrument of their salvation and their constant friend. Reluctant to part for ever from one bound to them by ties of such varied sanctity, they accompany him to the ship, and when he at last departs, they return with sorrowing souls to Ephesus. These touches of tenderness show that Paul was as true a child of humanity, as he was a brave and faithful servant of God. He had the heart of a man, as well as the heroism of a saint.

The same afternoon which witnessed this affecting interview, saw Paul and his companions sailing in a direction due south towards the island of Cos, a distance from Miletus of about forty nautical miles. This place—the wind being fair and the course straight—they would gain in six hours. Another day's sail would bring them to Rhodes. Having arrived at Patara, they found it advantageous to leave the ship, and take a vessel bound for Phœnicia. They go on board and immediately set sail for the open sea. With a fair wind, there would be no reason why the voyage should not be prosecuted by night as well as by day; and thus Paul's desire to be in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost would be encouraged.

This vessel had to unload her burden at Tyre, which was distant from Patara three hundred and forty geographical miles. We may fairly suppose, from the tone of Luke's narrative, that the weather was eminently favourable, and if so, the passage might be comfortably made in forty-eight hours. Paul found Tyre sadly degenerated since Ezekiel and Isaiah had described its commercial glory. Still it remained a place of considerable trade in corn and wine, and it had some manufactures of glass and purple. As the ship had here to lose its load, a delay of some days would be inevitable. Paul employed himself well in the meantime. There were, even at Tyre, a small body of *Christians*, and some of them were blessed with prophetic power. The apostle sought intercourse with these. *Sunday*

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was thus spent, and Paul broke bread with his brethren. On his departure—for the warnings and appeals of those who foresaw his danger could not move him from his purpose—those lamentations of regret and outbursts of affection which had made his separation from the disciples at Miletus so impressive, were renewed; and prayers and tears attested the cordiality of the farewell.

Sailing southwards, the missionary band, before night-fall, reached Ptolemais, a town more ancient than Tyre, and therefore far more ancient than Cæsarea, but which, rendered important by its geographical position, has outlived both those places. In olden times it was “the pivot” of the contests between Persia and Egypt. The Crusaders called it St. Jean d’Acre. In our own times public attention has been called to the strength of its fortresses; and this place, associated with the spiritual campaign of Paul, has been the scene, also, of the martial exploits of our own countrymen, Sir Sydney Smith and Sir Charles Napier. At the time of Paul’s visit there were already a company of Christian disciples resident in the city, and in fellowship with these he spent one day. One day’s journey by land—between thirty and forty miles—would bring those who were of Paul’s company, and who left the ship at Acre, to Cæsarea. Here resided Philip and his family, consisting of five daughters, who were enriched with the higher powers of the Spirit, and who, with their father—one of the earliest disciples—were consecrated to the service of the church. In this family Paul would be sure of a hearty welcome; and though the happiness of their intercourse with him would be mingled with grave apprehensions of the dangers which he was destined to meet at Jerusalem, it would be sweetened by the interchange of holy records of labour and of triumph in the cause of Christ. Those apprehensions soon received a painful stimulus. A prophet, named Agabus, from Jerusalem, came down to Cæsarea, and, by expressive symbols, announced the impending trials. On all present the effect of this dramatic caution was overwhelming, and they unitedly besought him to abandon his purpose. But he was unshaken by their appeals, and indicated the firmness of his mind in a remonstrance which may be for ever quoted as a protest of martyr magnanimity and of chivalric human love: “What, mean ye to weep and break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name

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of the Lord Jesus." In the presence of such stalwart faith and such impregnable purpose, what could they do but utter that everlasting form of resignation, "The Lord's will be done?"

THE SAINT AND MISSIONARY HERO IN THE HOLY CITY.

Paul's first reception at Jerusalem was one of encouraging welcomes. On the morning which followed his arrival, James (who was president of the church at Jerusalem) called together the presbyters and elders to receive Paul, and the brethren who, along with him, represented the Gentile churches. After fraternal salutations had been exchanged, Paul relates, greatly to the joy of his auditors, what wonderful things God had accomplished among the Gentiles by his ministry. Beneath these outward manifestations of sympathy, however, there lurked the elements of strife. The church at Jerusalem contained a Pharisaic faction—busy, suspicious, bigoted, and unyielding. These were but too ready to test the measure in which the apostle would support them; and many weak believers would be entrapped into alliance with them should an outbreak occur. Some even among the presbyters had been obviously affected by the malicious rumours which these sectarian propagandists had put into circulation. These persons gave to Paul formidable representations of the strength and the animosity of the Pharisaic party, and suggested an expedient by which the suspicions of the multitude should be disarmed, and the misrepresentations of the few refuted. Now the very object of Paul's visit was to conciliate the contending sects into which the church at Palestine was unfortunately divided; he would therefore be predisposed to adopt any method of impressing both his friends and his enemies with the purity of his intentions and the uncorrupted catholicity of his mind. The plan suggested was this. There were then at Jerusalem four Jewish Christians who at that time were under a Nazaritic vow. It was proposed that of these Paul should take charge—that he should himself accompany them to the temple—and that he should pay the necessary expenses of the fulfilment of their vow. In this arrangement Paul might feel there was nothing by which his Christian integrity would be compromised. He consequently consented, and the next day, which was the great feast of Pentecost, he purified himself, entered with them into the temple, and made himself responsible for the four men.

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It may be here explained, that the usual period assigned to the ascetic rigour undertaken in the making of a vow, was thirty days. During this time, the subject of the vow was obliged to abstain from wine and to allow his hair to grow uncut. When the period of self-denial was completed, it was his duty to appear in the temple, where his hair was cut off and burnt upon the altar. Certain offerings, however, must accompany this act, and as these were beyond the means of the poor,* it was considered to be an act of pious charity for a wealthy man to provide the offerings for his poor brother. By what means Paul acquired the means of relieving four men of this somewhat heavy obligation, we can do no more than guess. Perhaps he was authorised to devote to this purpose a portion of that contribution with which he was charged. Perhaps the council of elders had engaged to reimburse him, and thus accredit to him the advantages of the act. It is not impossible, however, that Paul—of whose industry we have had abundant evidence—was enabled to supply the necessary sum from his own private resources.

The expedient unhappily failed; for the superstitious and the prejudiced are not to be conciliated by any means. Sectarian malice—and the history of the world confirms and abundantly illustrates the statement—is the very hardest thing to subdue. The precise policy adopted by Paul to meet the prejudices of his enemies, was the precise offence that provoked their resentment. The temple was esteemed sacred to the faithful Jews alone. Of these the most rigid and scrupulous were now collected together in the city. Paul was an apostate, and when he was recognised in the temple, the cry was raised that the temple of God was defiled. Not only was Paul accused of teaching “all men everywhere against the people, the law, and this place,” but he was even charged with having introduced Greeks into the holy place which no Gentile might approach.

This reverence for the sacred spot undoubtedly saved Paul's life; but the infuriated crowd rushed upon him, and violently dragged him into the Court of the Gentiles. The fury of the mob received an unexpected check, in the arrival of the chief captain of the band and the soldiers, or it would speedily have resulted in the death of its helpless victim. The sight of Claudius Lysias, however, paralysed the anger of the crowd, who “now

* Numbers vi. 13—21.

left off beating Paul." The commander ordered Paul to be bound, and enquired of the bystanders what was the nature and cause of the tumult. Some cried one thing and some another; and finding it impossible to get any certain information, he ordered the man to be taken to the castle, or barracks. The multitude pressed so much upon the soldiers that Paul was actually borne with them up the staircase. Claudius Lysias, it seems, made the mistake of supposing that Paul was the Egyptian rebel who had lately stirred the city to insurrection. When Paul, therefore, asked permission to address the crowd, he was surprised to hear him speak in the Greek tongue. Finding that he was a Jew of Tarsus, he would most likely conceive that the disturbance had arisen from some mere religious squabble or misunderstanding. Paul's was a brave request, and, dictated by the inspiration of the terrible circumstances, it was undoubtedly preferred with an impressive dignity of faith which the military officer could not resist. The mob seemed to be suddenly impressed, also, by the strange bearing of him whom they had so savagely assailed, and when he beckoned unto them with his hand, there was a great silence. He addressed them in Hebrew, which would still further tranquillize their raging spirits. So long as he spoke of his early life, his zeal as a persecutor, his mission to Damascus, and his conversion, they listened to him in silence, but no sooner had he declared unto them how he was appointed the minister of God unto the Gentiles, than their passions were again aroused, and it was found necessary at once to take him within the castle. Most probably Lysias would not be able to comprehend this speech, and the new commotion perplexed him. Concluding that his prisoner must have committed some enormous offence, he orders him to be "examined by scourging," in order to elicit from him a confession of his guilt. From this torture Paul saves himself by the intimation that he is a free-born citizen of Rome—a knowledge of which fact throws Lysias into a state not only of astonishment, but of consternation—he having already violated the law he was appointed to administer. To release Paul from custody, however, would be only to hand him over to destruction. At the same time he knows not the nature of the charges brought against him. He therefore orders him to be unbound, and calls a meeting of the Sanhedrin for the morrow.

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Before this august assembly Paul is accordingly brought; but he has no sooner commenced his vindictory statement than Ananias, the high-priest, commanded him to be struck upon the mouth. Such a brutal order naturally filled the apostle with indignation, and he exclaimed: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest thou me to be smitten contrary to the law?" This utterance of excited feeling proved to be prophetic; for in the Jewish wars, the same Ananias was assassinated by the Sicarii.* The words were resented as profane by the Sanhedrin, and Paul, when he understood that the victim of his just rebuke was a high-priest, pleaded the apology of ignorance. Convinced by all these incidents that he had no chance, in such a court, of an impartial trial, and perceiving that part of his judges were Pharisees, whilst part were Sadducees, he ingeniously introduces the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead as the great theme of his ministry and the question of the present angry controversy. The antagonism of the two sects is at once aroused, and, as Paul had not yet declared to which side he belonged, they hated one another so thoroughly, that the contention now became rather who should claim him as their own. The controversy grew to a quarrel; and Lysias fearing that Paul, between his violent friends and his more violent enemies (both classes equally despicable for the bigotry and ignorance of their impulses), would be destroyed, ordered the troops to go down instantly and bring him again into the castle.

"THE PRISONER OF THE LORD."

This exciting season is followed by a consolatory and encouraging vision from the Lord, and Paul is informed that Rome, as well as Jerusalem, must witness the fidelity of his devotion. But the means which should lead to this issue were not yet revealed. They were being rapidly prepared, however; for, on the following day, a dastardly scheme for taking away his life was devised; and having come to the knowledge of Paul's nephew, it was made known to the commandant of the fortress, who, in genuine kindness, arranged for the conveyance of the prisoner, under safe escort to Cæsarea, where Felix, the governor of the province, resided. The circumstances having been laid before Felix in a letter which has been preserved,†

* Josephus B. J. II, 17. 9.

† Acts xxiii. 26—30.

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the governor asked the prisoner before him to what province he belonged—a question dictated not only by personal courtesy, but by political prudence also. Paul having stated that he was a native of the province of Cilicia, Felix directed that he should be kept in Herod's prætorium, and promised, as soon as his accusers should be brought, to hear and judge the matter. Felix was destitute of every claim to ordinary respect. His private life was tainted with every corruption of lust, and his administration of public affairs was but one series of infidelities, cruelties, meannesses, and crimes. Tacitus describes him in a few words thus: "In the practise of all kinds of lust and cruelty, he exercised the power of a king with the temper of a slave."* From such a judge justice could only be expected as the result of some unusual and fortunate accident. We shall see to what extent justice was realised on the present occasion.

In five days the accusers, with their advocate, (one Tertullus, a Roman, who understood the forms of law and practised in provincial courts), arrived at Cæsarea, and the trial was at once commenced. In this instance the accusations are clearly made out, and Paul's conduct is described in a fashion which made its illegality seem indisputable. The counts in the bill of indictment are three:—First, that the prisoner had caused disturbances among the Jews throughout the empire (which was an offence against the empire, and was, indeed, regarded as treason against the emperor); secondly, with being a ringleader of the sect of Nazarenes (which involved heresy against the law of Moses); and, thirdly, with an attempt to profane the temple at Jerusalem (which was an offence against the Roman as well as the Jewish law, the Romans having engaged to protect the Jews in the exercise of their worship). So far Tertullus had said nothing inconsistent with the conventional moralities of his profession, but he concluded his address with a barefaced misrepresentation of the facts. He insinuated that Lysias had been guilty of a breach of his official duty in forcibly preventing Paul from being properly judged by the ecclesiastical courts of his country; and this false statement was evidently designed to secure the judgment of Paul to the Sanhedrin. Though this representation, however, was endorsed by the Jews present, Felix retained the business in his own hands, and heard Paul's defence.†

Felix having, from his long residence in Cæsarea, a better

* *Hist.* v. 2.

† *Acts* xxiv. 10–21.

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knowledge of the religious questions at issue, would appreciate the animosity of the Jews to Paul, and might have decided at once; but he must temporise, and so he postpones his judgment until Lysias and himself had conferred on the matter. Paul evidently had produced some impression upon his mind; for he carefully protects him from the anger of his enemies, at the same time allowing him every relaxation compatible with his confinement, and giving orders that his friends and acquaintance were to be allowed uninterrupted fellowship with him.

Paul's courage is not yet subdued, and he can stand before kings. Felix had married a Jewess named Drusilla, whom he had enticed from her lawful husband, by the aid of a magician, supposed by many to have been Simon Magus. Most likely this woman would feel some curiosity to see Paul, and know more of the "Christ" he preached. At any rate, Felix sent for the prisoner, and heard him, in her presence, "concerning the faith of Christ." Paul was not content, under such circumstances, to preach a merely theological discourse; he "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come;" inasmuch that the judge was the accused, and the prisoner the accuser. Felix trembled, and dismissed him. This fear, however, was not that of repentance; for, although these interviews were frequently renewed, we have the direct authority of the historian himself for believing that it was the purpose of this unscrupulous governor to get a bribe from Paul to set him at liberty. Such a transaction was not according to the apostle's mode of doing things. It was easier for him to suffer than thus to degrade himself; and so he continued the imprisoned victim of caprice and of suspense for the space of two years.

Felix, for his crimes and cruelties, was hated by the population over whom he had been placed. During the period of Paul's confinement, this hatred broke forth in open disturbance. The troops, the heathen population, and the Jews fraternized in the rebellion. At length the evil became so notorious and threatening that Felix was summoned to Rome, whither his accusers followed him. Anxious to purchase, even by a further sacrifice of his character as a prince, the immediate favour of the Jews, he left Paul in prison. Festus succeeded Felix as governor of the province; and, being on a visit to Jerusalem, *was quickly besieged by the enemies of Paul, who still thirsted for his blood, and who besought Festus, as a favour, to give up*

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the prisoner to their condemnation. Festus, however, had his responsibilities, whatever his private feelings might have been; and such a course would have been in flagrant violation of the law of Rome. He, therefore, refused to grant this request, and instituted a new trial. Charges conflicting and false were again preferred, and again refuted. But Festus was more inclined to purchase the approbation of the Jews by injustice than to win fame by honour; and he foolishly asked Paul to go up to Jerusalem to be judged by his enemies! Paul was not thus easily to be betrayed. He could stand upon his honour as a citizen of Rome. He appealed unto Cæsar. The native and unenfranchised populations of the Roman provinces were subject to the arbitrary and unlimited power of the local governors, whether they were proconsuls, prætors, or procurators; but a citizen of Rome had a guarantee against any abuse of this great power in his case, by the right of an appeal to the supreme power of the empire. In cases of obvious and dangerous crimes, such an appeal would be sometimes disallowed; and, as Festus had not yet been made aware of the particular offences with which his present prisoner was charged, he was placed in some perplexity as to whether or not it should be granted in this instance. He, therefore, sought the counsel of his "assessors," and, under their advice, at once granted the appeal.

But the difficulties of the governor had not yet ceased. He had decided to send Paul to Rome; but he was bound, also, to send all the documents of indictment, evidence, and defence, which the previous progress of the case had elicited. It was so, however, that Paul had had as yet no real trial; and, though he had been a prisoner for two years, his judges had not yet learned the precise nature of his offence. Of this fact Festus himself was evidently conscious.* It so happened that at this time Herod Agrippa II, king of Chalcis, and Bernice his sister, paid a visit to the new governor. He was superintendent of the temple; he held the power of appointing the high priest; he was learned in all that related to Jewish law; and it was, therefore, very natural that Festus should confer with his royal friend. The subsequent narrative is given in fullest detail by Luke; and we need, in now reproducing it, do no more than call the reader's attention to the combined dignity and courtesy of *Paul's behaviour* throughout the interview with these princely

* Acts xxv. 27.

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personages. It was Agrippa's conviction that Paul ought to have been set at liberty; but as he had appealed to Rome, to Rome he must be sent.

THE VOYAGE, SHIPWRECK, AND ARRIVAL AT ROME.

Paul, with sundry other state prisoners, was appointed to sail in a ship of Adramyttium, whose course lay along the coast of the provinces of Asia. Probably, this vessel was engaged in the coasting trade, and if so would call at the various ports for purposes of commerce. Thus on the very day after sailing from Cæsarea, the vessel put in at Sidon. It is possible, however, that the westerly and north-westerly winds, so common in the Levant, would render it advisable to wait there for more favourable weather. If so, on leaving Sidon, the wind was still unfriendly; so much so, that instead of taking the direct course southward of Cyprus, the voyagers sailed to the north-east, and north of the island,* under the mountains of Cilicia, and through the bay of Pamphylia, to Lycia. They came to anchor in the harbour of Myra, where was a ship bound for Italy, and much larger undoubtedly than the coasting vessel they had hitherto employed. The centurion took the prisoners on board. From the first the weather was unpropitious. It occupied "several days" (verse 7) to reach Cnidus, only one hundred and thirty miles distant from Myra.

Here the regular course of the voyage was departed from. Avoiding the strong force of the sea from the westward, they ran down in a southerly direction, rounded Cape Salmone, and proceeded under the lee of that island, until they came to a roadstead not far eastward of Cape Metala, known by the name of Fair Havens, near which was a town called Lasea. Here much time was spent, and as "the fast was already past"—a proverbial phrase, which indicates that it was the period of the year which we denominate "Michaelmas"—Paul forewarned the captain and crew of the dangers of the voyage, and predicted calamity. The centurion, however, determined to proceed—a determination which was supported by the majority of the passengers, on the ground that the harbour was not commodious, and from a desire, if possible, to gain the harbour of *Phœnix*—in modern times called Lutro.

A sudden change of weather favoured this design. The

* Acts xxvii. 4, 5.

north-westerly wind ceased. A light air sprang up from the south. The ship weighed anchor, and bore round Cape Metala—five miles from Fair Havens, and thirty-five miles from Phoenix. Suddenly the vessel was seized by a mighty gust of wind from the mountains, rushing E.N.E., and was driven violently towards Clauda. Here the sailors became afraid that they should be driven into the Syrtis (not correctly rendered “quicksands;” the phrase obviously refers to the bay between Tunis and Tripoli, the navigation of which was notoriously dangerous). A state of excitement was, in this instance, a state of activity. Taking advantage of the temporary lull secured by running under the lee of Clauda, they hoisted the boat on board. Guarding against a leak—of which there was much hazard—they girded the ship by passing strong ropes round her frame, and fastening them tightly on deck. They lowered some, or all of their sails, to avoid being driven into the Syrtis. In this position she was allowed to drift. Her head was brought as near to the wind as possible, and with a small amount of canvass, so adjusted as to prevent the vessel from falling off into the trough of the sea, she would probably drift at the rate of a mile and half in the hour. “The *direction*,” say the authors of “The Life and Epistles of Paul,” in their admirable account of this momentous incident, “in which she drifts is not that in which she appears to sail, or towards which her bows are turned; but she falls off to leeward: and to the angle formed by the line of the ship’s keel and the line in which the wind blows, we must add another, to include what the sailors call *leeway*; and this may be estimated on the average at six points (67 deg.) Thus we come to the conclusion that the direction of the drift would make an angle of thirteen points (147 deg.) with the direction of the wind. If the wind was E.N.E. the course of the vessel would be W. by N.”—pp. 339, 340.

The storm continued with unabated violence, and the precautions against springing a leak it would seem had proved unsuccessful, for on the day after they left Clauda, they cast overboard what could be best spared, and again on the third day all “spare gear” was thrown into the sea. Of all these terrible conditions, *consternation* was the inevitable fruit. *Darkness, a roaring sea, a leaky vessel, a dangerous situation, spoiled provisions, were a combination of circumstances sufficient to waken*

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despair in the very stoutest heart. Paul, however, who had forewarned of danger, was now permitted to predict ultimate safety. For fourteen days they drifted in the Adria; at the close of the fourteenth day the sailors suspected that they were approaching land. A sounding was at once taken, and it was found that there were twenty fathoms of water. After a short interval they sounded again, and found fifteen fathoms. Hearing breakers ahead, and fearing that the ship might dash upon the rocks and go to pieces, they cast out four anchors by the stern. The sailors made a subtle and selfish effort to save themselves. Paul, comprehending their intent, and seeing that in their absence every hope of safety would be lost, urged the cutting of the ropes by which the boat was held, which was instantly done. This circumstance would tend to raise Paul in the confidence of the passengers and crew, especially as he had foretold the hazards of the voyage; and when the day was coming on, after the gloomy apprehensions of the night, his recommendations to take courage and food would be likely to restore something like hope and cheerfulness among his companions.

The cargo of wheat was by this time spoiled; and, as all expectation of saving the vessel must have been extinguished, it was prudently thrown overboard. The sailors knew not the shore on which they were irretrievably destined to run; they saw, however, "a small bay or indentation, with a sandy or pebbly beach." Into this creek they strove hard, by cutting the anchors adrift, by unloosing the lashings with which the rudders had been secured, by a free use of the oars, and by hoisting the foresail, to guide the ship. Whether or not they succeeded, it would be vain to inquire. They fell into a place "between two seas," and ran aground. The bow stuck fast in the ground, whilst the stern went rapidly to pieces. And now Paul reaped the reward of his disinterested services. He was a prisoner, and the soldiers wished to kill the prisoners lest they should gain the shore and escape. To this the centurion objected, and suggested wisely that those who could swim should cast themselves into the sea. This was done; and the remainder, "some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship, escaped all safe to land."

Now, there has been a great deal of controversy as to the name of this island. Luke calls it Melita. The general opinion has identified it with Malta. Against this theory, however

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many objections have been urged; and though we have not space for any discussion of the question, we feel it our duty rapidly to announce our reasons for the adoption of the popular notion. We have seen that the vessel drifted w. by N. from Clauda. This was exactly the bearing of the northern part of the island of Malta from the south of Clauda. Moreover, the vessel drifted at about the rate of a mile and half in every hour. Since that time thirteen days had elapsed. Clauda is rather less than 480 miles from Malta; the vessel had drifted 468 miles according to the above calculation, which, to say the least, is a remarkable coincidence. Further, a ship drifting w. by N. might approach within a quarter of a mile Koura point (the eastern boundary of St Paul's bay) without having fallen in previously with any other part of the coast; whilst on such a night as that described the breakers would be very violent. Let it be also noticed that at this point the soundings show a depth of *twenty fathoms*: whilst a little further on, in *the precise direction the ship drifted*, the soundings are fifteen fathoms. Once more, the coast, though generally precipitous and rocky, shows one or two indentations which would exhibit the appearance of a creek with a sandy shore. The island of Salmonetta would be supposed by sailors unacquainted with the locality to be a continuous part of the main land; but whilst they were running aground, they would perceive the opening of the channel, which would thus appear "a place between two seas." And it tends to confirm the impression produced by all these facts to know, that the ground in St. Paul's bay is so good that "while the cables hold there is no danger, as the anchors will never start;" it would be, consequently, probable that the anchors would hold through this rough night. Those who wish to see this matter more fully argued, will find every interesting detail in Mr. Smith's admirable volume.*

Paul's short residence at Malta gained him great distinction there,† and when he departed, he received the honour of particular attentions. The remainder of the voyage to Rome was in every way propitious. The "Caster" they sailed, was for the most part favoured. The famous harbour of Syracuse being

* *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.*
London: L.

† A

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in there, and stayed three days. Then sailing on northwards, they came, by an indirect course, to Rhegium, where they stayed one day. A south wind rising, they made way to Puteoli. Here a company of Christians was found, with whom, by their desire, Paul stayed seven days. From this place, he proceeded by land to Rome. The disciples in the "eternal city" had heard of his arrival at Puteoli, and some of them came forth as far as Appii Forum, and another company as far as the Three Taverns, to meet him. Encouraged by so kind a welcome, he would go into the city with a brave heart, though confinement, judgment, and perhaps death awaited him.

THE ETERNAL CITY.

Within our limits, which are now becoming extremely contracted, it would be manifestly impossible to enter into any description of Rome as it was when Paul entered it as a prisoner. And if our space were available for the enquiry, we should find it difficult to furnish a statement at once sufficiently definite and authentic to be interesting to the general reader. Suffice it to say, therefore, that Rome at this period had attained nearly all, and had lost scarcely any, of those architectural and artistic glories which have contributed to its splendour and renown. Its population was vast beyond appreciation. Hoeck has calculated that within a circle of little more than twelve miles, upwards of two millions of people were crowded together. This immense population was as heterogeneous in social and political characteristics as the inhabitants of any modern city. To borrow the words of Messrs. Connybeare and Howson (whose elaborate and truly magnificent work has been of considerable service to us in our humbler narrative), "Rome was like London, with all its miseries, vices, and follies exaggerated, and without Christianity."

The Jewish families resided chiefly in a locality known as the "Trastevere"—a district beyond the river. Then, as in modern times, its inhabitants were rough, low, and intractable; but then, more than in modern times, they were marked by all the insignia of the vilest rabble, and were devoted to the very meanest forms of commerce. But, among these degraded and outcast people, the gospel won its first triumphs in "the eternal city," which was "the capital of the world." Most probably these Christians were not sufficiently distinguished as yet from

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their Israelitish neighbours, to escape the contempt and hardships they were made to endure. So far as they were known and appreciated, they would be likely to receive a kindlier toleration than the Jews; for in Judaism there was always a supreme political element which was adapted to excite the distrust and alarm of all gentile monarchs. The expectation of a hero, and a king, whose reign should be personal, and whose empire should be wide as the world, rendered the faith of a Jew a kind of perpetual protest against the existing government; and he might, therefore, be fairly suspected of disloyalty, even when there was no positive ground to charge him with treason. But the Christian worshipped a Hero of the past—acknowledged a King in heaven; he would have no inducements to political conspiracy, and what of disaffection he might possibly feel towards civil government, was but one manifestation of the high spirituality of his life. So that whilst the Christian would share the contempt shown to the Jews, he would share, also, the legal protection afforded them, and, in so far as the peculiarities of his faith were understood, the charter of his freedom would be probably enlarged.

It is evident from many allusions in Paul's letter to the saints in Rome, that a considerable community of Christians was established there previously to his own arrival; and the personal salutations, of which that letter contains not a few, are conveyed in terms indicative of more than a common interest; they suppose an intimate personal acquaintance and cordial friendship. But all were not his friends that he met with. Among the converted of his race, some had the old prejudice against him; whilst those who still adhered to the religion of their fathers would regard him with malignant jealousy and implacable hatred. Nevertheless, Paul sought an early interview with the chief among his countrymen, for the purpose, if possible, of reconciling them to his person and his ministry. Disclaiming all prejudice, they ask further explanations; and, by mutual appointment, they come in considerable numbers to his own lodging on a certain day, for the purpose of receiving them. Paul, however, does not occupy them with the gossip of his enterprise, but boldly preaches the gospel, with such effect that their prejudices and convictions are equally disturbed; and, *with a solemn admonition quoted from their own scriptures, he dismisses them to disputation, astonishment, and thought.*

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Having now formally separated himself from the Jews of Rome, *as such*, Paul receives in his own hired house such as come to him for fellowship or instruction. The privilege of communion with his fellow-saints, and of quiet activity in the cause of Christ, is a tribute of political confidence on the part of the government. For it must be remembered that he is still a prisoner, and is not relieved from that custody to which he was upon his arrival given up.*

For two years this anomalous mixture of bondage and liberty continued. The accusers not being yet come from Palestine, his trial was postponed until their arrival. Many opportunities of Christian service were, however, granted him; for though freedom was denied him, he was allowed many of its conveniences, and saved the degradation and the sorrow of forced inactivity. It is pleasant to know that the devotion of our hero was not curbed, that he could preach without restraint, and that he might sustain the care of all the churches. Genial companionship soothed his bondage, and active fellow-labourers extended the range and augmented the results of his unwavering zeal. Luke,† Timotheus,‡ Tychicus,§ Mark,|| and Demas,¶ who, alas! afterwards deserted him, were among his coadjutors and comforters.

We might mention many other names, but these are the most remarkable. There is one name, however, which we cannot pass over without a word of observation. The fugitive slave, Onesimus, has more than a personal interest for all the readers of the New Testament. The property of a Christian named Philemon, he had robbed his master, fled from Colosse, and found his way to Rome. Himself of pagan origin, his companions in concealment would be among the most profligate and degraded of all the population of the city. By some strange providence, this guilty and abandoned creature was redeemed to virtue and to faith. His master having been intimate with Paul at Ephesus, it is possible that Onesimus may have been familiar with the name and character of the apostle; and hearing of him now at Rome, sought him out on an impulse of his own. At any rate, he became attached to the prisoner of the Lord; and Paul speaks of him with ministerial hope as well as with personal gratitude and affection. He desired to retain his

* Acts xxviii. 16. † Col. iv. 14. ‡ Philemon, 1; Col. i. 1; Philipp. i. 1.
 § Col. iv. 7. || 2 Tim. iv. 11. ¶ Philemon, 24.

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services as a fellow-labourer in the cause of Christ. He would not take this step without the consent of Philemon, however; he decided that Onesimus should return to his master; and he furnished him with a letter of such cordial commendation as would be likely to placate the offended and secure the emancipation of the offender. The system of slavery is not formally condemned in that letter, but the principles on which its appeal is grounded are evidently those of human brotherhood and equality.

Tychicus accompanied Onesimus into Colosse, being the bearer of an epistle from the apostle to the Colossian church. The Gnostics had made some headway in this community; and the tendency of their teaching being obviously derogatory to the claims of Christ, Paul felt it his duty to caution the disciples against it ere the work of corruption had gone too far for resistance or for cure. We say the work of corruption; for in addition to the evils of a false philosophy, the Gnostics were notorious for their disregard of those laws of virtue which constitute the very bond of society. Hence the large attention given to questions of practical morality in this brief but comprehensive letter.

With the letter to the Colossians, Tychicus was the bearer of another communication, commonly supposed to be addressed to the Ephesians.* The popular idea that this letter was intended for the saints at Ephesus has been disputed; and the arguments against it are so many and so strong as to involve the question in considerable obscurity. Into this controversy it is not our business to enter. We may just observe in passing, however, that the absence of all personal salutations; Paul's description of the church as one whose conversion he had learned only by report (i. 15); his commendation of himself to them as one whom they had *heard* to be an apostle (iii. 2); his intimations that they had been *recently* converted (v. 8, &c. &c.); and that they were exclusively Gentiles (ii. 11, &c.)—are all unfavourable to the hypothesis that the letter was addressed to the church at Ephesus. Truly, in the first verse of the epistle the words "to the saints which are at Ephesus" occur; but the most ancient manuscripts do not contain the words in the text, but only in the margin, and there they have *been obviously placed by a much later hand*. St. Basil asserts

* Eph. vi. 21, 22.

that the early writers whom he had consulted declared that the manuscripts of his time did not contain the words; and Marcion has called it in his collection "the epistle to the Laodiceans." The epistle is doctrinal and hortatory, clear in its instructions, and universal in its appeals; and, as an epitome of Christian truth, as well as an enforcement of Christian duties, has been deeply revered by the Christians of every age.

It is accounted probable that these three letters—to Philemon, the Colossians, and (so called) the Ephesians—were despatched in the spring of the year 62, that is, about one year after Paul had arrived in Rome. The absence of Onesimus and Tychicus was soon relieved by the presence of Epaphroditus, who came to Rome with a contribution from the Christians at Philippi, among whom he was a leading presbyter, and towards whom the apostle appeared to cherish the tenderest affection. Epaphroditus was the subject of severe afflictions whilst in Rome; but having recovered his health, and being about to return, Paul took the opportunity of writing a letter of grateful acknowledgment to his generous and considerate converts at Philippi. This letter is interesting, not only on account of the circumstances in which it had its origin, and the sacred geniality of its contents, but also for the intimations it affords of the condition and prospects of the apostle at the time when it was written. When he wrote to Philemon, he was confidently expecting his release from bondage.* Now, his tone is changed, and he regards the probabilities of his future with depression and anxiety.† This altered tone is readily accounted for by the altered circumstances of the Roman court and the Roman church. Burrus, the Prætorian Præfect, under whose administration Paul's imprisonment had been so mild, died during this year; and under his successors, Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus, bondage threatened to become a veritable hardship. The latter of these commissioned officers is notorious in history for cruelty and wickedness; and the former had neither the ingenuity to neutralize nor the energetic will to resist his atrocities. Moreover, Nero had just perpetrated his foul alliance with Poppæa, who had become a proselyte to Judaism. Josephus informs us that she exerted her influence over Nero in favour of the Jews; and we can well understand how Paul would anticipate the direction of her malice against him. This

* Philem. 22, 23.

† Phil. ii. 17, and iii. 11.

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ing the situation of affairs, and the apostle having renewed his illustrious success his evangelical labours, the apprehensions confessed in his letter to the Philippians are natural enough, first the radiant peace, the buoyant and majestic faith, the action, fidelity, and devotion which are so remarkable in this communication, are rendered truly sublime.

TRIAL, ACQUITTAL, TRAVELS, CONDEMNATION, DEATH.

We have now traced the course of our hero as far as the sacred narrative extends, and for what we further know concerning labours and experience we are indebted to tradition. The abrupt termination of the Acts of the Apostles has occasioned considerable speculations and some controversy. We shall present no theory in its explanation. But we shall do our best to satisfy the devout curiosity of our readers respecting the last scenes of that life we have reviewed, with a rapidity wholly incompatible with our reverence as disciples, as far as our means of authentic information (which are very scanty) will permit.

We have no contemporary history of the remaining incidents of Paul's career, save a few incidental expressions in his own letters to Timotheus and to Titus, and a single sentence written by Clement of Rome, who was one of his most illustrious disciples. Nevertheless, from unquestionable sources we gather the following facts: Paul was acquitted; he travelled over the districts well known to him, and passed into Spain; he came to Rome a second time; and was finally martyred under Nero. In support of these facts we might plead the testimony of Clement, Eusebius, Chrysostom, and St. Jerome. In refutation of them there is no external evidence whatever to plead. Many have maintained that Paul was never liberated, and that he died, or was executed, a prisoner at Rome. But these pleas are speculations only, unsupported by the slightest historical evidence, and resting alone in vain calculations of probability.

The summary we have given, however, it is beyond our power to elaborate. When we have announced the bare outlines of his history, we have said all that can be known with any degree of accuracy. Imagination will be aided by our knowledge of his character in its efforts to conceive the details of his defence, the resolution of his defence, the profound devotion with which his last testimony to the gospel would be borne, and

mystically blended rapture and repose which would glorify his martyrdom. But our readers will draw this picture for themselves—and the creation will be all the more satisfactory if it be spontaneous.

After his first trial, it seems likely, from his own epistles, that he revisited many of the scenes of his triumphs as an apostle of Jesus Christ. The first letter to Timothy seems to have been written from Macedonia, and to have been intended as an abiding protest against the false teaching which Timothy was appointed to resist; thus furnishing him with a written and authentic vindication of his own hostility, and stimulating him by practical counsels to a wise discharge of, and a faithful perseverance in, the duties of his mission.

From the concluding verses of this letter, it appears that Paul's intention was to visit Nicopolis, and to stay there for the winter. Tradition says that he went to Nicopolis, but that before the winter was over he was again troubled by his enemies—sent to Rome, where he arrived in the spring, and where he awaited the fatal investigation which should precede his death. In this second imprisonment, he was denied those comforts and relaxations which had relieved his former captivity. He was treated as a "malefactor."* The first great persecution of Christians had just been perpetrated by the vile Nero; and the blood of many martyrs had already made this atrocious monarch infamous throughout the empire. We can easily imagine that whilst Paul would receive the benefit of all the forms of law, he would be the subject of spiteful severities and much angry injustice. From many allusions in his second epistle to Timothy, we gather that his trial was rendered more gloomy by his intense solitude. It was dangerous for any to appear in his defence, and consequently "no man stood by him." Yet this isolation did not break his own spirit. He says, "the Lord Jesus stood by me and strengthened my heart"—(iv. 17). Whilst waiting for his condemnation, however, he was cheered by the society of Luke, and spent his time in holy musings and noble correspondences. Timotheus was far away in Asia Minor, and to him he writes a second letter—warmer in its affection, more triumphantly pensive in its tone, and more encouraging and edifying in its counsels, than the former one. He urgently requests his immediate presence at

* 2 Tim. ii. 9.

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me. We have no means of ascertaining whether his rest was fulfilled or not.

The privilege of citizenship exempted Paul from a death by lingering torture. He would die by decapitation, beyond the walls, on the road to Ostia, which was the port of the city.

Our readers will perceive that we have not recorded any of the numerous legends associated with the later life and martyrdom of Paul. Many of these are by no means destitute of probability; but, as no authentic historical records can be appealed to in confirmation of them, we have thought it due to the integrity and simplicity of our narrative not to repeat them. The inventions of curiosity, only the idly curious could be entertained by their perusal; whilst the earnest student of a man whose biography we have attempted to trace will prefer to abide by the narrower, but more certain, instructions of history. Myth is a grand element in the poetry of the past, and no great names can escape its trammels and ornaments; but we have to do with fact, not poetry; and our hero needs none of the creations of human fancy, nor the exaggerated conditions of time, to give either massiveness or splendour to his name.

Neither have we found in the course of our record any favourable opportunity for noticing the epistle to the Hebrews. The authorship of this extraordinary letter is not only involved in doubt, but has been the subject of endless controversies in the church. So early as the second century, the origin and history of this document were vigorously and learnedly disputed. Some ascribed it to Barnabas, some to Luke, some to Clement, and some to Paul. In later times, opinions grew more various. Luther assigned it to Apollos—a decision which seems to have received the very favourable support of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. This authority, of course, is no more reliable than those to which it is opposed; but, as far as reasoning, research, and sincerity can invest an opinion with command, this is entitled to the most respectful consideration. In the second, third, and fourth centuries, the church of Rome decided that Paul wrote the letter; the same tribunal now maintains that he was its author. Without attempting to arbitrate between these conflicting theories, however, we may assert *without danger to truth* that the letter was the production of a mind contemporary with the apostles, and eminently

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familiar with the loftier and more sacred themes which occupied the attention and held the reverence of the earliest Christians. This we judge from internal evidence. From the same source we learn that its writer was a friend of Timotheus;* that he was a teacher of one of the apostolic churches;† and that he penned the work previously to the destruction of Jerusalem.‡ Moreover, we would not have it understood for a moment that the difficulties in which the question of its authorship is involved are regarded by us as affecting at all the much more important question of its authenticity. From the very first, the epistle was regarded as canonical by the oriental church. Calvin concluded that it was not written by Paul, but he contended notwithstanding that it should be received "without controversy as one of the apostolical epistles." From this position who will dissent? Not those who consider the intrinsic value of a book to be not necessarily dependent upon the certainty of its authorship. Those who have read with pious enlightenment this most magnificent production, must have felt that it is supremely worthy of the Christianity, to the exposition, vindication, and enforcement of which it is dedicated; and, if it is worthy of Christianity, the appreciation of the gospel on the one hand, and of the apostle on the other, will ever form an adequate apology for its ecclesiastical identification with the name of Paul.

Our task is now over. We have traced a career of the loftiest adventures and the holiest service. For once we have seen that the hero and the saint may be united in a single character—an example which is singular, though not strange. For the truest saint is ever the truest hero. Not in fields of bloody conflict alone are the more chivalric qualities of our nature exhibited; they are eminently essential to the higher responsibilities of the man of God. He who teaches truth must stand ready to suffer for the truth's sake. Scorn, scandal, fierce antipathies, petty provocations, malicious insinuations, poverty, toil unrewarded, and devotedness unadmired—these are the life-long hardships of the true missionary, the faithful apostle of Christ. Paul knew them all in their fullest measure. He had a nature exquisitely constituted for the appreciation of them.

* xiii. 23.

† xiii. 19.

‡ See vii. 28; xiii. 11—13, and other passages which speak of the services of the temple as still going on.

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sensitive, tender-hearted, the subject of generous impulses and of a manly meekness, harsh words would pierce his heart, and words of satire or of scorn would agitate his soul. But he bore all with more than human fortitude. Brave to dare, he was patient to sustain, the fury of his enemies. Courteous to the great, grateful to the good, affectionate to his friends, he rebuked the wayward without passion, and bore the taunts of the ungodly with a right noble serenity of soul. His motive and abiding inspiration of piety, his faith in God the constant strength and solace of his soul, he was self-reliant without presumption, and independent without arrogance. He was early the interpreter and disciple of Christ his master. Tamed by grace to a gentleness worthy of his Lord, he faced death with a magnanimity as undisturbed, and with prayers and words as generous as those that have consecrated "The Cross" in the sympathies and adoration of the world. And he expounded in his teachings the faith he vindicated by his life. As Christ had laid the foundation of the grand Christian system, he raised the superstructure. "Other foundation can no man lay;" and an edifice more appropriate to its immutability, vastness, and sanctity than that which Paul has built upon it, human imagination hath not conceived, human wisdom cannot desire. Christ *was* Christianity; Paul was the exponent of Christ. How well he comprehended the divine philosophy, let all his words attest; of his appreciation of the living Lord, his labours, fellowships, sufferings, and martyrdom are the consistent, impressive, and everlasting signals.

Of what great qualification for the high office he sustained was Paul destitute? Peter was weak as a man, though unrestrained and ardent as a devotee. He had more than once to be sorry for what he said and did; and a reproachful look sent him out to weep bitterly. John, with a nature all divine, however Christ-like in his tenderness, however celestial in the temper of his genius, and however competent to invest the gospel with every transcendent glory, was not fitted to engage in its rougher conflicts, or to afford to the world its formal, dogmatic exposition. But Paul, impulsive as the former, and accomplished as the latter of these, his fellow-apostles, was free from the rashness of the one, and superior in moral and logical power to the other. His firmness as a man, and his experiences as a student, eminently suited him to the office of interpreter.

defender, and specific representative. Familiar with the learning of the more liberal schools of his country, and at the same time trained under the discipline and moulded by the theologico-ecclesiastical system it was the purpose of Christianity to reform and emancipate, he could grapple with the licentious philosophy of the Greeks, or with the stiff, intolerant ritualism of the Jews, as the occasion might demand. Equally at home in the strife of agitation and in the solemnities of worship, his teachings were commended by the sanctities of religion, and his piety was vindicated by a supreme enlightenment. He had to conciliate his countrymen to changes to which all their traditions and prejudices as a nation were opposed; and when their fidelity to Moses degenerated into obstinacy against God, he had to appeal to tribes on behalf of themes quite foreign to their thoughts, and of virtues in the habitual violation of which their lives were spent. He had to do this under the jealous and angry surveillance of the people whose peculiar prejudices and customs he was bound to defy and bound to uproot. When he preached to one class he was sure to displease the other; yet his purpose was the purification of each and the reconciliation of both. And success which the world universally accepts as the test of merit, followed his exertions. The vices of the Gentile world were withered by the sacred energy of his protests; the self-righteous exclusiveness of Judea relaxed under the benign and hallowed catholicity of his instructions. As far from the bigotry as he was stern against the iniquities of his age, he has left in his inspired words a philosophy which the whole race may study, and in his life an example which the whole world may imitate. His severities are amply excused by the critical responsibilities of his mission and the uncompromising demands of his time; and when the harsher functions of the apostleship were discharged we are captivated by the noble simplicities and warm affection of the man. A very hero in battle, his periods of personal repose and his indulgences of spiritual fellowship were rendered sacred by the tenderness, fidelity, and unaffected piety of his heart, so that whilst we are forced to revere him as a "teacher sent from God," he wins our love as a brother and a friend. His fame is above reproach, as his life was above suspicion. He was devoted to God whilst on earth, and since he has been in heaven not a man has dared to calumniate his memory.

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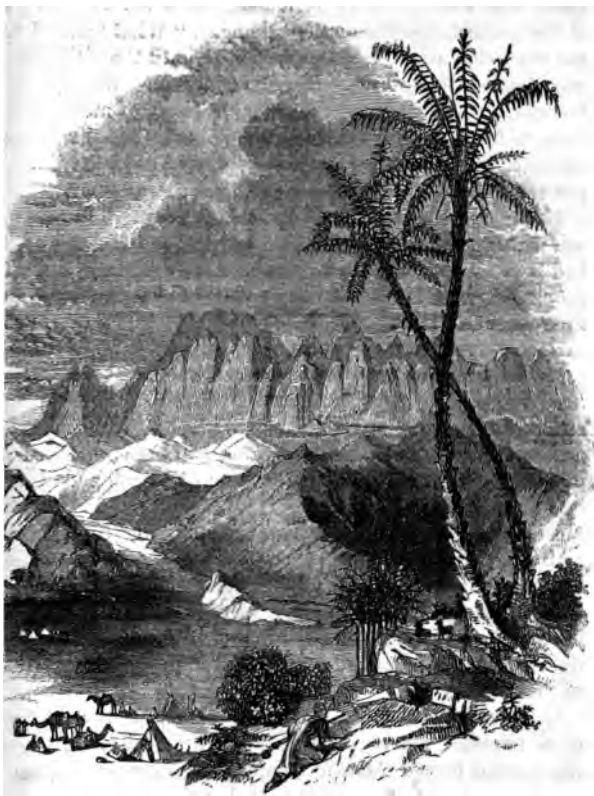
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Wady Feiran, with the pinnacles of Serbal in the distance.

PART I.—FROM SUEZ TO SINAI.

WHAT a moment was that when Moses, with his liberated
itives around him, stood safe on the eastern shore of the
lf of Suez. That morning, how brightly shone the sun.
joy of the moment was inconceivable; so also was the

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gratitude; and well may we believe that the man of God sought some solitude where he might disburden his heart by pouring forth his thanks to the Almighty Deliverer.* But the joy and the gratitude had hope as well as reality for their basis; and wherever hope is found, fear is not far off. And so there would arise the anxious thought, "What next?" And the next step could not be determined until the ultimate aim was clearly seen and definitively resolved on. Without delay, therefore, must Moses have given himself to meditation, in order to learn clearly what was before him. But this he could not learn until he had surveyed what was around him. His present condition would determine his future course.

Moses had a fixed and unalterable purpose. That purpose was the deliverance of the children of Israel. In part, this had been effected. But a horde of fugitive slaves is not a free people. The rescue of his fellow-bondsmen from the hands of Pharaoh was but the first step of a series. The next step was to secure their safety. When this was effected, they might begin to coalesce and grow into a community. Once a community, they might, with the aid of religion, become a people, and grow up into a nation. For this end, however, they would need a country. Such an inheritance had been indicated and promised by the word of Him by whom Pharaoh and his hosts had just been overwhelmed. Into Canaan, therefore, must Moses conduct ~~his people~~. That land of their fathers was to be their home, ~~and in~~ that home would Jehovah's grace be fulfilled in the growth of those children into maturity. The purpose, then, which Moses had, was to lead ~~the Israelites~~ into Canaan, in order that there they might become God's people; that is, a people organised under the divine hand, and obedient to the divine will.

In order to accomplish this ~~his~~ purpose, Moses had first of all to establish his people in a place of security. An arm of the sea was indeed between them and their oppressors; but the might of Egypt, though struck down, was not destroyed. Soon would the land ring with a cry for vengeance. Soon, therefore, would Egypt muster its remaining strength, and set in movement its allies and dependents. Those were found

* The narrative presupposes an acquaintance with "Israel and the Pyramids," "The Plagues of Egypt," and "The Exode," already published, and which are still on sale, either separately or in vol. 1.

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alike on the north and the south of the spot where Moses deliberated with himself. If he cast his thoughts in the direction of Canaan, Egyptian strongholds bristled on his sight. If he turned his thoughts toward the sanctuary of Horeb, he beheld Amalek ready to fall on his undisciplined bands. Yet flight toward the north was as undesirable now as it was when he quitted Rameses. Beyond a doubt, his all but unarmed myriads would be cut to pieces if he tried to strike into Canaan by the Wady-el-Arish. No better fate could he expect, if, taking the pilgrim route across Arabia Petræa, he endeavoured to pass from Suez to Akaba, in order thence to advance northwardly into Canaan. A third road was not without promise. That road ran along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez. The danger here was, that he might even unexpectedly come into collision with the Amalekites, who roamed at large over the interior of the Sinaitic Peninsula, which they considered their own, and which as their own they would be eager to defend against invaders. Besides, animosity, which ran back for centuries, made Amalek, a descendant of Edom, but too glad of an opportunity to deal a blow on his kinsman* Israel. There was, however, no alternative, and the peril must be incurred. Possibly, by keeping near to the sea, Moses might escape attack, or at least postpone the hour of trial until he was less unprepared. The risk, however, great as it might be, he must encounter, for he was under a command from God to conduct the people, when set free by the divine arm, to "the mount of God." This obligation was paramount. With Moses, God's will was law. If only, with Jehovah's aid, he could place the people in the heart of Sinai, he would gain the security he desired. In that natural stronghold he could easily keep even a powerful enemy at bay, and might, by judiciously choosing his time, assail and destroy his foes. Once in a place of safety, the people would begin to rise into a nation.

Moses could not fail to be painfully impressed with the necessity of conducting the Israelites through a long and varied course of discipline. The full extent of that necessity he may have learnt only by sad experience afterwards. But *what were they?* Slaves with their chains struck off. The *brand of slavery* had eaten into the heart's core of the bulk of

* Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16.

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the people. To the depravations of slavery were added the depravations of idolatry. Not easily could the consequent evils be rooted out. That difficult task achieved, God and his law had to be planted in those gross and stony hearts. Evidently the process was long, the labour was great, and success could be hoped for only under very favourable circumstances. In Sinai—the school appointed by Jehovah himself—might the requisite discipline be found. To Sinai, therefore, must the people be conducted.

These considerations, when taken together, show how arduous was the task on which Moses was about to enter. Never, perhaps, in the whole course of history, before or since, was a more difficult labour undertaken. The mere conception of such an enterprise bespeaks in Moses a noble mind. There is a fine moral daring in the assumption of so onerous an office. And the execution of its duties, which we can now look back and behold fully completed, merits, as it awakens, the highest admiration. But who can at all appreciate the solicitude of his mind when Moses first realised to himself the magnitude and difficulty of his labour? Let us distinctly, as we ought, acknowledge that but for his deep and intense religiousness, he never could have adventured on the duty. Certainly, without God's constant aid and care, he would by no means have accomplished his purpose; and his entire and confiding reliance on divine succour and guidance which the enterprise supposes, must impress the thoughtful reader with a very high sense of the character of the Hebrew legislator. Beyond a doubt Moses was pre-eminent among those great men whom, from time to time, Providence raises up to execute the grandest of purposes, in the emancipation of a people, the foundation of a commonwealth, the commencement of a new order of civilization. Nay, even deeper and more pervasive than any of those great ordinal changes was the social revolution brought to pass by Moses; for he taught a nation to know, reverence, and serve the true God. And as this great fact first explains the grandeur of the enterprise, so does it afford sufficient reason for that series of wonderful doings on the part of God, which, beginning with the plagues of Egypt, was continued during the forty years of wandering in the wilderness, and did not terminate till the sons of faithful Abraham were established in their promised inheritance. The magnitude of those facts,

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and the truth of those reflections, can, however, be adequately understood only when the student has made himself acquainted with the country, on the north-western boundary of which the deliverer and the delivered now stand in our narrative.

The Peninsula of Sinai is a tongue of land belonging to Arabia Petræa, the northern portion of which it has for its base. This tongue of land may be said to have for its northern border the Hadji or pilgrim road, which runs from Suez to Akaba, where, suddenly turning southwards, it proceeds to Mecca. Immediately south of that road, the country begins to rise into a succession of elevated plains or table-lands, bearing as their general designation, on the west, the name of Jebel-et-Tyh, and on the east, Jebel Edjme. These desert plateaux have for their immediate termination a continuous range of lofty hills, curved in the shape of a crescent, which reaches on the east from Akaba, and on the west from the vicinity of Suez. Springing from the sides of this crescent another range, similar in outline, ascends in a southerly direction, to form the basis of support to the vast group of mountains of which Sinai proper (Jebel Tor Sina) is made up. That group or nest is one of the most singular of natural formations. Resembling a crest or cockscomb in general contour, it consists of a number of long mountain masses, based on a central line, and running on one side of the line south-west by south, and on the other, south-east by east. The central line goes on rising in a southerly direction, till within a short distance it has passed from an elevation of 5451 feet (at the Convent of Sinai) to an elevation of 9500, in a peak to which geographers have not given a name. From this suddenly-attained altitude, the mountains have a rapid descent until they end in Ras Mohammed, which is little above the Red Sea, over which it impends. The extent to which this natural stronghold of Jebel Tor Sina is raised into the air and insulated from the world, may be estimated when the fact is known that, from the sea level at Suez to the highest point in the group, the direct distance is not more than some eighty miles.

It is along the western side of this tongue that the Israelites travelled. This western side is lined by a succession of rock masses, which, as they go southward, rise into mountains, *being at Jebel Rahah, about twenty miles from Suez, 300 feet high, and at Jebel Serbal, where the great elevations begin,*

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4800 feet high. This constantly rising natural wall, which for the most part runs at a considerable distance from the sea, is ever and anon intersected, to give a channel to some brook or torrent, coming down from the high lands of the interior. Hence a succession of valleys or water courses, called, in Arabic, wadys; and up these wadys travellers may pass into the heart of the country. The whole district is a stupendous mass of upheaved mountains, which at first appear thrown together without connexion or order, forming a real labyrinth, through which and out of which no clue could lead. Yet is it the seat of law, no less than the open plain or the luxuriant glen. The inmost recesses have been threaded for the chief purposes of existence—traffic, science, and religion. Roads run through it in almost every direction. If along the western side you are limited to the sea-shore, you soon have the option of keeping that line to the extremity of the peninsula, and even of pursuing it round the headland to the east and the north, or you may strike into the interior, and make your way into what we have termed the nest of Sinai, by at least three lateral routes. Of these, one begins more in the north, in Wady Useita, and passing a little to the north of the ancient Egyptian colony Surrabit, terminates directly in front of the Convent of Sinai; another (the lower), commencing a little to the south of the former, runs along the very interesting Wady Feiran, and leaving Mount Serbal on the south-west, spreads out into the capacious vale of er-Rahah, immediately below the spot where probably the law was promulgated; and a third route, keeping nearer the sea-board, and passing over the vast and desert plain el-Kaa (Sin), breaks into the Sinaitic group either up Wady Hebran, Wady Salih, or some other of the southern vales.

As there are, at least, three roads into this huge natural fastness, so are there, of course, as many out of it. The three which we have specified lie on the western side; on the eastern there are others. Let us, however, fancy ourselves in the very centre of these groups; how are we to make our way back into the midst of social life, supposing that, like Moses, we have a preference for the eastern side? Two chief roads offer themselves. We may quit Jebel Tor Sina by the Wady Sheikh, cross over the plain el-Hudarah (Hazereth), and then taking a directly northern course, traverse the desert till we reach the southern boundary of Canaan (Moses' route); or,

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turning to the east, pass by Ain el-Hudarah (Hazereth), until you strike the eastern arm of the Red Sea (the Gulf of Akaba), at Ain en Nuweibia, and so travel northwards by Ailah and the Arabah to the Dead Sea and Jericho.

The collection of hills, table-lands, and mountains thus set forth in a few outlines, consists, geologically considered, of various kinds of rocks, from the sandstone and limestone of the lower regions, to the porphyry and granite of the higher and the highest, and in the upheaved, torn, jagged, precipitous, and pointed masses which everywhere appear on the surface, give evidence of the action of tremendous volcanic forces exerted at an epoch sunk in the darkness of ante-historic ages. At the steep pass of Nukb Buderah, the traveller comes on the point of transition from the sandstone to the granite region. Here he finds a stern oppressive grandeur, in the long, narrow, winding valleys, with their dark and awful walls towering abrupt on either hand, without a sound or sign of living thing. No vegetation relieves the sandy depths of the defile, except the solitary acacia tree, which, though rugged, and fenced with long sharp spines, by which his hands and feet are torn, he learns to love for its delicate bright yellow blossoms, and still more for its exquisite fragrant scent. Here and there, too, is seen a tuft of long wild broom, the retém, or juniper of the Bible, beneath which, in ancient days, prophet and patriarch took repose; and to him who in busy idleness shall pore among the fine sand, many minute plants and flowers, before overlooked, prove that even in this spot God has not left himself without a witness, sad and monotonous as is its aspect.

A district such as this must ever have been characterised by barrenness. On the surface of the rock, at least, human food cannot grow. The valleys may afford a less unpropitious soil. In fact, however, many of the actual wadys are nothing more than temporary water-courses, along which rushes the winter torrent, bearing away in its course every moveable thing and leaving behind drought and desolation. Exceptions occur, a few of which present a luxuriant vegetation. Such is Wady Feiran, the loveliness of which will appear in its true character, if we present its features in somewhat of their natural union with the surrounding barrenness.

"It is impossible," says a recent traveller, *"to convey any idea of the feeling of utter weariness that grows upon the soli-*

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tary wanderer as day by day he penetrates further into the heart of this great and terrible wilderness; as ravine succeeds to ravine, each more forsaken and desolate than the last, with its bed of sand or gravel, overhung with mountains which, in their convulsed forms, their bald and awful abruptness, their arid colouring of brown, black, white, red, and yellow, glaring eternally under the same fiery sun, seem like a portion of some early world untenanted by man — some blasted planet visited in the wildness of our dreams, where human foot has never trodden, and human life has neither object nor subsistence.

“The mechanical and silent foot-fall of the camel, pacing noiselessly from morning to night among the voiceless crags, lulls us, in the absence of all external signs of life, into a state of reverie, sometimes humorous, sometimes sad, which is not without its charms. The mind falls back upon itself, and delights to recall the events, in all their vividness, of that early period when the Israelitish host threaded these weary defiles—to represent to itself every incident of their toilsome march, and the feeling of horror and amazement that must have daunted their spirits, as they felt themselves transported from verdant Egypt into the heart of a solitude, of which we may indeed say—

‘So lonely ’tis, that God himself
Scarce seemeth there to be.’

“But a sudden change awaited us; about noon, at a turn of the road, the scene that burst upon us was more like the dream of a poet than any reality in this arid wilderness. The cliffs on either hand still towered, bare and perpendicular, to an immense height; but instead of a gravelly valley, collecting and condensing the fiery rays of the sun, arose, as by enchantment, tufted groves of palm and fruit trees, producing on my mind a more vivid impression of romantic luxuriance than had been left by anything I had yet beheld in the East. Here, in the heart of this terrible wilderness, I pitched my tent, beneath a tall group of palms, which bent shelteringly over it; the spring coming down the valley, and rippling among green sedges, formed a small transparent basin at the foot of a fragment of limestone rock, fallen from the mountain-wall above; a beautiful natural altar, as it were, decorated with the light pensive foliage of overhanging turfah-trees. The camels, relieved of their burdens, after drinking their fill, were scattered about the

bowery thickets, cropping the thick blossom with avidity and unusual relish, whilst the Arabs spread among the shady trees, revelling in the choicest beauty of their desert home, the proverbial 'Paradise of the Bedouins.' The palms beneath which I encamped were not the solitary ornament of a small oasis, but the outskirts of a dense grove, extending for miles up the narrow valley. On stepping out of my tent I was at once in the midst of an almost tropical wilderness. In the palm groves of Egypt the stems are trimmed and straight, and placed generally at regular intervals; but here this most graceful of trees is half intended; its boughs spring direct from the earth, and form tufts and avenues, and dense over-arching thickets of the most luxuriant growth, through which the sunlight falls tremblingly upon the shaded turf. Among them some few, shooting upright, lift high above the rest their lovely coronal of rustling fans and glowing bunches of dates; but the greater part assume that fantastic variety of form which only untended nature can originate; some, wildly throwing forth their branches, droop to the ground like heavy plumes, laden with a graceful burden of fan-like boughs, which almost kiss the turf; others, crossing and intertwined, form mazy alleys of exquisite verdure; the clear stream bubbles freshly on the edge of these arcades, and the deep solitude is vocal with the song of birds; the wind, sweeping down the rocks, plays over the rustling foliage with the gentlest murmur; and shut in by two walls of rock from the dreary desert without, the traveller, lulled in a dreamy and delicious repose, heightened by his past weariness, forgets awhile its perils and privations, and the long distance he has yet to accomplish across its drougthy sands. Among these groves the Bedouins of the valley have erected a few rude huts, and cultivate gardens of figs, and pomegranate, and acacia, which intermingle their foliage with the predominant palm; they also raise tobacco and a little corn. . . . But enough of this attempt to describe the indescribably romantic Feiran; suffice it to say, that one night, and its impressions, were worth my whole journey."*

Wady Feiran is celebrated for the only corn grown in the Peninsula, and for its luxuriant clusters of dates. In fact, the *upper part of this singular valley contains a rich deposit of earth, brought down from the mountains, which has gradually*

* "Forty Days in the Desert on the Track of the Israelites."

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accumulated, and is made additionally productive by the numerous springs. That a considerable population once dwelt here is evident from the numerous ruins of villages and convents scattered about. At present the valley is not carefully cultivated, and supplies subsistence to but a handful of Arabs. Though in general the district is bare of vegetation, yet stunted trees and scanty shrubbery are here and there found in deep valleys. Indeed, wherever water comes in a gentle flow, or tarries without producing a marsh, the earth gives an increase, though it may be with a grudging hand. Of old, the amount of natural produce was greater than it is at present; for, like other lands similarly down-trodden, Sinai is desolated by Turkish misrule and oppression. Accordingly, the population is small and scattered, and the little intelligent life and movement found in or near it are owing to the impulses of commerce which send caravans along its chief highways.

These connexions with the outer world of active existence were more numerous and important in remote ages. The Peninsula itself bears traces of having once been a scene of comparatively busy life, and of having also furnished support to a not inconsiderable population. To discriminate the historical periods when these signs of life and enterprise had their origin, is in our present state of knowledge by no means easy. In this matter speculation has been busy, conjecture bold, and belief too ready. Some tokens carry the thoughts back to the dawn of civilisation, when the shades of polytheism were yet but very partially broken. Others, with full evidence, bring the mind down to a period shortly after the promulgation of the gospel, when the land enjoyed the blessing of Christian ministrations, and its churches were affiliated to the general "church of the first-born," under bishops of their own.

Were we to attempt to describe the country as it was when seen by the eyes of Moses, we should fail for the want of materials; but one or two remarks on the point may be safely made. For ages had Sinai, in the days of Moses, been under the sway of the Egyptian monarchs, to whom it paid tribute, and who wrought the mines, clear traces of which are still seen at Surrahit and other points on the western coast. The connexion with Egypt was not sufficiently close to prevent a species of wild independence on the part of its native inhabitants. Few were they in number, though more numerous than

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in these times. Two tribes of Arab blood nomadised in the land, now wandering at large, now becoming for a time in a measure stationary, and subsisting partly on the produce of the soil, partly on the gains of commerce, and by no means least on plunder. These were the Midianites and Amalekites, the former keeping more in the east, the latter extending even to the extreme south, and both connected with kindred in the north and the borders of Canaan. Of these, some pursued the peaceful engagements of pasturage and husbandry, and living in families, and under a kind of patriarchal government, enjoyed a more or less pure monotheistic religion, and made some approach to what may be termed civilisation. Such was Jethro, into whose family Moses married. The Amalekites being a more warlike, were a less cultivated, tribe. Regarding the Peninsula as in some sense their own, and specially desirous to preserve its centre from the hands of foreigners, they were prepared to repel all new comers. One in origin, and having interests not dissimilar, the two occasionally united for common objects, and not improbably formed a defensive and offensive treaty against the hosts of Israel. To such a step they might be urged alike by apprehension and the hope of reward. The great deeds accomplished by Moses resounded in all the surrounding lands. The nations were stricken with amazement. Every people asked, "Whither will Moses direct his steps?" Preparations for resistance became universal. And when the victorious hero was known to be passing down the western shore of Sinai, its tribes and its clans would everywhere run to arms. Their ardour must have received additional impulse from the court of Egypt, which, fearing that the fugitives, if not destroyed, would return and seize the helm of state, were eager to set the natives of the Peninsula in deadly array against the Hebrews, while yet a confused and inorganic mass. What, indeed, more likely than that while Amalek was engaged to fall on Moses in the front, the Egyptians themselves should assail his forces in the rear?

Remarkable remains and indications of the ancient civilization of parts of the Peninsula have been discovered, and still offer their interesting lessons. Such are the Egyptian tablets in *Wady Maghara*. The principal tablet which stands above the entrance to a copper-mine, once worked by a colony of Egyptians, represents the conquest of the land by an Egyptian

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king. The hero appears personified under three figures, of which the middle one bears the double crown, that is, the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, proving that at the time of the conquest the whole extent of Egypt was under one monarch. These are among the most ancient sculptures in the world. Yet when they were executed the arts were no longer in their infancy. These copper-mines are referred by Lepsius to the dynasty which built the great pyramids of Gizeh in Egypt.

Some of the most interesting relics of antiquity still surviving in Sinai are those mysterious characters found more especially in Wady Mokatteb, or "the Written Valley," which is entered a short time after leaving Wady Maghara, on the lower road to Sinai, along the western side. The faces of the rocks are covered with inscriptions, as thickly as the letters or figures can stand. For several miles the eye of the wayfarer is constantly met by these figures, irregularly carved, some larger, some smaller, from nearly a foot high to half an inch; now but slightly scratched, now deeply cut, showing hugely-laden crooked camels, tumble-down goats, and clumsy or scraggy gazelles. With these inscriptions, learning and speculation have been very busy. But as it is probable that we may devote a tract to this curious subject, we shall not dwell further upon it here.

The estimate which we have now formed of the condition of the Peninsula anterior to Moses, however imperfect, may afford some aid to the settlement of an important preliminary; we mean, the exact point to which the deliverer intended to conduct his emancipated bands. Three chief localities have their respective patrons. These spots are Serbal, Mousa, and Horeb. Having described these elevations, and so done something to make our description of the country less imperfect, we shall summarily consider their claims. A few explanatory remarks must be premised. The locality is indicated in Scripture in these words, "The mountain of God, Horeb."* In this vicinity Jethro dwelt when first visited by Moses. To this place Moses was directed of God to repair when he had rescued Israel. Here was it that Moses and Jethro met after the long separation made necessary by that deliverance. And into the same district did Moses actually conduct his flying

* Exod. iii. 1, 12; xviii. 5; xix. 2.

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bands. So far all is clear. Equally so is it that the district lay in the southern parts of the Peninsula; but where? The moment we attempt to fix the precise spot, we find a diversity of views and claims.

Horeb denotes a district, while Sinai is the common name for the whole country, as may be seen in its present appellation, *Jebel Tor Sina*. So the place where the law was given is called Sinai in the older books of the Bible,* and Horeb only in Deuteronomy† and Malachi.‡ The name of Sinai is now given by the Christians in this general way to the whole cluster of mountains, though in a more limited application it is applied to a ridge lying between the two parallel valleys, *Shueib* and *el-Ledja*. The northern end of this ridge is now called by the Christians, *Horeb*. From this front a high range extends back about south-east by south for nearly three miles, where it terminates in a higher peak, named *Jebel Mousa*, or *Moses' Mount*. Tradition pronounces in favour of *Jebel Mousa*, but *Horeb* seems to have preferable claims. Let it be added that south-east of *Mousa* is *Mount Catherine*; and south-east of *Catherine* the peak *Om-Shomar*. These peaks rise as they proceed southwardly, *Horeb* being about 5450 feet high, *Mousa* 7564, *Catherine* 8705, and *Shomar* 8850, while two still more southerly peaks reach the altitude of nearly 10,000 feet. Of these elevations, *Horeb* (as denoting a spot) and *Mousa* have the best claims, if the district of Sinai is the Sinai of the Bible. That honour, however, is claimed for *Serbal*, lying to the north-west of the *Sinaitic* group, and south-east of the *Wady Feiran*. Let it then be distinctly understood that we have two things to determine; first, the district, and then the spot in which the law was given. Two districts put in their claim, *Serbal* and *Sinai*. If we are led to decide against *Serbal*, then on what spot in *Sinai* ought we to fix? Shall the spot be *Horeb* (*es-Susafeh*) or *Mousa*?

The passages of Scripture bearing on this subject present nothing definitive. Marking out the locality with general precision, they leave the exact spot undetermined. Even the phrases "the mount of God," and "the backside of the desert," which look as if they contained a definition, in reality afford little aid. Pointing to a sacred locality, a natural temple, they do not say whether that sanctuary was *Sinai* or *Serbal*, for

* *Exod. xix. 1*; *Judges v. 5*.

† *l. 6*.

‡ *iv. 4*.

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in a very remote antiquity both mountains were consecrated to worship. And yet there is a slight preponderance in favour of Sinai; for while the two were natural temples, Sinai seems to have been the chief seat of monotheistic worship, while Serbal was the religious gathering-place rather of polytheistic tribes.* Besides, it may well be pleaded on the same side that a Biblical writer could not have designated a polytheistic temple "the mountain of God"—a phrase which in his mind must have implied a sanctuary of the only living and true God. If, however, any probability in favour of Sinai arises from this consideration, we have still to inquire in what part of Sinai the law was given. Now Sinai denotes a district, and a particular spot in that district—what spot? Before we can answer the question, we must describe the three localities.

Soon after leaving Wady Maghara, as you pass across an irregular table-land, you descry the lofty jagged peaks of Mount Serbal, placed in a stern desolate region—an object of imposing grandeur. The range would seem to have been cast up from the bowels of the earth, in a state of fusion, by some mighty throe of nature, and instantaneously cooled. It looks like an immense mass of stalactites inverted. A multitude of small conical hills rise far below these lofty points around the base. They are black and gloomy, not unlike the accumulations in the precincts of an ancient furnace. The view from the top is indescribably magnificent, the whole Peninsula lying at the feet of the traveller who has the energy to make the ascent. The atmosphere may be hazy, but he carries his eye very far up the Red Sea towards Suez, and makes out different points in the route; nay, he can look across the water far into the Egyptian desert. The ancient town of Tur (Tor), standing on the eastern bank of the sea, may be discerned through a cleft. The stern and sterile mountains of the whole peninsula rise below on all sides—an intricate labyrinth, a confused and tossing sea of many-coloured points, black, brown, grey, and red, with here and there a narrow valley of bright yellow sand peeping through. Far away to the north arise the plateaux of the Great Desert, and the ranges of et-Tih—all

* It was specially consecrated to Baal, or the Sun-God, a personification of the impregnating and vivifying energy of nature, the same as was worshipped in Heliopolis, in Egypt, where, it will be remembered, Moses received the earthly elements of his education. See the Tract in this series, entitled, "*The Plagues of Egypt.*"

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fading away into a misty heat, but for which the hills of Palestine might, perhaps, be seen in the remotest distance. On the south are the solitudes of Sinai—a bolder congregation of wild peaks, stern, black, and frowning. Nothing on the earth's surface can be more desolate than the vast region which floats in the scorching haze beneath, from east to west, from north to south. Mountains, plain, valley, and sea, formed by the slow abrasions and depositions of countless ages, and then fractured and upheaved, seem stamped with eternal barrenness by the hand of nature.

Under the false idea that it is necessary to find means of subsistence in the spots where the Israelites encamped, some Biblical critics have made Serbal the place of the giving of the Decalogue, on the ground not only of its magnificence, but chiefly because of its proximity to Wady Feiran, whose full brooks and fine palms still bear testimony to its fitness for human habitation. But if Serbal is near wood and water, it offers no accommodation for large masses of people. In one spot, indeed, there is a fine sweep of the mountain ridge, where it is natural for those who believe this to have been the mountain of the law, to see in vision the gathering of the clouds and the flashing of the lightnings. But there is no plain below from which the Hebrew multitude could have beheld the awful scene, nor is there anywhere round the mountain a space which could afford the spectacle to any large number of people. Yet without such accommodation the scriptural conditions of the locality are totally uncomplied with. We can, therefore, in no way assent to the opinion that Serbal is "the Mount of God," though that view has been lately espoused by so high an authority as that of Professor Lepsius.

The predominant voice of tradition places the Mosaic Sinai at Jebel Mousa. The name, Mousa or Moses, points to the fact. This mountain is the southern extremity of the range of which Jebel Horeb is the northern. It takes above two hours to reach the summit. The ascent is toilsome, but the effort is well compensated by the ever-increasing sublimity of the view. Grand and impressive are the sights which crowd on the eye of him who has placed himself on the summit. There he sees spread out before him as in a map the route by which he has penetrated into these hallowed recesses. The gaze is fixed on a field, perhaps thirty or forty miles in diameter, filled with

mountains, thrown and joined together without order or range, no one of which is more than from five to eight miles in length. With a general and remarkable similarity in form and aspect, they are distinct and independent masses, separated by deep narrow valleys, which are generally hidden from the eye of the spectator. This circumstance often gives a cluster of separate mountains the appearance of being one vast pile, surmounted by a number of lofty pinnacles. These summits, observed more carefully, or from other positions, are discovered to be the combs of short but distinct ridges, divided into a number of tall, slender peaks, by deep ravines, which are formed by the dissolution of perpendicular strata of porphyry, interposed between the more solid masses of granite. They remind one of the slender lofty towers that rise at regular intervals upon the walls of a Saracenic fortress. The colour of these mountains, though various, is uniformly dark and sombre. In some of the less elevated masses the greenstone formation prevails, which being easily decomposed and diffused by the rains, tinges the whole region below with a dull yellowish green. Where porphyry predominates, it imparts its own hue to the higher portions of the mountain, and a number of considerable tracts have their surface of a brick-red colour; but by far the largest part of this singular collection of mountains is composed of red granite, whose bright and beautiful hues time and the elements have converted into a dull reddish brown. All is as dark and gloomy in hue as it is sublimely magnificent in attitude and form.

Such, then, is Jebel Mousa. If we are enslaved to monkish tradition, we shall be inclined to recognise Jebel Mousa as the consecrated birth-place of the decalogue. The claim is of the weakest kind, and cannot be sustained for a moment against the fact that, as at Serbal, so here, there is no plain wherein the Israelites could have encamped. Dr. Robinson's words are very positive on the matter. "Nor is any spot," he says, "to be seen around it (Jebel Mousa) where the people could have been assembled. The only point in which it is not immediately surrounded by high mountains is towards the south-east, where it sinks down precipitously to a tract of naked gravelly hills. *Here, just at its foot, is the head of a small valley, Wady es-Sebaiyeh, running toward the north-east, and another not larger, called el-Warah, running south-east; but both of these*

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together hardly afford a tenth part of the space contained in er-Rahah and Wady es-Sheikh."

To Horeb, then, let us now direct our attention. The region is, from the north, approached through a deep ravine. Steep and lofty mountains line the path, and their rapidly sloping sides meet at the bottom of the gorge, and form the channel of a torrent. The way is so narrow that camels advance along it with difficulty. The traveller has to clamber up successive steeps, over immense piles of loose or rolling stones. The eastern cliff is almost perpendicular, eight hundred or one thousand feet high, and its front, like that of the opposite mountain in the west, contains an infinite number of cavities, most various in size and form, which give to these stupendous masses the appearance, upon a mammoth scale, of worm-eaten timber. After for two hours admiring the magnificent features, and struggling with the ceaseless difficulties of this scene of wild and gloomy sublimity, the exhausted wayfarer advances into a wide expanded plain, bounded on the right and left by very high, dark ridges of granite, divided into jagged, perpendicular peaks by gorges, by which they are cut almost to the base. Athwart the valley, and immediately in front, at the distance of nearly two miles, Mount Sinai (es-Susafeh, or Horeb) rises abruptly on the view, to the height of nearly two thousand feet. As seen from this point, it is nearly insulated, being separated by deep valleys on the east and west, as well as on the south, from the immense dreary piles of granite that fill up the surrounding region. The dry and rocky bed of a wild torrent runs along at no great distance from its base; from this a swelling table-land, composed of sandstone and gravel, extends to the foot of the towering rocks, which rise in dark, broad masses to the region of the clouds. What solemn associations haunt this scene of awful and overpowering grandeur!

This very large plain, bearing the name of er-Rahah, is much increased in size and capaciousness by lateral valleys, so as to afford space sufficient for an immense collection of human beings. From the plain you may ascend to the summit, either near the front or circuitously from the rear. Lepsius says: "We ascended the actual brow of Horeb. We passed several hermits' huts and chapels till we reached one situated in a rocky basin, behind which the principal mass of Horeb rises up abruptly and grandly. There is no accessible road to it."

We clambered up first through a precipitous cleft in the rock, and then over the brows of the rock toward the south. We reached the summit, just above the great plain of Rahah, on the immense round-formed mountain top, which has so grand an appearance from below." *

The summit which, seen from the plain, seems but a point, is found to spread out into a level area of considerable extent, composed of dark grey sunburnt granite. The view from the top perfectly commands the plain er-Rahah. Every object of sufficient magnitude, and every transaction upon the summit, may be discerned on the plain. Several deep valleys lie among the different masses of the mountain, covered with a profusion of shrubs, to which the herds of goats belonging to Bedouins find access by paths less steep and toilsome than those which are known to modern Christian travellers. The difficulty of the ascent has, however, been overrated. The task was accomplished by that energetic lady, Miss Martineau,† who, speaking as from her position on the heights of Horeb, says: "There we beheld stretched below us the wide plain and its tributary wadys—a space amply sufficient for the encampment of the Hebrews, be their numbers what they might. We chose for our resting-place the shadow of a rock, where we sat long, looking abroad upon a scene which fulfilled all our expectations and desires. The spreading plain and its tributaries made the view a far finer one than that from Jebel Mousa. Again Serbal stood out grandly, towering above all other mountains; and again the Eastern Arabian hills were exquisitely beautiful."

The locality we have now described, namely, Jebel Horeb, or es-Susafeh, is, we doubt not, the true "Mount of God"—the holy spot where was promulgated a law which was one of the noblest gifts of God to man. Here, as may be in part inferred from our description of the locality, those circumstances concurred which the Biblical narratives and the circumstances of the case require. Not only was there in the plain and connected valleys space enough for the armies of Israel, but opportunity also for that personal inspection of which the Bible speaks with much emphasis. Exodus xix. 2 informs us that

* "Letters from Egypt," etc., p. 293, Bohn's Edition. The fullest and most exact account of the ascent of Horeb (es-Susafeh) may be found in *OKin*, vol. I. p. 393 seq.—a description of peculiar interest, as bearing on the Biblical narratives of the communion between the Almighty and his servant Moses.

† "Eastern Life," new edition, p. 361.

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Israel, having removed from Rephidim to the Wilderness of Sinai, "encamped *before* the mount." In the eleventh verse it is said, "the Lord will come down *in the sight* of all the people upon Mount Sinai." Great anxiety was felt lest the people should press upon and touch the mountain. This solicitude implies that the camp was very near it. "Take heed to yourselves that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it."* At the same time the people had a full view of the mountain: "And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. (verse 17.) "And all the people saw the thunderings and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it, they removed and stood afar off."†

In full agreement with the geographical and the historical implications is it also stated, that "Moses builded an altar *under* the hill, and twelve pillars;"‡ and after sacrifices had been offered, "he took the book of the covenant and read in the audience of the people; and they said, All that the Lord hath said will we do." (ver. 7.) So, moreover, we read: "The *sight* of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel."|| On the descent of Moses from Sinai with the tables of the law, when the people were engaged in worshipping the golden calf, he *heard* the songs of the people from the foot of the mount, not having yet approached the camp; as he drew nearer, he *saw* the people dancing round the idolatrous calf; and at length he stood in the gate of the camp, and inflicted the merited punishment.§

From these passages it is evident, first, that Sinai was visible from at least the chief camp or the head-quarters of the Israelite host; and, secondly, that Sinai was at no great distance from the camp. Nay, the one was obviously near and in view of the other. The whole current of the narrative carries this idea; and it is particularly implied in the facts that the people saw the face of Moses,** and that he heard their voices; while on their part they heard his (ver. 31, 34). All this was practicable, and easy on the supposition that Susafeh is Sinai, and Rahah the place of encampment. But utterly impossible is it that these

* Exod. xix. 12, 13.

† Exod. xxiv. 17.

+ Exod. xx. 18.

‡ Exod. xxxii. 18, seq.

§ Exod. xxiv. 4.

** Exod. xxxiv. 23, seq.

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things could have taken place either at Serbal, Jebel Mousa, or indeed at any other spot in the entire district. In the whole peninsula there is no other mountain, small or great, which can answer to all the conditions of the Biblical accounts.

To the conclusion that Sinai was the destination of the Mosaic hordes it may be objected, that a due regard to the means of sustenance would have made such an attempt impossible. We freely admit that the Peninsula could have supplied no sufficient resources for the men and cattle which stood around Moses after the passage of the Red Sea. Let the productiveness of the country then have far exceeded what it is now; let commerce have given its supplies; calculate as high as you will the amount of human food furnished by the flocks and herds brought out of Egypt; suppose that Moses, whenever he could, chose for his resting-places fountains, vales, or towns; even place Horeb at Serbal, and so obtain all the resources of Wady Feiran; still you have made no visible approach to the supplies required for a month, much less for years, in order to keep some two millions of people alive in those deserts. At this hour, not more than about seven thousand of half-fed inhabitants find a precarious subsistence there. Read the following account of five or six of those clans, and then say what would be now the condition of two millions of fugitives in Sinai, surrounded on all sides by eager enemies:—

"They belong to the Towarahs. They are very poor, having some camels, goats, and a few sheep, but no horses or cows, which could not subsist upon the coarse and meagre pasturage afforded by these sterile regions. They have also some fowls, and brought a few eggs and chickens for sale. Their bread-corn, as well as the beans given to the camels when on hard service, are brought from Cairo on the backs of these animals. They carry to that market a little charcoal, made of the branches of the acacia, and a small quantity of gum, derived from a species of the same tree, which seem to be their only articles of export, with the exception of now and then a camel. Their most gainful support, and that upon which they seem in a great measure dependent for subsistence, is the transportation of travellers and pilgrims to and from Sinai, which is a monopoly, and the carriage of merchandise between Cairo and Suez."^a

Utterly insufficient was the wilderness to support the hosts

^a Olin's Travels, p. 38, vol. 1.

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of Israel. Apply the pruning-knife, if you will, to the numbers. Instead of two millions, say the Israelites were two hundred thousand; still you have not got over the difficulty. Equally impossible is the sustenance in that desert of the smaller as of the larger host. Hear Dr. Olin again:—"No reflection forced itself upon me so often or so urgently, in passing over the track of the Israelites, as the utter and universal inaptitude of this country for the sustenance of animal life. It really seems to possess no elements favourable to human existence besides a pure atmosphere, and no appearances favour the supposition that it was ever essentially better. I am filled with wonder that so many travellers should task their ingenuity to get clear of the miracles which, according to the narrative of Moses, were wrought to facilitate the journey of that vast unwieldy host, when it is demonstrable that they could not have subsisted three days in the desert without supernatural resources. The extensive region through which we were twelve days in passing on dromedaries is, and ever must have been, incapable of affording food sufficient to support even a few thousand or a few hundred people for a month in the year. There is no corn-land nor pasturage, no game nor roots, hardly any birds or insects, and the scanty supply of water is loathsome to the taste, provoking rather than appeasing thirst. What could two millions of Israel have eaten without the miracles of the manna and the quails? How could they have escaped destruction by drought but for the healing of the waters of Marah?"*

Equally unquestionable is it that the Israelites passed at least over the greater part of Sinai. The historical fact is no less certain than the physical. The escape from Egypt, and the legislation at Horeb, are certainties which lie at the foundation of the Hebrew polity. About details there may be a question, but the broad facts no competent authority will deny or dispute. We are thus shut up to the admission of miracle as the sole means of support. Miracle is alleged by the Bible; and so, while we thank the Bible for its explanation, we are, by the necessities of the case, thrown on an illustration of the credibility and reliableness of the Biblical history.

Let it be added that we are also put into possession of a canon or rule of interpretation. Biblical expositors have here

* Olin's Travels, p. 381, vol. i.

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greatly erred. Shrinking from the full recognition of God's own hand as the bestower of daily and hourly support to the Hebrews, they have vacillated between a sort of half-naturalism and half-supernaturalism, which satisfied the claims of neither system. Hence they have been led to fix the stations of the Israelites only where what is called "nature" gave some supplies, leaving to the Divine bounty the office of making up the deficiencies. According to the more or less decided tendencies of their theological philosophy, they admitted much or little of the miraculous, and so in some cases were led to a rationalism which bordered even on pure naturalism. Meanwhile, the Scriptures were partly disowned and partly misinterpreted. In the more rationalistic leanings of this perversion, Lepsius and others have ransacked the Peninsula to discover spots where, by some liberal interpretation of circumstances, fancy might be cheated into the belief that the armies of Israel could have found for themselves means of subsistence. Accordingly, Wady Feiran and Mount Serbal have their claims exaggerated. A more futile attempt was never made. Simply, there is no alternative; you must admit or deny the miracle as *the cause*, which is to declare in other words that the Hebrews did or did not traverse the Peninsula. The right position in the matter does not require the disowning of all ordinary means of support, but only their utter insufficiency. As an actual fact, the ordinary must have been a very small element; the chief supplies came directly from the overflowing hand of God. We thus meet here, as everywhere, a union of the ordinary and the extraordinary, of the special and the general, of the exceptional and the normal, with proportions, indeed, varying in all cases correspondent to their several peculiarities.

Equally is it by the superabounding amount of the miraculous that the educational training was given to the sons of Israel which they specially needed, and from which ensued results on the largest scale and of the most beneficial kind. In a word, owing to the peculiarity of their position in the wilderness, God himself, in a very special and emphatic manner, became their teacher. In the discipline, and in the consequences thereof, Moses largely participated. But what a noble, what a truly religious confidence was that under which he was sustained and prompted, when he resolved to conduct that confused, disordered, ignorant, and destitute mass over arid plains.

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through burning vales, and across leafless deserts, from Suez to Sinai. Here the deep and broad foundations of that religious soul came fully into view. It was because Moses was built up in God, that he had first the thought, and then the power, to undertake that task. History has nothing equal, nothing even resembling, that enterprise. And we add, that the arduousness of that enterprise is the measure of Moses' trust in God.

We have then now fairly cleared our way. We know where Moses began, and where he terminated his journey; we know the line of road he chose; we know what he had to rely upon, and we know also what he had to shun. Of course, the line of his march would, in a measure, be determined by the nature of the country; equally would it be influenced by the probabilities of safety. Accordingly, we may lay down the following as rules for our guidance in the attempt we are about to make to mark out the exact route he took. On quitting Kolsum (Clysma, or Suez), Moses would employ all possible despatch, lest he should be pursued and overtaken by the Egyptians, eager to recover their slaves. In prosecuting his journey, he would, as long as possible, keep at a distance from the interior, lest he should come into collision with colonists or allies of the Egyptians, or with native hostile tribes; at the same time he would be likely to halt for refreshment and repose at the ordinary stations of the desert, so far as such a course was compatible with the overruling considerations arising from a proper regard to safety and success. Guided by these canons, we have been led to deviate from the line of march usually given. We submit our views without distrust, yet with such humility as the irremediable defectiveness of our materials demands. The footprints of the Israelites on the sands of the desert have nearly vanished; yet some faint traces may possibly be described.

If, then, with the aid of the scriptural narratives, we cast a general look over the route taken by Moses, we find that it has for its chief points: 1, the Wilderness of Shur; 2, Marah; 3, Elim; 4, the Wilderness of Sin; 5, Dophkah; 6, Alush; 7, Rephidim; and 8, the Wilderness of Sinai.* The time spent in the march extends from the 21st day of Nisan (say April 6th) *through the month Iyar to the beginning of Sivan (May), corresponding with the statement: "In the third month when*

* Compare Exod. xv. 22; xix; and Numb. xxxiii. 8-15.

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the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the Wilderness of Sinai." * The distance passed would in a great measure depend on the road pursued. Niebuhr, however, reckoned 20 German, or about 120 English miles between Suez † and Sinai. If we compute the time in days, we shall have some forty-four days for the accomplishment of a journey of 120 miles—a very easy task even for so large and so confused a host as that of Israel. And if we carry our minds back to the Passover established in Egypt, we shall find that the interval spent between the last night in Egypt and the first day at Sinai, was the interval between the Passover and Pentecost, or Easter and Whitsuntide.

The Wilderness of Shur is the present el-Shofar (the old name being retained), which extends from the Mediterranean across the apex of the Nile to the eastern arm of the Red Sea, running northward as far as the south-west boundary of Palestine. Of this extensive desert, Etham was the part on the western coast of the Red Sea, stretching along toward Sinai. Marah has been identified with the Wady el Howarah, lying in the road just indicated, some three days' journey from Suez. But the names Howarah and Marah do not correspond, whereas Marah has the same root as Amârah, the name of a wady lying a little north of Howarah. Here, therefore, we place the second station; and we place it there the rather that whatever dispatch Moses employed, he would not have found it easy, with all his incumbrances, to reach Wady Howarah in the space of three days; for Howarah is nearly forty miles from Suez; that is, one-third of the entire journey.

The next station was Elim, commonly found in the comparatively fruitful and pleasant Wady Ghurundel. The only indication respecting Elim that the Bible gives is, that at the spot were twelve wells of water, and three-score and ten palm trees; and the chief reason why Ghurundel has been chosen is some general correspondence in wood and water. A deeper and more important correspondence, however, is found in Zelima (Elim), a promontory a short distance south-west of the former station, a little south of the hot wells of Hammam, and at the mouth of the Wady Taiyibeh. The harbour of Zelima was a position of great

* Exod. xix. 1.

† If the journey of three days without water is to be understood literally, the exact starting-place would be Ain-Moussa, or Moses' wells, lying a short distance south of Suez, or Kolsum. At Ain-Moussa forty wells are said to exist.

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importance in and long before the days of Moses. Even now it produces palm and tamarisk trees, and has a moist soil. In Exodus xv. 27, we are informed that when the Israelites came to Elim, they "encamped there by the waters," that is, the waters of the Red Sea—a statement which is exactly descriptive of this station, which Moses held when he pitched his tent near the promontory Zelime or Zelima.

Sin, the next station, is declared to be between Elim and Sinai. Sin* is called "the wilderness." The only wilderness specially so termed is the wilderness el-Kaa, the great and terrible plain of sand that stretches from Zelima, along the sea, to the extremity of the Peninsula. The change from Elim to Sin is described in these terms: "And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea." The description corresponds exactly with the position of Sin just given, but is utterly incompatible with any theory which takes the Israelites into the heart of Sinai at some more northern spot. In the same connexion the Scripture informs us, "they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkah." Clearly, then, at this point Moses turned suddenly eastward, and leaving the Red Sea and its barren shore, struck right into the cluster of mountains on his left. By what valley Moses proceeded to Sinai is a matter of some doubt. The book of Exodus takes him directly from Sin to Rephidim, while the book of Numbers makes him stop at two intervening stations, namely, Dophkah and Alush. The omission of Dophkah and Alush in Exodus may imply that these stations were of less consequence, and therefore that the stay there was of short duration. Dophkah, however, appears to be identical with the modern Daphkat (Ain-Tubakah), which lies near the point where Wady Salieh and Wady Esle unite; and in the one or the other of these vales we may probably recognise Alush; the name of the latter—that is, Esle or *Esleh*—resembles *Alush* in sound. This road would take Israel to the southern base of Om Shomar, and so bring the Hebrews to the "back side of the desert";† that is, to the south-west of the Sinaitic group. On the south-west of the present Sinai, then, must Rephidim have been. The only indication respecting Rephidim given by the sacred text is, that it was without water. The indication seems to point to a desert spot in the mountains, and in such a spot, south-

* Sin, the root of Sinai, is etymologically the wilderness of Sinai. † Exod. iii.

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west of the present Jebel Mousa, Dr. Olin was shown the place where, according to tradition, "Moses stood during the battle with the Amalekites in the vale of Rephidim." From that spot the leader of the Israelites would readily conduct his people through known wadys, in a north-easterly direction, to the plain er-Rahah, in front of Horeb, where, under divine aid, he gave the law, of which the ten commandments was the kernel.

If now, with these topographical conclusions, we combine the implications ascertained in the course of this narrative, and the express statements of the Bible, we shall find a remarkable congruity between the two, the existence of which strongly confirms the general accuracy of the view here taken. Employing all possible dispatch in order to place his disorganised bands beyond the reach of the Egyptians, Moses hastened from Suez, or Ain-Mousa, and passing through the wilderness of Shur, continued without halting in a south-easterly by south direction for three successive days. The district afforded no water. The hurry in which the fugitives left Egypt, and their eagerness to escape after they had passed the Red Sea, prevented any provision of so needful a means of refreshment. Worn by continuous effort, and a long journey over barren plains and uplands, they reach Marah, suffering from intolerable thirst. With what joy do they hail the prospect offered them at "the waters of Marah." But the joy is soon converted into bitter disappointment. The water, unlike the sweet water of the Nile, is offensively brackish and intolerable to palates from infancy used to the most exquisite as well as the most restorative of natural beverages. Disappointment creates vexation. Murmurs ensue. On all sides cries arise, "What shall we drink?" The agitation is indescribable and, to our cold western imaginations, inconceivable. Alarmed and distressed, Moses seeks counsel of God, by whom he is directed to a shrub,* the

* Speculation respecting these bitter waters and their sweetening has been busy. A Jewish tradition states that the waters were originally and naturally potable, but made offensive by the special act of God, in order that they, when bitter, might serve as a trial to the Israelites. Christian theology has striven to explain away the act of God altogether by the allegation that a certain vegetable substance, growing in the Peninsula, is still employed to take away the brackishness of the water. Undoubtedly such virtues may exist. The Jewish sect called the Caraites, ascribe the change to the *Nereium Oleander*, Burckhardt to the berries of the *Gharkad*, or *Peganum Retusum* of Forskal. But has any rationalist ever calculated the miraculous quantity requisite to sweeten water enough for the thirsty hosts of Israel? Besides "a tree" (or wood) is not

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branches of which, torn off and tossed into the wells, make them sweet and palatable.

But now begins, at once, the real trouble of Moses, and the genuine discipline of the people. Here is the first attempt to bring the will of man into unison and co-operation with the will of God. It was a small thing for Jehovah to divide the waters of the sea. But it was a hard task to educate the fugitives to child-like obedience. The first lesson is a gentle lesson; alas! many lessons that follow are of necessity very severe. As soon as the thirst was slaked, Moses, it would appear, addressed the people. Doubtless he rebuked their murmurings, showing how unseemly they were in persons who had just been delivered by so signal an act of divine grace and power. Probably allowing some time for the excited passions to cool, and for reason and good feeling to return, Moses "there made for them a statute and an ordinance," by which he enforced obedience to God, and to himself as the representative of God, by promises the most liberal and penalties the most terrible.* Tranquillity was restored. A great trial left a salutary moral impression.

Under this serene atmosphere the camp breaks up. The hosts are equal to the toils of the desert, but they are wholly unfit to encounter the hostile tribes of Amalek. In consequence, Moses carefully abstains from the route which, taking an inland direction, leads direct to Sinai. On the contrary, he takes a more westerly line, and makes his way down to the sea. After a short march he encamps at Zelima, or Elim. There he finds abundance. Availing himself of so desirable an opportunity, he sojourns at that place for a while, employing the time, we may be sure, in judicious efforts to organise the masses, and prepare them for coming perils and inevitable hardships.

At length, with renewed vigour and elevated hearts, the Israelites resume their march. The route avoids the interior, for the Amalekites hover along their left flank and threaten an assault. Safety, therefore, compels Moses to enter a dreary and wide extended wilderness. Again privations and distress multiply at every step. The heavens are hot, the mountain sides glow, the sands burn beneath the feet. Again, con-

identical with "berries," and the berries of the Gharkad are not ripe till the middle of summer, whereas the miracle was wrought in spring. Nor could Moses and his attendants have been ignorant of the virtues of the Gharkad berry.

* Exod. xv. 25, 26.

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sequently, the cry of "Water!" "Water!" is echoed from troop to troop, and from man to man. Nay, food is lacking. The old perish, the young droop, infant lips are parched, and nursing mothers are famished. Murmurs burst from every lip. "The *whole* congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness." "Would God," they exclaim, "we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, and when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness to kill this whole assembly with hunger." Then Moses prayed to the Lord, and the Lord rained bread from heaven in the shape of manna,* and gave them flesh in flying

* The account given of manna in the sacred writings is to this effect. Immediately after the evaporation of the morning dew, there lay on the face of the wilderness a small round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground, like coriander seed, white, the taste of which was like wafers made with honey, and after a short time breeding worms and becoming offensive. It was not a natural growth, but a divine gift—the bread rained from heaven, in answer to a special request made by Moses in an exigency, and continued until the final settlement of the Hebrews in Palestine—that is, for some forty years. The supply, given only six days in the week, was on so immense a scale, as to supply bread sufficient for the swarming and hungry multitudes of Israel.

With such an account before him, Dean Milman must have had his belief strangely stretched by his rationalism when he wrote the following words: "This is now clearly ascertained by Seetzen and Burckhardt to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk in the month of June. It is still collected by the Arabs before sunrise, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it. Its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. It may be kept for a year, and is only found after a wet season. It is still called by the Bedouins 'Mann.' The quantity now collected—for it is only found in a few valleys—is very small; the preternatural part, therefore, of the Mosaic narrative consists in the immense and continual supply." Surely the writer might have found sufficient points of diversity and contrast, if he had done nothing more than compare the account he gives with the account given in Scripture. The Bible expressly makes manna to come forth with from the hand of God; yet is it declared to be a natural production. Can there be a broader contradiction? But after declaring the production natural, he styles its amount preternatural. The supply then was natural-preternatural! But manna is found only in a few valleys, we are told; how was it supplied then on a barren wilderness? The natural parent of manna is tamarisk or the tarfah tree. This bush grows only "in a few valleys" in the Peninsula; how then was the "natural" *genesis* of manna brought about in the ten thousand spots occupied by the Israelites where no tarfah tree was found? Such a spot was that—the wilderness of Sin—where manna was first given. There no tarfah tree grew, yet the manna came. But the Bedouins now collect manna. Yes, a few hundred pounds in favourable weather do they collect in all the Peninsula. The disproportion is immeasurably greater than Falstaff's toast to his "quart of sack." They even call the substance manna; what then? Surely the bread from heaven may still have given name to the natural exudation to which it bore some resemblance. Certainly, the scriptural account is borne out

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fowl.* And lest their disturbed and agitated minds should perversely ascribe these bounties to some happy chance or some Egyptian demon, Moses not only foretold the supply with minute accuracy, as the event proved, but challenged the people to a view of the Divine glory marshalling their way still further into that thirsty and resourceless desert; and so, when they looked toward the wilderness, behold the glory of the Lord, which from the time of leaving Succoth had not failed to lead their ranks, appeared of a sudden in the now well-known cloud. The manna was gathered, and the quails were caught.

Thus abundantly furnished with sustenance, the Israelites were once more fit to receive instruction. Then came there a merciful ordinance, which, establishing the Sabbath under auspices very solemn and very impressive, bestowed on the by the etymology of the word. Ignorant of what the substance was—a state of mind which could hardly have existed in regard to the gum of the tarfah tree—the Israelites, struck with surprise at what they saw covering the surface of the wilderness, said one to another, What is it? (in the original *man eva*? literally, “What is that?”) Now *man* is a kind of vulgarism for *ma*? who? or what? Hence the name points to the ignorance and surprise of the common people, or the bulk of the armies of Israel. The very name then argues, not a natural production, but a singularity; and this singularity Moses expressly speaks of thus: “This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.” Those who wish to see the whole subject well handled by a scholar of the highest acquirements, will do well to consult Ritter’s admirable Essay on the subject, in the 14th volume of his *Erd Kunde*, p. 665, seq.

* The fowls of heaven referred to in the text are quails, the *tetrao Alchata* o Hasselquist, a species of partridge, living in huge numbers in Syria and Arabia, of the size of a turtle-dove, and easily caught. In Numbers xi. 31 we read, that on another occasion “a wind went forth from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea.” Here, then, it may appear that the act of God lay rather in the bringing than the creating of the supply. The quail is a bird of passage, and at suitable seasons of the year passes into and out of the Peninsula and other parts, in search of the temperature and food which it requires. Often when wearied by long flights, quails fall in great numbers, or flying near the ground are beaten down by sticks. It must, however, in justice to the sacred text, be observed, that in Exodus (xvi. 13, seq.) no mention is made of wind, or any other natural or ordinary cause: so that here the rationalistic explanation offered by Milman halts behind the scriptural account; his words are: “A cloud of these birds was suddenly wafted over the camp of the Israelites, and fell around them in immense numbers.” At any rate, the supply came as an immediate result of a divine promise. (Verse 11, seq.) Here, then, we clearly have an intervention on the part of God. Consequently, you must admit miracle or contradict the Bible. But if you once admit miracle, why strain points in order to minimise the miraculous? Is not the Almighty’s hand equal to a large miracle no less than to a small one? or rather, are not great and small terms of purely relative import to Him

“Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall?”

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whole people the inestimable privilege of abstinence from labour every seventh day. What a boon to slaves who had a fresh, vivid, and painful recollection of the ceaseless and exhausting drudgery of the land of their bitter servitude. The benefit soothed and encouraged all classes, and every individual. Liberty was now found to mean something no less tangible and good than promising. Such liberty was worth fighting for; especially as connected therewith was a plentiful supply of acceptable nutriment. The hour then had come for throwing the decisive die. Under these circumstances, the Amalekites might be encountered with some hope of success. Consequently the pillar of cloud turns toward the opening of an eastern wady; the word is given; the troops enter the pass, are involved in the mountain net-work, and at length come out on the plain of Rephidim. There they seek water and find none, though they pant, and faint, and sink with thirst. Rebellion once more raises its head; eyes glare with menacing fires hotter than the glimmering heat of the surrounding cauldrons. The very fatness of those well-fed frames gives an intensity to the rage of the rebels. Crowds rush around their leader, and take up stones to stone him. Instructed and gifted with power from on high, Moses lifts the rod that effectually smote the sea, and with it strikes the rock; when the rock, harder than flint, gushes with streams of water. The people drink their fill, and are at peace.

Assured now that the Lord is with them, they prepare for their last march, when lo! they behold the Amalekites bearing down hotly upon their lines, intending to resist their passage, and in so doing to dispute the sovereignty of "the mount of God," and of the whole Peninsula of which that mount was the citadel and the key. But Israel is prepared. The conflict is dire, long, and doubtful. But God is truly there. Behold, on that eminence they see the symbol and the assurance of his presence; for his prophet, holding aloft that potent staff, with Aaron and Hur to give him support, lifts his eyes and his heart in earnest and long-sustained supplication, until, at the going down of the sun, Jehovah, by the leadership of Joshua, discomfits Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword. The glorious issue is written in a book of remembrance, and an altar is erected with the pious inscription, *Jehovah nissi*, "the Lord is my banner."

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A touching domestic episode concludes this act of the sublime drama. No sooner were the Amalekites put to flight, and the ascendancy of the Hebrew race thereby established, than Moses was delighted, and his heart was soothed, by the sight of his father-in-law Jethro, who came, bringing with him Zipporah, Moses' wife, and their two sons, Gershom and Eliezer. Some time was given to family greetings and domestic solace. The members of the happy circle, having recounted to each other the wonderful dealings of Jehovah on their behalf, Jethro assisted Moses to complete such an organisation of the people as their position admitted and made desirable. Accordingly, "Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens; and they judged the people at all seasons; the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves."

"Then the children of Israel departed from Rephidim, and came to the desert of Sinai, and pitched in the wilderness, and encamped before the mount; and Moses went up unto God; and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and tell the children of Israel, Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself; now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my commandments, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine; and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation."*

Here, then, at the base of that dark towering height, and up that height itself, and around and over those peaks, passed the grand scenery connected with the law which God then gave to Israel. And here, for more than twelve successive months, Hebrew life went forward in Wady Rahah and its connected vales. But Hebrew life was human life. At and near the base of that sacred mountain then the human life of some two millions of persons proceeded in very much of its ordinary tenor. Birth and death were busy there; young men and maidens married and were given in marriage there; under

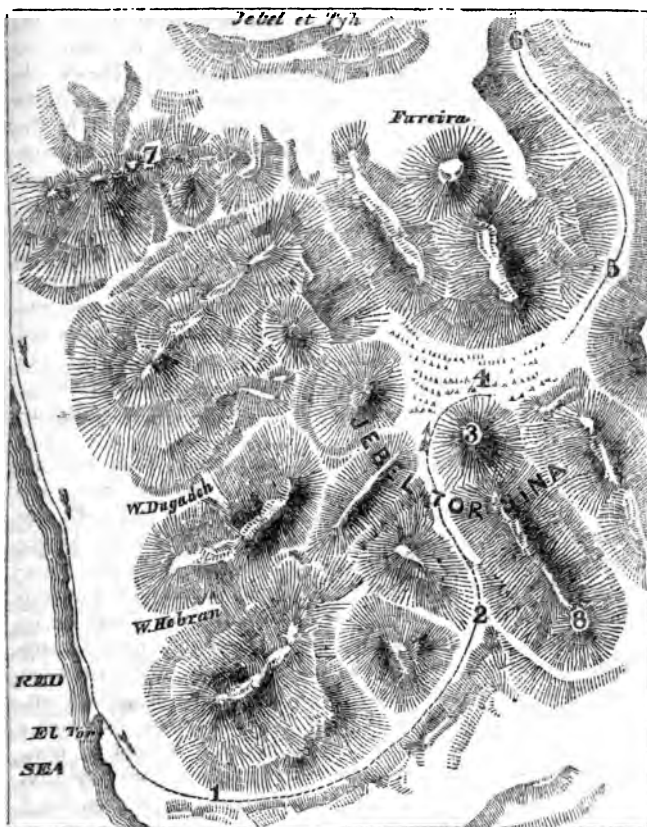
* A promise of the highest possible import to persons who in Egypt had long been familiarised with a most numerous class of priests, who, being a sacred caste, held, together with the warrior caste, the highest social position and engrossed all the culture and most of the property of the nation. (Exod. xix. 1, 6.)

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the shade of that overhanging rock the lover whispered his tender tales; around that small fountain gossips gathered every evening to report and discuss the small news of the camp; on that projecting elevation some factious leader harangued the discontented on the hardships endured since the fertile lands of the Nile had been so rashly quitted; in that cavern high up in the mountain side idolatrous priests lurked in the midst of Israel, weaving their webs and waiting their time for bringing the people over to their bovine worship. Many a happy maiden became a happier wife and a still happier mother. Many a happy mother was bereaved of child and husband. Boys grew into young men; young men entered early manhood. The mature in life declined toward "the sere and yellow leaf;" and the aged "died without the sight" of the long desired day of departure for the land of promise. Murmurs went through the camp, bringing punishment in their train; when repentance followed, and the light of peace broke forth once more. Meanwhile, God's hand was manifested again and again—lifted up now to smite, now to defend, now to direct. Yes, those upliftings were very signal and very instructive. But let it not be thought that only by extraordinary things God impressed and taught his people. That good and great Being came down into the vale in every newly-risen sunbeam, in every waning and waxing moon, in every healthy sensation, in every holy desire, in every manly effort; and in the ten thousand times ten thousand little things which make up our individual life every day, hour, and minute—in each and all God was, God spake, God acted, working for the good of every son and daughter, every father and mother, every sire and every infant, in that large host; working for their good at the moment and for their larger good in the time then to come. And so God prepared the way for the wanderings and for the tarryings of those eight and thirty years, which in themselves were so many years of preparation for the land of the promised inheritance.

Even so let it not be forgotten that our own personal training under the hand of God, in being biblical, ceases not to be natural; in being "the work of the Spirit," ceases not to be the work of the home, the warehouse, or the smithy. In all good education, the human is interwoven with the divine.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wady Salih. 2. Rephidim. 3. Horeb, the scene of the lawgiving. 4. Er-Rahab, the place of the encamping. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Wady-es-Sheikh. 6. Hazeroth. 7. Serbil. 8. Jebel Mousa. |
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II.—FROM SINAI TO KADESH.

At length Moses and his people stand at the base of Mount Horeb. The fear of Egypt has departed; the perils of the desert are at an end; Amalek has been defeated; and one stage between the Nile and the Jordan has been reached. Now,

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then, may the heart be freely yielded to thankfulness and joy. Repose is at hand. With days and months of repose, instruction will come; and the instructor will be even the Creator himself. What a privilege is here! The whole world around is sunk in sense. In that valley almost alone the spirit vindicates its rights; and there the Spirit of the Eternal God is about to hold converse with the spirit of man. Only two or three spots on the earth's surface have been thus signally honoured—Eden, Horeb, Calvary. Thrice holy spots! what venerable associations cluster around each! what celestial light invests each! The light deepens and brightens from Eden to Calvary, for on the last the grace was consummated which began in the first, and was renewed and augmented in the second. Without those three hallowed spots, how different would have been the history of the world; and how lamentable the lot of man, if the revelation made in Eden had not been continued in Horeb and completed on Calvary.

We must abjure the error of restricting Sinai and its scenes to the Hebrew race. Although regarding them primarily, that legislation was designed and fitted to benefit the whole earth. The Israelites were the channels of the divine light and goodness. They were the electric chain of revelation. The voice that spake from Sinai addressed the human family at large. If we view the events now about to be summarily set forth in this their true light, we shall see their importance, magnitude, and grandeur. That secluded valley was the birth-place of a new order of civilisation. There law was born, there right was consecrated, there God's will was declared supreme, and there was uttered to man those awful and sublime words—those words which condition man's happiness, and enfold his destiny—"Be ye holy, for I am holy."* Before events so solemn, before disclosures so momentous, before requirements so lofty, we feel our spirit bowed. To read and to write of these things is a serious engagement: how awful then to have witnessed them! to have heard those thunders! to have seen those lightnings! to have known and felt that God was there—there on that mountain brow—there in that cleft of the rock—and that there, in his power and glory, he spake with his servant Moses.

* Exod. xix. 6; Lev. xix. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 9.

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God's disclosures to individuals ever depend on their own spiritual elevation. Revelation and sanctity are reciprocal factors in the spiritual life. As we rise upwards to God, God comes down to us. Moses had to go up into the Mount ere he could commune with God. The spiritual wisdom which he had long possessed, led him to know that, in these rocky and elevated solitudes, the people would be nearer to God than they could be in the sweltering plains of Egypt, or the scorching sands of the desert. Within the lofty seclusions of Sinai the people would be shut out from the distractions of human society; they would stand face to face with infinitude; their thoughts and affections would be concentrated on one spot; till, from the bare loneliness of the desert, the idea of the one only God would rise in their minds with all the vividness of an intuition. For at the bottom of all the truth revealed to Israel at the foot of Horeb, was the grand doctrine of the divine unity—the one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, the Lord, Governor, and Judge of all men, and specially the Ruler of his people Israel.

These thoughts may wear to some now the appearance of common-places. This is one effect—a very sad effect—of talking about, instead of living in, God. But no common-place was the one living and true God to those Israelites just redeemed from dangerous contact with a gross idolatry. It was a disclosure very bright, very dazzling, and soon very precious to the non-intelligent. Not that the disclosure sank at once into the deep places of the heart. The carnal mind does not readily appropriate pure spiritual nutriment. Ere the grand idea could take firm root in those spirits, a long moral husbandry was needful. Yet, viewed in its remoter issues, the idea of the divine unity was full of the richest fruit. That idea was, indeed, the central truth of the Mosaic economy—the very foundation of the Mosaic church.

With the belief in the one God, the ever-living and eternal One, Jehovah, there was connected the recognition of his one instrument, Moses—the hero and the deliverer of the nation—the divinely appointed and divinely sanctioned medium between the Almighty and the people of Israel. As on the one side Moses represented God, so on the other he represented the Hebrew nation. Strictly speaking, there was but one representative between the two, for the priesthood at first

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existed only as a germ. In consequence, no artificial distinction separated Israel into castes. All stood on terms of essential equality before the mount of revelation. Thus, as there was one God and one mediator, so was there one people. Accordingly, "the church in the wilderness" was a type of the church spread all over the world. From that unity comes a universal unity. The mediator of one people has given place to the Mediator of all peoples, tribes, and tongues. But the relation between that one people and God their Saviour involved the correlative ideas of dependance and supremacy. At Horeb, God, who before was known as a mighty Deliverer and bountiful Benefactor, appeared as a sovereign Lord—the Giver of a law—the Exactor of obedience; yet not as coercing slaves, but as guiding and governing free intelligences; and so a theocracy was founded and established, in which God the Creator took into his own hands the immediate control of the Hebrews, becoming their earthly King—their sole Guide, Rewarder, and Judge. This, too, was a grand and prolific thought. The theocracy thus set up on earth, made itself felt in all the observances and symbols of the Hebrew religion; and, after undergoing serious damage from human usurpations, was nobly vindicated by prophetic inspiration, and at last issued fully perfect in the gospel of Jesus Christ, as which it is still contending for the universal dominion it must gain, against similar usurpations, very diverse in their kinds and very obstinate in their opposition.

The law is thus seen to be in some sort an anticipation of the gospel. Moses was a school-master to bring men to Christ. That "life in the wilderness" was the germ of the life of the world. If the details into which we are about to enter shall be found to justify these statements and deductions, then scepticism has no plea or excuse for objecting against the legislation of Sinai as a piece of narrow exclusiveness, unworthy of the universal Lord. On the contrary, we have here one of those great ordinal movements which go, wave after wave, in ever-widening circles, from one point over the whole surface of human society. There are no moral generalisations so wide and so comprehensive as those of the Bible. As there is one God, so is there one human family. As there is one God and one human family, so is there one religion. If that religion has two developments, it has only

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one spirit and one aim. If in that religion we find a Moses as well as a Jesus, the former does but prepare the way for the latter. And the eras of that religion, from its origin to its completion, are very few, are intimately connected, and arise the one out of the other; for Abraham is united with Christ by means of Moses and Elias.

The legislative revelation, or, in other words, the course of divine instruction, and the series of divine impressions, given at Sinai, was ushered in by a preparatory incident, in which breathes the spirit of gentleness and mercy, fitted, if anything could, to win the heart. No sooner were the tribes and the families of Israel encamped before the Mount, than Moses, ascending to its summit, heard there, in that holy solitude, these words: "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel."* Words of wondrous grace, truly! Words which, with the lapse of centuries, have ever disclosed new and richer truth. Compare those words with the falsities and the carnalities of that Egypt out of which Moses had just come, and then say if his religion was not a blessing to Israel, and is not so to human kind.

This gentle invitation was borne by Moses unto the people. But how could it be communicated to those swarming myriads? Personal contact with each—with even each male adult—was impossible. The herald of the divine goodness, therefore, profited by an organization which, though not perfect, ran back to the earliest days of the nation; for calling around him the elders of the people, he recounted the words of Jehovah. With characteristic brevity the Scripture adds, that "All the people answered together and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord."†

In the revelations at Sinai there are things covered with an *impenetrable veil of darkness*. These we will not attempt to

* *Exod. xix. 3—6.*

† *Exod. xix. 7, 8.*

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explain. What God hides, man may not scrutinize. Other things are purposely made plain. Among the plain things are statements respecting the method and channels of the divine communications to Israel. These we ought to know, if we would conceive of the whole as a reality. Among these is the organization to which we have just adverted. Israel was a family of twelve tribes, the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob. In every family the elders bore rule. These elders, when assembled, formed the congregation of Israel.* And that congregation, thus composed, represented Israel; for each elder represented one family. And it was a representation which embraced the moral, spiritual, and intellectual, as well as the material interests of the people. It was also a paternal representation: fathers represented the interests of their children and families; consequently, it was as wise and benign as it was complete. Being such, its word was lawful as well as binding. The father spake with authority, as the natural representative of his house. Hence the promise made on the part of the people was an obligatory promise; for it had its origin and its reason in the domestic relations. Besides, from the biblical narratives it would appear that the elders laid God's word before the people at large ere they gave their reply. What else can be implied in the statement, that "all the people answered together"?† An answer supposes a communication. This, then, in general, was the mode of intercourse. God spake to Moses, Moses spake to the elders, the elders spake to the people; and then Moses reported the result. Either in conjunction with, or instead of that report, the whole assembled nation signified their assent and concurrence with one loud acclaim: "And the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the Lord hath said will we do."‡

The promise thus emphatically made was sometimes solemnized and ratified by sacrifices and an historical record.§ The making of such a record is a matter of singular interest and

* "The seventy elders of Israel" obviously formed a part of the civil organization of the people in the wilderness. Mention, indeed, is made of them in such a way as to suggest the idea that they existed as a sort of natural (of family origin?) council even before the Exodus. (See Exod. xxiv. 1, 9; Numb. xi. 16, seq.) From these seventy Jewish authorities lineally deduce the Sanhedrim, the highest national tribunal of the Jews in the times of Jesus and the apostles, which held its sittings in Jerusalem, and consisted of priests, elders, and scribes. (Matt. xxvi. 57, 59; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66; Acts v. 21; xxi. 30.)

† Exod. xix. 8.

‡ Exod. xxiv. 3.

§ Exod. xxiv. 5-11.

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importance. We know that the record began, at least, with the grand events at Sinai. From the constant entries made, there arose a book, "the book of the covenant" (verse 7). This book of the covenant, having the Decalogue for its kernel, became the *magna charta* of the people of Israel. Here was laid the foundation of a history at once exact and credible, because running back to materials furnished by the very agents of the chief recorded events. And here we have an indirect, and therefore satisfactory, proof that Moses well understood his own historical significance. Clearly he acted with a distinct consciousness of his own future; he saw Israel's position in God's providence, and prepared for issues and events which he knew must come, and whose coming he did something to necessitate by his preparations. The mode of communication, however, between God and the people, so far as hitherto described, may seem to have left too much dependent on Moses. The chain of visual impressions terminated with him. Yet were visual impressions the only evidence that would prevail with a sensuous generation. With their own eyes, therefore, must the people be permitted to see. Accordingly, symbols, both expressive and overpowering, were employed in the presence of the assembled nation gathered along the base of the majestic and mysterious Horeb. And so Jehovah said unto Moses: "I will come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever."* Special preparations preceded the assembling at which occurred that grand event, the giving of the ten commandments. In order to impress the people's minds deeply with the feeling that it was a Holy Being they were about to approach, and that they themselves, as his children and subjects, must be holy too, Moses commanded a universal lustration. Then did all Israel, for three days, purify and sanctify themselves, that they might be less unfit to stand before God and hear his holy words. The lustration over, Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God, and they stood at the nether part of the mount. "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the

* Exod. xix. 9.

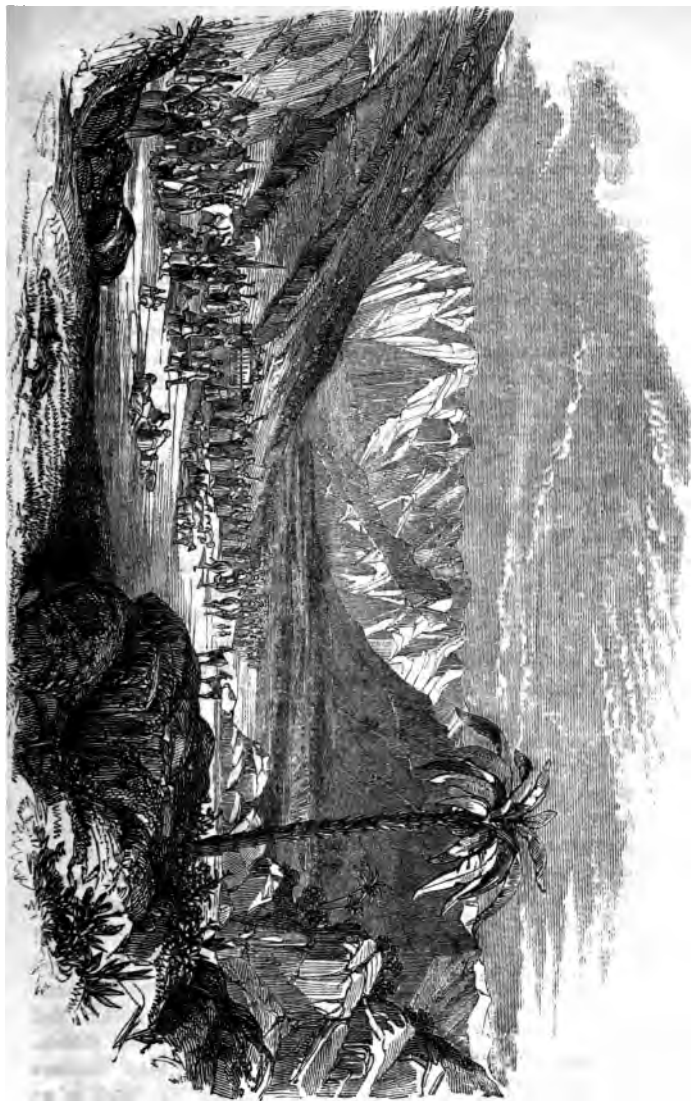
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mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount; and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up.”*

Thus was the line of communication between God and Israel made complete. The people saw those symbols of the divine presence, and so knew that the word which Moses spake came from God. With what unaffected and artless simplicity are those displays of God's glory set forth in the Scripture! Surely these words represent realities. Thus do men write who write unconsciously, who think of nothing else than of recording what they see, and hear, and do. The record attests the recorded facts; the words carry the mind of the reader back to the sublime realities. Sublime in very deed those realities were. What a deep and awfully thrilling impression must they have made on the assembled spectators! The impression was as inconceivably strong as the scene is, and ever will remain, impenetrably mysterious.

In the preparatory measures of which we have now spoken, there is one truth involved and consecrated, which is of so much consequence as to justify a word or two of special notice. We allude to the equality of men in the sight of God. It is with Israel at large that God treats, and enters into a covenant. But a covenant is so made with Israel as to involve the recognition of the several individuals of which the nation consists. Therefore, it is not with men in a mass, but with individuals separately considered, that God here forms intimate relations. Herein consists one great peculiarity of revealed religion. The recognition of individuals here made is repeated in the gospel, in which it is carried to the fullest extent. Hence ensues what is termed the personality of religion. With every human soul God holds the same relation, and that relation is of the closest kind. It also involves on the part of man the most solemn obligations, as on the part of God it ensures constant and benign supervision. Accordingly, in the Bible, man stands, so to say, face to face with his Creator; each man becomes his own priest; every home is an altar; every heart is an altar. The priest, when priest there is, has no independent

* Exod. xix. 14-24.



THE ISRAELITES ENTERING THE PLAINS OF ER-RAHAB.

authority, and his highest function is to minister as God's servant on behalf of his fellow man. After all his ministrations, each individual member of the nation and the church is answerable in God's sight. Religion, consequently, is purely a business between God and each person's own conscience. Thus is it that, in the Decalogue, every prohibition and every injunction is addressed to individuals, for it is not *you*, but "*thou* shalt have no other gods before me."

This recognition is pregnant with important consequences. Instead of following them in detail—an office for which the present essay does not afford the necessary scope—let us remark the important bearing which the fact has on the divine origin of the Mosaic religion. What a contrast is hereby afforded between that religion and the falsities of the Egyptian and other pagan mythologies, in which sacerdotalism grew to dimensions so huge as to hide the worshipper from the Being worshipped, and in which, by a natural consequence, the power of the priest became first supreme and then crushing. If these baneful usurpations condemn the pagan religions, equally does the recognition of men as individuals attest the divinity of that of Moses. Antecedently, we should expect that He who declared that "all the earth is mine," and who appears in the Bible as the Creator of the human race, would assume toward the individuals of which it is composed, the character and functions not only of a Governor, but also of a Father. In a light so amiable and attractive does God appear when he speaks to Israel by Moses. The mere fact of an interposition on the part of God for man's benefit, attests the Divine goodness and betokens the divinity of that religion which is thus originated. But how does the argument grow in force and impressiveness when the voice employed is a voice of considerate goodness and watchful care, addressed to masses only so far as it is addressed to individuals. Surely a religion of which this is one of the fundamental principles, is worthy of the universal Parent, who thus recognises, and, so to say, regards his own image as impressed at creation on the soul of each individual. Nor is it easy to conceive how a truth so grand and so replete with good should have been connected with a Hebrew educated in an Egyptian university, had he not been inspired of God. In the land of the Nile, the individual was sunk and lost in the mass, trodden under the iron

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heel of royal and sacerdotal despotism. In the heart of Sinai, only a few months after the exode, the redeemed slaves of Israel, not only become men, but are recognised individually as acceptable worshippers and beloved children by Jehovah. This is a simple and undeniable fact, and for that fact the writer has no explanation which does not involve the divine origin of the Decalogue. This consideration we would specially urge on the notice of those who, claiming to be men of liberal minds, are yet wont to disparage the religion of the Bible; and while they profess to be very earnest for the freedom of nations, set at nought that which is the world's charter-book, namely, the sacred records. And we must add, that we are very sure that, if the liberty of individuals or communities is ever to be wrought out and settled on a secure and permanent basis, that basis can be no other than true religion. "If the Son shall make men free, then are they free indeed."

THE REVELATION AND RATIONALE OF THE LAW.

The preparatory measures being ended, the revelation, properly so called, began. It was put forth in a summary which is generally termed "the law of the ten commandments." The summary is well known,* and need not be repeated here. But a few remarks may be of service, tending to show forth the substance of the Decalogue, and the applicability thereof to those to whom it was immediately given. In general the substance of the Decalogue is the sole authority of God and the supremacy of the divine will. This, the cornerstone of all religious truth, is authoritatively declared. No attempt is made to prove or establish the laws here enunciated; there is only an appeal to the fact that the Being who speaks is he who has just delivered Israel from crushing servitude; and this probably was designed chiefly for the inconsiderate and unreflecting many. Otherwise, the whole and every part is a direct address to the sense of duty, and the universal sentiments of the human soul. The imperative "*thou shalt*" comes appropriately from the Divine lips, and strikes effectively on the human heart. If we look into the portions of which the general substance consists, we find that the corner-stone is laid in the knowledge of God. The true God is declared, both positively and negatively; for the fictions which are called

* Exod. xx.; compare Deut. v.

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gods are denounced. The recognition of the true God is then guarded from corruptions; for his spirituality is taught, and all visible and tangible representations of him are strictly forbidden. Next follow positive directions respecting the worship to be paid to the true God: his name is to be held in reverence, and one day out of every seven is to be set apart from secular pursuits, and specially consecrated to his service.

On the acknowledgment and devout adoration of God are, in the second place, based the great duties due from man to man. As the Heavenly Father is the source of all obligation and the centre of all rights, so is the authority of human parents placed as the centre of all earthly duty; and as God is to be worshipped as well as acknowledged, so are father and mother to be honoured no less than obeyed. The religion of heaven and the religion of home being thus identified, and the hearth put under the guardianship of the altar, the rights of individuals are declared sacred, and their infraction is strictly forbidden. Human life, female honour, property, and character are shielded from assault. Finally, a bridle is set on the passions, and that cupidity which is the source of all evil is marked with the express disapprobation of Him who holds all rewards and all punishments in his hands.

This brief summary is the germ of all the Mosaic legislation. It is the kernel of the Hebrew religion. All that follows in the sacred books is only an expansion, a development, or an application of the principles, verities, and obligations therein expounded. He that is deeply imbued with the spirit of the Decalogue comprehends God's design in the selection and establishment in Canaan of the Hebrew race. For this summary of God's commands and man's duties we claim respect and admiration. At this period in the world's history—now that some three thousand years have passed away since that voice sank into silence—now that the human mind has so much strengthened and expanded, and human society made such progress in the midst of the civilisation of the nineteenth century of the Christian era—we claim for the ten commandments the veneration of the world. We say that no code of merely human origin has ever equalled the Mosaic code. And no code of merely human origin ever can, if only for this reason, that every such code can speak only with human authority, and so must lack the venerable sanctions which attach

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to the Mosaic code. But let us advert to one or two particulars. -

And, first, observe how the Decalogue excels all merely human legislation, by cutting off the two abundant sources of misdoing. Man's laws take cognizance, and can take cognizance only, of the overt act. God's laws go at once to the heart. They go to the heart not only because they establish the throne of God there, but also because, directing their authority to particulars, they forbid sin in the inward parts, saying, "Thou shalt not *covet*."

This legislation had a special reference, and a peculiar adaptation, to the actual condition of the Israelites. The fact is exemplified in the stern prohibition of idolatry, and of images tending to encourage idolatry. The special reason of the law was found in the idolatrous sympathies and lustings of a people who had been born and bred in a land teeming with idols. The fact is exemplified, also, in those particular exhibitions which declare God's displeasure against the transgressions and crimes to which semi-barbarous tribes are always addicted. Yet, while the Decalogue has this special adaptation to the Israelites in their then condition, scarcely less is it fitted to the same people in their subsequent stages of progress, and scarcely less is it fitted for men in general, in any degree of civilization yet reached. This universality is an imprint of the Divine hand. Man makes laws for the moment; it is only God's laws that are for all times and all conditions.

The authority of law thus set forth in its own native power, Moses employed as a shield wherewith to protect human life. We have already spoken of the high position in which he placed each individual. So in the Decalogue does he show a similar wise solicitude, for he emphatically forbids the shedding of man's blood. This prohibition, too, had a special reference; for all that is known of their history goes to show that the ancient Egyptians were most prodigal of human life. Indeed, disregard of human life was characteristic of all the oriental despotisms. With Moses, man's blood was a sacred thing; he therefore placed it under the ægis of religion.

SETTING UP OF THE TABERNACLE.

For an entire year, all but ten days, was Israel under the discipline of the mighty hand of God in the heart of Sinai.

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During this time laws were given and regulations made, which bore partly on existing or speedily coming exigencies, and partly on interests to be evolved in distant days and under other circumstances. In combination with this body of laws, observances and institutions were enjoined which tended to complete the organization of this people, and to prepare them, not only for the perils and hardships which would thicken around them in their approaching march, but also for fulfilling the Divine will when they should take possession of Canaan.

Amongst the most important of the arrangements was the setting up of the sanctuary.* The sanctuary was the visible centre of the Mosaic church. Previously to its erection, Israel possessed no other symbol of the Divine presence than the cloud or the pillar. In the first days of their sojourn in Sinai, God appeared before the people by special signs, for an altogether special end. But a permanent token was needful. Hence the sanctuary. It was a simple tent, and so in form a dwelling-place. Accordingly, it is called "the house of God."† The formation of the sanctuary was a labour of love. Towards its construction all who had substance contributed liberally; and the artistic skill that had been acquired in Egypt was employed for its erection and adornment. The sacred tent, as it imaged forth the original nomadic mode of life which the Hebrew forefathers had led, became also the model of the splendid temple afterwards erected on mount Moriah. As a house must have furniture, so the house of God required an equipment; and as a house implies a service and serving men and women, so the house of God required a ritual of worship, and persons to execute the duties. Accordingly, an altar was built in the sanctuary, and a priesthood set apart to minister there; all in such a spirit and with such arrangements as might best give effect to the tenor of the Decalogue, by inspiring Israel with confidence towards God and obedience to his righteous will. That confidence and that obedience were chiefly promoted by the ark of the testimony, or the ark of the covenant—the most precious and sacred article in the tabernacle furniture. It was a simple chest, made of acacia, richly decorated. It was a memorial. Containing a portion of the manna, a copy of the Decalogue, and other sacred objects, it reminded

* Exod. xxv; xl.; Numb. vii.

† Josh. ix. 23; Judg. xviii. 31; compare Gen. xxviii. 17.

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the Israelites alike of God's grace and of their duty. It was a sort of minor tent, a dwelling within a dwelling, the special abode of Jehovah, where, under the overshadowing cherubim, and on the mercy-seat, which as a lid covered the chest, the Holy One of Israel made known his will and bestowed his grace. Around the ark, in consequence, the holiest associations gathered. It became the resting-place of the heart of Israel; it became the support of his whole nature. If he was in sorrow, he found comfort there; if he was in doubt, he found relief there; if his courage began to sink, he found invigoration there. Pre-eminently was the ark *the* sanctuary, for, placed in the inmost or holiest part of the tabernacle, it bore a dim resemblance to the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," the special dwelling-place of Jehovah.

The tabernacle, thus established, was placed under special guardianship, and, from the peculiarity of the Mosaic polity, performed a variety of parts for which severally under other systems a separate provision was made. Not only was it the *Prætorium*, or the tent of the commander-in-chief, but the sacred *divan*, or ecclesiastical council-house,* the court of the sovereign, Jehovah, and the rallying-point of all faithful Hebrews. There dwelt the light, the grace, the power, which were to make Israel superior to all its foes. Thence went forth law to govern, and encouragement to support, the people. Over the tabernacle rested the mysterious cloud of guidance, and before it went the pillar of fire. On the march, when the sacred tent came to a stand, the army halted; and when again it moved, the army advanced. In the latter case Moses was wont to say, "Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered;" and in the former, "Return, Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel."†

REBELLION AND IDOLATRY.

During the twelve months that the constitution of Israel was being delivered to the people, human passions of all kinds must have been actively at work in that camp which lay stretched out in the Wady Rahah, before "the Mount of God." For who are the tenants of that camp? Are they not men—recently liberated slaves? True, they all had been spectators

* Numb. xi. 16, seq.; Exod. xxxiii. 7, seq.

† Numb. x. 35, 36, compare Exod. xl. 36—38.

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of wonderful scenes, from which they must have received deep and lasting impressions. But the habits of years are not easily superseded, for the roots of human passions are in the very core of the heart. The "law in the members" would therefore powerfully withstand the law of God. Cupidity would assert its claims. Ambition would stimulate to revolt. The senses, so long in the ascendant, would refuse the bridle of moral restraint. An outbreak then might be feared, should a fitting opportunity occur. Such an opportunity presented itself in the protracted absence of Moses. Called up into the mount, for forty days and forty nights his face was not seen among the hosts of Israel. What could such an absence mean? Was he dead? Had his heart failed him in the midst of his work? Had he from sheer despair deserted the people? And, any way, what was to become of those myriads, abandoned there in that labyrinth of arid and barren mountains, so far from the haunts of men and the resources of social life? If one leader was gone, could not another be found?

To these, the probable speculations of the agitated people, Aaron gave a practical but perfidious answer. The discontented gathered around him, and urgently said, "Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, we wot not what is become of him."* Alas! Aaron was unable to resist the temptation. Perhaps he yielded only in appearance, hoping to turn the murmurs to a good account. Perhaps he was seduced by self-aggrandisement. Any way, he made a golden calf in imitation of the Egyptian Apis, appealing to idolatrous passions, which only slumbered in the breasts of the rebels. The molten image was received with delirious joy. A cry ran through the camp—"These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt!" Witnessing the fanaticism, Aaron was seized by the insane desire to profit by it for his own elevation. With that view he built an altar, and under the cover of a festival to Jehovah, indulged the people in practices alike idolatrous, dissolute, and debasing. But Moses was at hand; the guilty revelry had caught his ear; he hastened into the midst of the rioters, restored order, and inflicted condign punishment. His anger was not yet spent, when his heart misgave him, and pity took the place of

* Exod. xxxii. 1, seq.

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wrath. Under that gentle sentiment, he forthwith besought pardon from the injured and offended Sovereign of Israel. But what plea could he urge? He only knew that he himself would willingly perish, could his death make an atonement for the transgression. Therefore he returned unto the Lord and said, "Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin — , and, if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book." And the Lord said unto Moses, "Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. Therefore now go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee : behold, mine angel shall go before thee."* Straightway grief filled the people's hearts, and universal mourning ensued. The people were humbled before the display of divine power. Yet, would their sorrow endure? Precautions were indispensable. The tabernacle, therefore, which had been in the centre of the camp, was removed to a place of safety beyond its limits, and its custody entrusted to Joshua, the son of Nun.†

Before the hosts quitted the sacred spot, Moses, anxious to confirm them in their obedience, called the congregation to a great national sacrifice, that, as a whole people, they might purge themselves from sin. The ablution was made. Aaron, now at the head of the priesthood, pronounced a benediction on the worshippers. Then he and Moses went into the tabernacle to consult Jehovah. They found that the atonement had been graciously accepted. Returning, they together blessed the people; and while their hands were yet outspread over Israel, lo! the glory of the Lord shone forth, and fire from heaven descended on the victims yet lying on the altar, and consumed them forthwith. The token for good was beheld by all the people, who shouted in reverent joy, and fell prostrate in lowly worship.‡

But the leaven of unrighteousness was not extinct. As Aaron had sinned through ambition, so now did his two eldest sons, Nadab and Abihu, sin by presumption. Beholding the sublime effects that had followed their father's ministry, they hurried to make an offering themselves, vainly supposing similar honour would acknowledge their unbidden zeal. But the fire of their censers was a strange fire; the incense employed therein was probably compounded by some idolatrous

* Exod. xxxii.

† Exod. xxxiii.

‡ Lev. ix.

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hand; certainly it was not that incense which Jehovah had commanded. Their indiscreet zeal was full of peril, for already had Aaron himself misled the people by the will-worship of his idolatrous prepossessions. The sanctity of Israel must be jealously guarded. Consequently, "there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured the young men, and they died before the Lord."*

Chastisement and mercy had now for many months exerted a combined and blended influence on the children of Israel. Was it even yet safe to lead them forth into the privations and distresses of the wilderness? First must the organization be completed. Family ties are of the strongest. Therefore all Israel is set in order, according to their houses and their tribes. The order of march is so exactly prescribed as to bind every man to his own immediate kindred. Then, since death has been busy, and an impression may have prevailed that their ranks have been painfully thinned, an exact numbering of the people is enjoined. The result is satisfactory. When they left Egypt, the adult males were 600,000; now, after so many perils and so many losses, the actual number of adult males is 603,550.† Of chief consequence, however, is that feast of the passover which, at the command of Moses, they "kept on the fourteenth day of the first month in the second year, at even, in the wilderness of Sinai."‡ Then very impressively were they reminded of the house of their bondage, and of the destroying angel, and of the dividing of the waters of the sea, and of their wonderful sustentation down to the hour of that commemorative observance.

THE ROUTE FROM SINAI TO CANAAN.

The time, then, has come for Moses to turn his face toward the north. Canaan is his destination. What path shall he choose? The road actually taken by Moses is a subject of great difficulty. The scriptural narratives are here deficient. Of the names which they do supply, only some three or four have been identified, nor all of these with certainty. The sands of the desert and the obliterating hand of time have long since effaced the footsteps of the Israelites in their march toward their new abode. We are, in consequence, left to bare probability, or even to blank ignorance, in regard to the several

* Lev. x. + Numb. i. 46, compare Exod. xii. 37. † Numb. ix. 1-3.

halting-places of the army; and it is for the most part only in regard to general direction that we can speak with certainty, at least for the greater part of the route. This failure of information we must regret, but we are not at liberty to draw on our imagination for supplementary details; we rather deem it our duty to caution the student against the minute exactitude with which he will find the road of the Hebrews marked out in some maps.

In addition to the list of names found in the thirty-third chapter of the book of Numbers, only a few verses * give information respecting that road. That information is very scanty and partial. Particulars indeed are given, but they are historical rather than geographical. Nor can they justly be termed historical without a qualification, since they comprise few chronological facts. Almost forty years are believed to have intervened between the departure from Sinai and the passage of the Jordan. Of those forty years nearly thirty-eight are a chronological blank. When the book of Numbers was composed, the historical traces of that long period had become evanescent, or even obsolete. At that early date little was positively known, and the little that was known was but fragmentary. This comparative blank affords a marked testimony to the honesty of the historian, and the credibility of his narratives. Compare the blank with the full and minute details given respecting the Mosaic legislation. You are then justified in saying that the author regulated his accounts by the abundance or the deficiency of his materials. Where the sources of his information were ample, he was full; where they were scanty, he was brief, or even silent. Such is the course of an honest chronicler. Thus, even on its blank spots, God's fingers write attestations of its divinity. None but truthful, consciously truthful, writers, none but a sincere and godly priesthood, none but an honest and simple-minded nation, could or would have left gaps so wide and so obvious in a very important era of their history. A similar testimony is found in the topographical register to which we have already referred. Let it be premised that those names are pure Hebrew forms—are beyond a question genuine Hebrew names of towns or stations that once existed in the Wilderness. The statement would be readily subscribed to by any Hebrew archæologist. Consequently, the register is

* Numb. x. 33.

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historical ; it represents realities ; it is a record of things that once were. The same fact comes also out of its very existence. Topographical registers are not things which men invent. In such matters the imagination has no scope and no reward, nor has self-interest any attraction. Fiction is ever made for pleasure or profit ; but where is pleasure or profit to find a place in that dry and barren list of names ? The list exists ; the list therefore was preserved. In the preservation of the list is a token of its importance. Its value was recognised in the care with which it was guarded. It not only supplied information respecting a period of which little was known, but it served to throw a slender bridge over the chasm connecting the later historic period of the nation with the earlier, and so binding David with Moses. The greater part of those eight and thirty years of desert life was a time of repulse, disappointment, wandering, and sorrow. The nation had enough to do in maintaining its existence ; it had no time and no disposition to write history. History is an after-thought, and implies both leisure and reflection. Even to make records would not have been an easy task. Antecedently, then, we might have expected to find here a break in the chain of historical succession. The chain is broken. Of that chain we find only one or two links, and those bearing the marks of age and injury. The facts, then, correspond with the probabilities. These historical defects are not objections, but testimonies. Our difficulties would have begun, had we here possessed particulars as minute and full as are those which describe the months of peace and ease passed at the base of Horeb, during which the foundations of Zion were laid.

The fragmentary and scattered notices of the Scripture, good as they are for testimony, yet supply little information. Before we advert to the knowledge they may yield, we ask whether subsidiary light may be elicited from any other quarter. It does not admit of a doubt that Moses would desire to turn to the best account the ardour and elevation which had sprung up in the hearts of his people from the discipline through which they had gone, especially within the last twelve-months. For that purpose, dispatch was indispensable. If, however, he was soon to bring the new life to bear on the great end of his enterprise, namely, the occupation of Canaan, it was necessary to take the shortest road by which he could

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transfer his troops from Sinai to the Jordan. Nevertheless, the shortest road might not be the most expeditious. The state of the routes was a consideration not less important than their length. That the inhabitants of the whole region in and near Sinai kept a curious and an anxious eye fixed on the Israelites, admits no doubt. A general alarm spread around; witness these words from the triumphal ode of Moses:

" Nations hear and tremble ;
Pangs seize the Philistines ;
The chiefs of Edom also are amazed ;
Trembling seizes the heroes of Moab :
All the inhabitants of Canaan melt away."

The text describes the three principal nations that Moses would have to encounter in approaching Palestine; on his right wing were the Moabites, on his left the Philistines, with Edom in the middle. Each of these it was, of course, desirable to avoid. Here, then, were three lines of road to be carefully shunned; Moses must march neither toward the extreme west, nor towards the extreme east; as little must he take the line of the Arabah, which would bring him into immediate collision with the descendants of Esau. The only alternative was to strike at once for some central spot in the southern boundary of Canaan. Such a spot would be gained if he marched directly across the wilderness. Thus, distance and opportunity seemed to combine in recommending a course in a straight line from the south to the north. A strictly straight line, however, was made impossible by the ever varying direction of the lateral valleys. Yet, vary as they do, they all, on the whole, unite in two main trunks. Of these two main trunks, one inclines to the west, the other runs more eastwardly. There was a valid reason why the former should be abandoned, and another valid reason why the latter should be pursued; for that route ran over the land of Amalek, and this route ran over the land of Midian. The friendship of Midian would now be more valuable than ever, and by no means the less so because a Midian guide had been appointed to lead the way. Nor was the fear of the Amalekites without some solid ground. It is true their forces had been defeated, but since the victory many months had passed away. The foe had had time to rally his strength. Revenge would sharpen the desire for an onslaught. Failure might ensue. The policy of Moses, however, was not

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to venture a battle, but to seize Canaan. For this end secrecy was no less needful than dispatch. In this crisis, even a victory would be dearly bought, if thereby opportunity was given for the Philistines, the Moabites, and the Edomites, to take the field in combination against Israel.

If we put these considerations together, we seem to be led to the conclusion that the general line of march taken by Moses ran from the base of Horeb directly across the desert, with the general bias towards the east in the more southern parts, but in the northern with such a bend westward as might bring the invaders to some spot almost midway between Edom and Philistia. If we are required to lay down the points of which this line was made up, we plead as our excuse the defectiveness of the materials. Yet some probabilities are connected with the subject which tend to confirm this view of the general line of march. Among the places enumerated in the Scripture, there are four, of the locality of which more or less is known. These four are Hazeroth, Ezion-geber, Kadesh, and Mount Hor. Of the exact spots occupied by Hazeroth and Kadesh, a diversity of opinion still prevails. But by unanimous consent all the four stations are placed in the north of Sinai, and more or less towards the south of Canaan. Hence we seem justified in inferring that between these two extremes lay "the great and terrible wilderness" in which Israel wandered so many years, and endured so much affliction. But on clear scriptural evidence, it appears that the wilderness of Paran and the wilderness of Zin, mentioned in connexion with those wanderings, lay between the same limits; the former stretching from the base of the Sinaitic group, or from Et-Tyh, to the south-western borders of Palestine, and the latter extending from the Ælanitic gulf along the east of the Arabah on to the south-eastern borders of Palestine.

Here, then, we have another confirmation of our general outline. Similar confirmation will arise if now we give attention to the spots occupied by the towns and stations, namely, Ezion-geber, Mount Hor, Hazeroth, and Kadesh. Respecting the position of the former two, there is no doubt. Ezion-geber stood at the northern extremity of the eastern arm of the Red Sea, being the same place as is known under the ancient name of Ailah, and the modern name of Acaba.

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Mount Hor, of which we shall hereafter speak more fully, stands in the Arabah, a little to the north-west of Petra. Both Hor and Ailah were visited by the Israelites before they settled in Canaan. Hence we know the general direction of their route, if its several halting-places are for ever hidden from our eyes.

We are less certain where stood the other two. Yet Hazeroth has with no small probability been identified with the modern El-Haderah; and Kadesh has been recognised in a place bearing a similar name, and lying in ruins on the southern confines of Palestine. The recognition made and supported by Rowlands, Wilson, and Williams, would have retained our full assent, had not Ewald and other high authorities expressed their doubts.* Still, if our assent must be qualified, it cannot be recalled, until we are put into possession of evidence more decisive than has yet been given. Consequently, we place Kadesh about midway in the southern limits of Canaan. The exact spot assigned is the western foot of Jebel Moyle. The locality agrees with scriptural data. From the passages indicated below,† we learn that Kadesh, or, as it was also called, Kadesh-barnea, was a city and a district, lying near the wilderness of Paran and in that of Zin, on the southern extremity of Palestine, between Gerar in the west and Edom in the east, and at no great distance from either. In the most ancient times Kadesh was designated En-Mishpat.‡ If Ewald's view of the meaning of this very old name of Kadesh is, as we think, correct—namely, “the fountain of the oracle”—then with him may we hold that Kadesh was from the earliest times a sacred spot on an oasis in the stillness of the neighbouring desert, to which pilgrims from Edom and from Canaan repaired for worship, as from Egypt so many went to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, similarly situated in the wilderness on the west of the Nile.

Hazeroth, the extreme southern station of this route, was a watering-place and an extensive plain, now called El or Ain Haderah, three days' journey—that is, since the progress made in the first day is very small, about eighteen miles—from the

* In Zimmermann's very accurate scientific atlas, Kadesh is placed in the Arabah, on the western side.

† *Numb. xx. 1*, compared with *Gen. xiv. 6, 7*; also *Numb. xx. 14*; *xxiii. 2, xxxiv. 4*.

‡ *Gen. xiv. 7*.

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base of Horeb.* The determination of this locality is of the greater importance, because it shows that Moses passed over the eastern side of an imaginary line cutting the tongue of the Peninsula into two equal parts. Having determined this fact, we have thereby ascertained which of the two ancient tracks he must have pursued. This view also finds strong confirmation in the summary of the route in the beginning of the book of Deuteronomy, where the journey is described to have been of eleven days' duration, and as extending from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea. Now, Mount Seir is the range of hills that stretches along the east of the extreme southern district of Palestine.† In the same connection the Israelites, while yet in Sinai, are commanded to proceed direct to the land of the Amorites, after turning so as to leave Wady er-Rahah: "Turn you, and take your journey, and go to the Mount of the Amorites, to the land of the Canaanites."‡ The Amorites dwelt in and near the extreme south of Palestine, and to bid Israel go to the "Mount of the Amorites" was the same as to bid them go to the very locality where Kadesh-barnea is usually placed. Thus, every line of inquiry we have taken leads to the same conclusion; and we may, therefore, with some confidence declare that Moses proceeded from Horeb in a north-easterly direction, following the Wady er-Rahah, and then the Wady es-Sheikh, by which he was brought first to Taberah, then to Kibroth-hattavah, then to Hazeroth. Arrived here, he seems to have taken a route which, leading through a succession of vales, finally issue on the southern frontiers of Palestine. This route, keeping in general a northerly direction, would lead the armies of Israel away from the sea on their right; nor is it easy to think that they could have gone along the shore of the gulf of Akaba, since the road is a mere strip of land, in some places so narrow that two camels can scarcely pass abreast.

BREAKING UP OF THE ENCAMPMENT.

The word of Jehovah is obeyed. The tents are struck, the encampment breaks up. The Wady er-Rahah and the neigh-

* Numb. x. 33; xi. 3, 34, 35. In the passage xi. 3, Taberah is mentioned as the first station from Sinai (Kibroth-hattavah is the second, and Hazeroth the third); but Taberah does not occur in the register given in Numb. xxxiii., a fact sufficient of itself to show that we have not in this list the full and exact details which topographical descriptions demand.

+ Gen. xiv. 6.

‡ Deut. i. 2, 7.

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bouring vales are full of bustle and confusion. The mountain sides echo to the sounds which proceed from those swarming myriads, who prepare their baggage and load their beasts of burden. At length the hour of departure has arrived. It is the twentieth day of the second month (April-May) of the second year.* The cloud is taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony, and rests in the wilderness of Paran. Two priests, with silver trumpets,† take their stand on a ledge of rock, and make the hills and valleys ring with the signals for the march. Forthwith the whole people is in motion. It seems as if the very rocks had given forth human beings, so dense is the line of march, and so protracted. See how it stretches out, as if endless, through valleys, over heights, and along precipices. Yet mark what order prevails. Alas! that order cannot last. Narrow passes have to be gone through, and rugged defiles have to be got over; here a winding gorge will break the line, and there a steep ascent compel thousands to fall out to rest—perhaps to die. Now, however, all is regularity and order. You see the standards of the several tribes following each other with their congregated bands around them. Judah leads the van, and Naphtali closes the rear—twelve tribes with their twelve princes at their head. But what is that small band which at some distance goes before all the rest? It is Hobab and his attendants; “Hobab, the son of Raguel, the Midianite, Moses’ father-in-law.” Familiar with the wilderness, they act as eyes‡ to the children of Israel. And what is the burden of those carefully guarded wagons, drawn by those well-fed bullocks? they surely bear something precious, for they are near the middle of the line of march. That is the procession of the tabernacle, with its furniture and its sacred contents, under the special care of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, sons of Levi.§

If, as we may justifiably suppose, Moses, placed on some vantage ground, watched the progress of his people out of that sheltering bosom, and indulged the hope that his task was now at length making visible progress toward accomplishment, great must have been his grief when, at so early a stage as Taberah (*a burning*), discontent showed itself, and brought forth avenging fire from the hand of God.|| The severe blow

* Numb. x. 11, seq. † Numb. x. 1, seq. ‡ Numb. x. 29, 31.
 § Numb. iii. 17, seq., compare Numb. x. 21. || Numb. xi. 1, seq.

checked, but did not put an end to complaints. Alas! there was a mixed multitude of foreigners with Israel, who perpetually encouraged dissatisfaction. Nor could the Hebrews themselves forget the vegetable luxuries on which they had banquetted in Egypt. How distasteful in comparison that manna which had been their chief nutriment so long! A cry for flesh was raised. But the flocks and the herds could in no way be spared for food. A supply of quails was therefore sent. Yet could not the disaffection be passed unpunished, lest, in the weary march before the people, disaffection should grow into disobedience, and disobedience rise into rebellion. For thus lusting after flesh, accordingly, the Lord smote the guilty at Kibroth-hattavah (*graves of lust*).*

At the next station, Hazeroth, jealousy occasioned considerable delay, for Miriam, the sister of Moses, displeased that her brother had married a Cushite woman, impelled Aaron to call in question the right of Moses to hold the sole command. A solemn appeal to Jehovah being made, an answer was given in favour of the accused prophet, for Miriam was struck white as snow with the leprosy. At the entreaty of Aaron the disease was removed, but Miriam was banished from the camp for seven days.† If the early part of the journey was marked by outbreaks such as these, scarcely could the remainder have been free from discontent and disorder. But here the history is silent.‡ Enough, however, is recorded to excite both surprise and regret at the ingratitude of the Israelites, as well as to show how very arduous was the office Moses had to perform. Yet let us not be harsh in our judgments. Very severe was the discipline through which the people had to pass.

To those who leave Mount Sinai for Canaan, the solitude of the desert seems to deepen, and the prospect of possibly breaking down among its remote defiles becomes dreary and hopeless in the extreme. The wayfarer has no longer the hospitable convent, which stands in the cluster of the Sinaitic

* Numb. xi. 4, seq.

† Numb. xii.

‡ From Hazeroth the people removed to pitch in the wilderness of Paran. (Numb. xii. 16.) This is all the information supplied of the incidents which took place between Hazeroth and Kadesh. The register in Numb. xxxiii. merely adds the name of certain stations, such as Rithmah, Rimmon-parez, Libnah, etc.; but these are given as lying between Hazeroth and Ezion-geber. Some of the places there mentioned, Ewald thinks, may probably be identical with localities discovered in or near southernmost Palestine.

mountains as an object of pleasurable thought, but a country increasing in wildness, and more and more insecure and remote from all chance of assistance. The hearts of the Israelites, then, could not have been free from sadness when they entered on their long and toilsome march. In some sense they were leaving a home, for Sinai had, even from mere habit, become familiar, and in a measure dear to them. Now on all sides they found themselves in the midst of a howling wilderness. With one voice travellers describe the succession of deserts over which they pass, in proceeding from Sinai to Acaba, or from Sinai directly across the wilderness, as most gloomy, repulsive, trying, and exhausting. Then what guarantee was there that Israel would be allowed to march northward unopposed? As they receded from their mountain fortress, and advanced toward the centres of civilization, so did they approach dangers both known and unknown. Too many to be welcomed, or even endured, they must have been a terror to the neighbouring nations. A migrating people may expect repulse everywhere, for their numbers compel expulsion or involve self-extinction; they must destroy or be destroyed; incorporation is all but impossible. Yet victory is not easy to so miscellaneous a multitude, whose numbers are weakness rather than strength. The Israelites, consequently, can never have been free from the apprehension of disaster from some sudden and overpowering attack. It is true, Canaan rose in prospect; yet the land was held by others. The hope was but the child of faith, and with too many the faith which begat the hope was very infirm. *Was* Canaan a reality? and, if a reality, could the reality be secured? Hitherto the land of promise had been a land of disappointment; it had constantly receded before their footsteps; they were now more distant from it than when they left Egypt. Was it, then, to be altogether like that *mirage* which had so often deluded them in the desert with the prospect and the hope of water? At any rate, they were about to invade Canaan, and an invasion consequent on so long and dreary a march offered no soft oasis for the thoughts to rest upon. And yet, as it proved, these dark pictures were but preliminaries to darker realities; for of all that generation of adults only some one or two were to pass the Jordan. The rest were to fall a prey to ravenous beasts, and to whiten the dark wilderness with their bones. Scarcely a nook is there in

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those lonely defiles, "rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun," scarcely a solitary spring among those arid mountains, which did not witness the agony of a last parting, as one by one the wearied progenitors of the race sank under their toils, and were consigned by their children to some lonely grave. A whole nation was to melt away there, as the torrent of that same wilderness sinks into the thirsty sand, and leaves no trace behind. But under what circumstances were they to perish? The most harassing and pitiable. General descriptions are here little else than mockery. The most exact accounts from the pen of eye-witnesses give only a faint and superficial impression. Yet while nothing but experience can enable the reader to judge of the trial through which the Hebrews now passed, narratives of the kind may supply some aid to the Biblical student. Indeed, without such we can in no way form a just judgment of the conduct of the Israelites in their frequent acts of contumacy. Very blameworthy, doubtless, most of them were. If their punishments were heavy, they were still far lighter than their demerits. Nevertheless, we must admit the terrible nature of their temptation. And when we somewhat exactly know how severe their trial was, then we cease to wonder at the frequency and virulence of their rebellions. The outbreak of those acts of disobedience shows the necessity of the delay which intervened between Sinai and the crossing of the Jordan. Comparatively a few days would have sufficed for the journey. The successful completion of it took forty years. We discover the reason in the moral unpreparedness of the people. After all they had suffered, and all they had learnt, they were, when they left Sinai, still in a species of religious childhood. Great truths they had received; they were also capable of great emotions; even the conquest of Canaan was an idea into which they could enter. But the pressure of heavy suffering, the bulk were by no means equal to; consequently, they must still remain in the rough school of adversity. Nay, the fathers must perish, in order that the sons may be practically taught obedience.

But the hosts of Israel are now on their journey. I seem to hear their tread. I seem to see the toiling camel's patient look. In joy, mingled with tears, they quit that spacious vale, the scene of so many wonders. From Wady er-Rahah they pass into Wady es-Sheikh—a romantic vale, encompassed

by lofty bare mountains. Of this spot Dr. Olin speaks thus: "We went to bed last night as usual in the desert, at an early hour, and under a cloudless and brilliant sky. Nothing was further from our thoughts than rain; which, however, began to fall by two A.M., in torrents. It was accompanied by a furious gale of wind, which drove the water through our tent-cloths, though they are double, and what was worse, overthrew several of the tents. Mine, which is very humble, defied the blast, and admitted but little water; but I was soon threatened with a more serious evil. The beautiful valley which we had all admired the evening before, for its romantic situation in the deep bosom of the mountains, soon became the channel of several powerful torrents, and I was called from my bed a little before daylight by their loud roar, and started to find myself on an island of sand, with a furious stream sweeping along on either side within a few feet of my tent. The dawning day disclosed to us a scene of such peculiar and imposing magnificence, as almost to compensate for the inconvenience of the night. The valley is hardly more than a quarter of a mile wide, and the almost perpendicular cliffs that form its sides cannot be less than fifteen hundred or two thousand feet in height above its level. Each of these elevations is cut with a narrow, deep channel. The rain, which so unexpectedly inundated the valley, filled these steep channels, and converted them into foaming, furious cataracts. We gazed at once upon two cataracts ten times as high as Niagara, pouring an overwhelming flood for a transient hour into the thirsty vale, where, on the previous evening, not a drop of water could be found, except what we had brought on our camels."*

On quitting the Wady es-Sheikh, you pass over a table-land named Germini, a broad plain, scantily supplied with the common shrubs of Arabia, and on which sometimes you may hunt hares, or even gazelles. The traveller is soon near the station Hazeroth. Haderah, its present representative, is a capacious plain, stretching to the east north-east, in the extremity of which there is a fountain bearing the same name. In this plain, and around that fountain, we may imagine the armies of the living God encamped, resting for a brief space before they ascended by some pass into the high lands above,

* Dr. Olin passed this part of the Israelite march in early spring, and consequently near the same season of the year at which Moses led his forces away from Sinai.

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over which they were to proceed to Canaan. Reaching the northern limit of the plain, the traveller begins to ascend, until he is carried up the sides of the lofty et-Tyh, on the summit of which he is at a height of 4358 Parisian feet above the level of the sea. The view from this elevation is extensive and grand. On the north lies spread out before the spectator the waste highland of Mount Tyh, like an ocean of sand, on which rise many small scattered hills resembling islands. On the east runs the immense parapet of Jebel Edjme, white as snow, stretching away to the north, with its flinty line of wall, whose dimensions are astounding. Beyond, and farther eastward, you clearly behold the black, sharply-cut heights in the Gulf of Acaba. In the north-west, the eye reaches to the Gulf of Suez; in the south-west you discern the peaks of the African coast standing up in the distant azure sky; finally, in the south rests the whole Sinaitic mass, in indescribable majesty, from Serbal on the west, to Wady Sahil on the east, with all its pinnacles and spires running up to heaven, as if to be channels of communication between God and man. A sight this, never to be forgotten, and in all probability unequalled in the whole Peninsula. How full of emotion must the souls of the more religious Israelites have been, when, on some lofty spot in these parts, they—as we may suppose—turned round to cast a farewell look on Sinai—the rock-cradle of their new life. As their grateful eye caught sight of those towering heights, they might well fancy they saw the Holy One himself descending to speak with Moses, and up the line of that glistening peak, might their heart be borne in worshipping communion toward the footstool of the Divine Grace in those clear and radiant heavens.

That impressive retrospect was soon succeeded by bare and burning deserts, where life seemed not only extinct, but impossible. What enduring patience was necessary for the armies of Israel to pass over those parched and glowing highlands, even though they had Canaan before their advancing footsteps. How did the mothers and the maidens, how did the aged and the infant, bear that oppressive toil? Travelling in the middle of the day was intolerable; as much of the night as could be taken from repose, was, consequently, spent in the march. Then was there some relief to the aching sight and the overstrained body, for all the powers of outer nature were qualified

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and subdued. The skies were translucent and bright, but no longer burned and scorched, and the fervours of the sun were exchanged for the brilliancy of the stars. The earth, too, was softened. If the flinty desert still cut and bruised the feet, the eye was pleased in resting on less angular and less pointed forms and outlines. Yet very wearying was that blank monotony, that echoing tramp of ten thousand sandals on those granite, porphyry, or lime-stone rocks, the night long, and for many nights in succession ; no break, no cessations, except for refreshment and a few hours' hard sleep, to be again followed by the uniform dreary march. Of the furlongs, the miles, and the leagues of that march, particular description is out of the question : to describe one night's journey is to describe the journey of every night. All, then, that we can do to make this life in the wilderness perceptible to the reader is to ask him to draw on his imagination for a picture of these migratory bands, who now, sore-footed and with heavy heart, yet not altogether hopeless, pass along the ever-broken surface of hard or flinty summits, and through vales now rushing with mountain torrents, and now still hot with yesterday's accumulated fire. And when you have succeeded in forming some conception of those mournful processions, which drag themselves with bended heads and crippled legs over the scarcely shortening route, then call to mind that even on these bare heights nearly the whole drama of human existence went forward ; for certainly life and death, and human affection and human passions, own no circumscription of either place or time. And so, behold, here is a family compelled to fall into the rear in order to bury an aged grandfather, who could no longer bear the unusual fatigue ; behold, there is a young couple throwing a few handfuls of sand over their first-born, taken from them a few hours after it was given. Just on the outside of the left line of march, an aged mother, clad in sackcloth, silently bewails an only son, who has perished by a stroke of the sun ; while, on the right, a maiden tears her hair and beats her breast, because her lover has been carried off by a skirmishing party, and never again will she behold him to whom she plighted her troth ere yet they left the land of bondage.

Suppose those many myriads, however, to have reached the vicinity of *Kadesh*. The heavens overhead, and the earth around their feet, are somewhat changed. On every side the

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same features, only on a diminished scale, come before their sight. Still are they in the wilderness. Their position may in a measure be conceived, if attention is given to the following passage, condensed from the scientific traveller, Russegger.

"We approached Jebel Moyle. Eager to reach the fountain that I might gain a draught of something like sweet water, I hurried from the caravan, and was precipitated over the head of my beast, which in the haste stumbled and fell. At length I dragged my injured frame to the well, and under bushes and trees, which grew around it, took repose and found invigoration. In the evening a heavy storm came on. Having lain down to sleep in the open air, wearied with fatigue and pain, I was awakened at midnight by a torrent of rain. Wet to my skin, I retired within a cave; but the rain rose even into my refuge; torrents rushed down on all sides; the stones which they bore with them made a fearful noise; and soon the elevated spot where our tent stood became an island. As the storm grew more terrific, the water rose higher and higher, so that our packages were carried away, and I was compelled for safety to bind myself to the nearest tree. Next morning the sun rose over the mountains in a cloudless sky; but from the state of the soil and the wild torrents, it was not till past midday that we could resume our route. By the evening we had reached the northern spur of Jebel Moyle. Next morning it was so cold that I preferred to proceed a couple of hours on foot. The evening was introduced by another storm. Meanwhile, through vales and over hills, we were drawing near Palestine. In Wady Erheba we caught our first view of the land; Jebel Halil (Hebron) rose before us in the remote distance. We now everywhere observed proofs that the wilderness was about to end; particles of clay were intermingled with the sand, giving rise to less scanty vegetation; entire plains were covered with brushwood; the sea-onion began to display its tulip-like leaves; and among the hills we met with corn. When the next day broke, we found the cold severe and the dew considerable. The way conducted us into a pleasing vale; and after travelling two hours in the same direction, we found ourselves out of the confines of the desert. Well could I conceive how joyful were the hearts of the Israelites when they saw those green vales and plains stretching out before their eyes."

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Return of the Spies.

III.—FROM KADESH TO THE PLAINS OF MOAB.

WHEN the Israelites, after their long and dreary march from Sinai, stood on the southern borders of Palestine, hoping soon to take possession of their long-expected inheritance, the land was held by various tribes, known under the general name of Canaanites. Current views of ethnology represent the Canaanites as descendants of Ham. If descendants of Ham,

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they were of inferior blood, and could scarcely oppose an effectual resistance to the invading Hebrews. Philological investigations, however, claim, at least for the Phœnicians, an identity of origin with the Hebrew Shemites, since the languages of the two nations are unquestionably similar. Yet while Canaan had Shemitic inhabitants, it was not without Hamitic blood. As a species of foreland to Asia, and an immediate neighbour of Africa, Palestine, in consequence of its proximity to the sea, and to its being by its physical formation a kind of natural stronghold, drew into its sheltering and prolific vales, and along its extended and convenient seaboard, wave after wave of population, which came from the east and from the south, propelled by active agencies, of which traces show themselves in the very dawn of history. From the mixture of races which took place on its soil, a manly and vigorous strength would be begotten, which could not fail to make the land powerful and rich. It was, therefore, with no contemptible enemy that the Israelites had to deal. In a country peculiarly favourable to the growth of civilisation, the occupants of Canaan had made considerable progress in the arts and conveniences of social life. They, at least in part, dwelt in towns, many of which were strongly fortified. They possessed the high advantages of military organisation; nor were they without the yet higher advantages of civil government; for while in part they were under regal dominion, they were also associated in a species of commonwealth; and though the states with which the land was covered were generally independent as well as small, yet they had learned the art of combining for common purposes, and formed confederacies when assailed by foreign enemies. The approach of Moses, if sudden, was not unexpected. With due warning, they had had sufficient time for preparation, and the very renown which accompanied the name of Israel wherever it was borne, had rendered precautionary and defensive measures the more imperative.

THE ESPIAL AND ITS RESULTS.

Not inconsiderately, therefore, could the leader of Israel venture to pass the line which separated the parched wilderness from the verdant uplands of Canaan. In order to gain an acquaintance with the land and its inhabitants, he chose

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twelve heads of Israel, one from each tribe, and directed them to survey the whole country, from the southern district near which the forces stood. Fear led to the expedition, and under the influence of fear was it accomplished. By that influence formidable objects became more formidable, and popular traditions were received as facts. Fear is the parent of cowardice. Hence "the evil report" made by the spies on their return. It was early in the month of September* when they left the camp. The barley and the wheat had been fully gathered in, and the vintage was about to commence. It was a hot season. The face of the country was dry and uncovered, save where the vine spread abroad its luxuriance. The limestone rocks reflected the sun's rays with ardent effulgence. Yet the heat was not oppressive to men who had so long and so recently been used to the fierceness of the summer suns of the Peninsula. To them, indeed, the whole aspect of the country was smiling.

Scarcely had they begun their secret way, when with glad eyes they beheld fig trees growing abundantly along their path. The pomegranate, too, yielded her delicious fruit. But what was their surprise when, on nearing Hebron, they beheld a profusion of grapes far surpassing in size, beauty, and flavour, those to which they were accustomed in the land of the Nile. However, they journeyed on, using the utmost speed that self-protection would allow, and passed to the north-eastern extremity of Canaan.†

Returning to the camp, they reported their impressions. "The land," said they, "is a good land—yes, a very good

* Numb. xiii. 20: "Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes." This is confirmed by the fact that the spies brought back a cluster of grapes—that is, of grapes all but fully ripe, whence we may approximate to the time spent in the journey. Had they been quite ripe they could not have been borne on a pole, as they were. As, then, the Israelites reached Kadesh late in August or early in September, and as they left Horeb in April-May, so they occupied three months in their journey across the desert. Hence it appears that the eleven days from Horeb to Kadesh mentioned in Deut. i. 2, denotes the distance or time ordinarily spent, not the time actually spent by Moses and his people.

† Hamath, under the Greeks called Epiphania, a very ancient city at the foot of Antilebanon, on the Orontes, now one of the largest cities of Asiatic Turkey. Besides Hamath, Rehob is mentioned in the sacred text. (Numb. xiii. 21.) There were two places of the name, both in the tribe of Asher, of which one became a Levitical city, while the other remained in the hands of the Canaanites. (Judg. i. 31.) The latter is probably the Rehob of the text. (Compare Josh. xix. 28, 30.)

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land; witness this splendid fruit, which, though cut here in the south, two of us found no light burden." "But what of the cities?" "The cities are very large, and strongly fortified." "And the inhabitants?" "In part you all know them, for judge of our alarm when we found ourselves in the midst of our enemies, the Amalekites. The land swarms with human beings. Along the highlands dwell the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites, and the sea-coast is held by the Canaanites." Excitement seems to have been spreading rapidly as these words were uttered. Fearing that dejection, if not despondency, might ensue, Caleb, one of the twelve, interposed, and with brave words called on the people to "go up at once,* and possess the land;" declaring, "We are well able to overcome it." "No! no!" was emphatically pronounced by the greater part of his companions. "No, the people are stronger than we; they are men of great stature; nay, we saw the giants, the sons of giants, there; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight; besides, the land is pestilential!"*

REBELLION AND ITS PUNISHMENT.

The majority prevailed, and the invasion was abandoned. But how describe the grief and despair of the people? Thus, then, their only hope was destroyed. Such a result, after such dangers, sufferings, and toils! For such a result had they traversed that arid and scorching desert for the space of three months. The camp was speedily filled with confusion; weeping and wailing prevailed all the night; friends deplored their hard lot to friends; the bereaved angrily demanded whether it was for this they had lost their loved ones; on every side were heard ejaculations of the bitterest disappointment and the most poignant sorrow. "Would God," said these, "we had died in the land of Egypt!" "Would God," said those, "we had died in this wilderness!" The discontent spread like flames in a primeval forest. Soon there arose the general cry, "Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? Were it not better for us to return into Egypt?"

* Numb. xiii. 30.

+ "A land that eateth up its inhabitants." The interpretation given above rests on Rabbinical authority.

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That last word struck on the heart of Moses with alarm. "Egypt? Yes, alas! it is there, close on our western side, and wayfarers thence pass through the camp every day; who knows but that the cry may be borne down to Pharaoh's ears? What then? Are all my hopes to be frustrated? Am I to abandon my enterprise when, as it seemed, near its completion? Are the people, then, to exchange the house of God for the house of bondage? And, oh! worse, worse! are they willing to do so? Of their own accord do they propose to give themselves up to the king of Egypt and his priests? Nay, behold! they assemble to elect another leader, shouting as they gather together, 'Let us return into Egypt!'"

Impelled by the sight, and by his irrepressible distress, Moses hastened to the spot, and with Aaron threw himself on his face before the assembly. As the heads of the nations lay suppliant on the ground, Caleb, now joined by Joshua, began to rend his garments for sorrow, and said: "The land, which we passed through to search it, is an exceeding good land. If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us; a land which floweth with milk and honey. Only rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us: fear them not."

The encouragements and entreaties were alike nugatory. "Stone them! stone them!" arose on every side. The stones were already raised, when the glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation before all the children of Israel, and their wrath fell. The silence was but momentary, for soon the air echoed with these tremendous words: "How long will this people provoke me? how long will it be ere they believe me, for all the signs which I have showed among them? I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them." Then, as if under the weight of a great thought, Moses rose slowly and reverently from the earth, and, looking solemnly upwards, said: "Now if thou shalt kill this people, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will say, Because the Lord was not able to bring this people into the land which he swore unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness. And now, pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people, according unto the greatness of thy mercy." And the Lord said: "I have pardoned according to

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thy word; yet because these men which have seen my glory, and my miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened unto my voice, surely they shall not see the land; all save Caleb and Joshua shall perish. Turn you, and get you into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea. There shall your children wander for forty years, and your carcases shall fall in the desert."

Scarcely was the awful denunciation uttered, when a pledge of its fulfilment was seen, for those men that brought the evil report died by the plague under the hand of the Lord. A sudden sorrow seized every heart; contrition spread from rank to rank. Early next morning rash presumption made an effort to blot out that day's fatal transgression. Yes, they *will* invade the country. In confused masses the people ascend the neighbouring highlands. In vain does Moses remonstrate. The invaders hurry forward, but soon encountered by the natives, are ignominiously driven back.*

Here the threads of the history are few and dim. Over the former part of a period of nearly eight-and-thirty years there rests an almost unbroken cloud. The utmost that can be done is to offer a few probabilities, and narrate the one or two recorded incidents.

The defeat suffered by the presumptuous invaders may have suppressed their rebellious spirit. A heavy punishment had been inflicted, an oppressive threat hung like a thunder cloud over the immediate future. Dejection ensued, and the consequent stagnancy produced quiet and a sullen acquiescence. Probably, at the return of the spring, the Amalekites made an attempt to drive the intruders back, or even to destroy them; for, certainly, it is not to be supposed that the natives of Canaan would tranquilly endure so dangerous a neighbour in their borders. If, as some have thought, the Israelites made Kadesh

* Numb. xiv. To Hormah says the Scripture. Hormah, formerly Zephath (Judg. i. 17), stood in the middle of the land, some fifteen miles from its southern boundary. As the Israelites were repulsed to Hormah, they must have penetrated to a considerable distance into Canaan. Obviously, some time must have been spent in the attempt. If the passage in Numb. xxi. 1-3, may be inserted here, the Israelites may have at first gained advantages. Putting these things together, we get the idea of a short campaign. Probably the approach of winter may have aided the Canaanites; any way, a longer time must be allowed than the superficial appearance of the narrative (Numb. xiv. 22, 45) would seem to imply.

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a kind of centre, to which, while they wandered up and down in the desert, they returned ever and anon, or in which they set up the tabernacle, and merely dispersed their adult and vigorous males through the wilderness, perhaps to seek for food, perhaps to seek for plunder; then, probably, they succeeded in repelling their assailants, at least so as to be able, with constant precaution, to hold their position, and prevent their bands from being utterly disorganised. And if they gained even a modified success, we can understand how, in recovering their self-confidence, they again became contumacious, and from time to time, as in the incidents which ensue, broke out into rebellion against their divinely-appointed leader.

A most serious insurrectionary movement was that which was headed by Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The intensity of the prevalent dissatisfaction is learnt from the fact that with this outbreak there were connected so many as "two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown."* It is curious to see how the popular spirit of the Mosaic polity was already actively at work in the community, and how it affected the tone of the revolters. In the oriental governments generally, revolutions are produced by the successful ambition of powerful satraps or favoured courtiers, having their support as well as their origin in what, in our western phraseology, would be called the aristocracy. The rising, however, which we have now to describe, if aristocratic in its source, was popular in its principles, for not only did it charge Moses with unjustifiable assumption, but also alleged the doctrine of the common equality of all Israelites: "Ye take too much upon you (Moses and Aaron), seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?" (Verse 3.) What deserves our wonder here is that a principle of government, which has been accounted among the latest discoveries of political science, should have been developed and practically carried into operation in the wilderness of Zin above three thousand years ago. And those who cherish a feeling favourable to the principle of human equality here presented, would do well to observe and to bear in recollection that the idea came into existence, and

* Numb. xvi. 1, seq.

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took root and bore good fruit, under the fosterings and the restraints of a theocracy, which involved the immediate action of the Almighty in human affairs. The working of the principle, however, in the instance before us, has little in it to give satisfaction. Republican in principle, the movement was in spirit and aim revolutionary. It was an uprising of dissatisfied ambition to supplant Moses and Aaron. He, however, who had so often made an effectual appeal to God, was in the present emergency not without a sufficient resource. His authority being disputed and a rival authority put forward, Moses proposed an ordeal. "Let God decide betwixt you and me. This do; take ye censers, Korah and all his company; and put fire therein, and put incense in them before the Lord. And Moses said unto Korah, be thou and all thy company before the Lord, thou and they and Aaron to-morrow."

And they took every man his censer, and put fire in them, and laid incense thereon, and stood in the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, with Moses and Aaron. But Korah, intending to intimidate and overbear those leaders, gathered against them all the congregation. Then flashed forth the glory of the Lord; and a voice said to the hero and his prophet: "Separate yourselves from among this congregation that I may consume them." Alarmed and distressed, the leaders put up a plea of pity, saying, "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?" The reply was: "Bid the congregation retire from around the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram." It was done. Those rebels stood in the door of their tents, and their wives and their sons and their little children, when, of a sudden, the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up, and they perished from among the congregation: "and there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense." Yet so strong and so deeply-seated was the spirit of disaffection, that the next day all the congregation uttered murmurs on the special ground that Moses and Aaron had killed the people of the Lord. Then was a plague sent. The plague raged on all hands, when, at the bidding of Moses, Aaron seized a censer, and rushing between the living and the dead, offered an atonement and stayed the pestilence.

The ordeal of the censers had issued in the punishment of

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the rebels, but it had not divinely designated the man chosen of God for the priesthood. Consequently, Moses ordained another appeal to the Divine Will. Twelve rods, one from each tribe, having inscribed thereon the names of the several princes, the rod of Levi bearing the name of Aaron, were laid up in the tabernacle of the congregation before the ark of the testimony. Of these twelve rods, one was to blossom. The bearer of that rod was the priest chosen of God. On the morrow, when Moses entered the sanctuary, his eyes were arrested by Aaron's rod, for lo! "it was budded, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds." He took the rods and bore them forth; and when he showed them to the congregation, they exclaimed, in overpowering amazement, "We die, we perish, we all perish."

Thus was the spirit of rebellion once more overborne. But how long will obedience be in the ascendant? We have no means to measure the interval. Equally are we destitute of facts wherewith to fill up the empty spaces which the chronology compels us here to suppose. During this long series of unchronicled years, Israel may have wandered up and down in the wilderness, still retaining some hold on Kadesh. Near the end of the "forty years" of doom, and when now the generation of adults had nearly died out, and when, too, Moses began to be assured that the day of redemption for Israel drew nigh, he may have summoned the congregation to assemble at their gathering-place. Certainly, the whole people are found in Kadesh in the first month, in probably the year B.C. 1453,* or two years before the death of their wise and heroic leader. Since that leader had assumed the command of those toiling slaves on the Nile, what changes had they undergone, and how greatly superior the new generation! Yet the leaven of unrighteousness had not wholly disappeared. The congregation was afflicted by a dearth of water—the dreariest of calamities in that parched and thirsty land. The people suffered dreadfully; yet why chide with Moses? True, too true, their plea: "This is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink;" yet not for

* According to the usual chronology. The actual date will, of course, depend on the year of the Exode. That year Lepsius fixes in 1314 B.C., but Coleman in 1586 B.C. ("Historical Text Book," p. 43.) Opinions vary so much that until some approach to certainty be made, it is wise and safe to adhere to the dates given in the margin of the Bible.

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his own purposes, but in obedience to God, had Moses brought them thither. And now, even now, was all to be lost? In very deed all did depend on the turn which the congregation now took. If they turned to the left, they in a few hours would be in the midst of abundance, and—in servile bonds! If they turned to the right, they had a long and fearful and perilous journey before them, and—the land of God's own promise. Which road will they prefer? Suppose not the choice an easy one. In a spirit of compassion Moses met the crisis. He knew what the people suffered. His appeal to God on their behalf brought the requisite instructions and authority. He took the staff wherewith he smote the Nile, and smiting the rock as it stood there, the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank and also their beasts.

In this event Moses and Aaron committed an offence which is not clearly set forth, and which can scarcely have consisted in any outward act. The sin is described in these terms: "Ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel." The essence, then, of the transgression lay in a want of faith, and in such a want of faith as lessened the Divine honour in the people's minds. The guilt was in its nature visible to Him only who sees and knows the heart. And, in form, the guilt seems to have been a less complete and calm reliance on Divine Providence than might have been expected from men who had passed through a discipline so truly Divine as theirs had been. This deficiency, however, must be marked by God's disapprobation, lest it should grow into an evil example. Therefore, both Moses and Aaron were appointed to die on the eastern side of the Jordan.

THE THREE ROUTES TO CANAAN.

At length the time came to make a decisive attempt to enter Canaan. Three roads offered themselves. The first and the shortest was that which led directly northward, and by which the abortive attempt had been made above thirty years before. The failure did not recommend a renewed effort. The second and the shorter of the two remaining roads ran at the base of Mount Hor, through Selah,* better known by its later name, Petra, and up along the eastern line of the Dead Sea. The third and longest road led round the north end of the eastern

* 2 Kings xiv. 1.

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arm of the Red Sea, and so northwards to the plains of Moab and the passage of the Jordan. As the first road was impossible, the second became desirable. But it was possessed by the Edomites, through whose territory it ran, forming the channel of communication between northern Arabia and Mesopotamia in the east, and the valley of the Nile on the west. Would Edom give Israel a safe passage through his dominions? The favour was not too much to ask, for Edom and Israel were descendants of a common ancestor, Abraham. A civil request was accordingly made, accompanied by assurances that the wanderers would confine themselves to the highways, and carefully abstain from injury. The entreaty failed. Refusal was followed up by force. Edom even quitted his territories, to drive back the troublesome suppliant. Yet immediately afterwards the Israelites appeared in the vicinity of Mount Hor, near the very ravine by which they had asked permission to pass.

This apparent inconsistency may be attributable to the vicissitudes of war. Israel may have forced a passage as far as the base of Hor, and yet may have been compelled to retire. If this is a correct view, there arises the question, whether, from Mount Hor, the Israelites passed down through the Arabah, or made their way by the wilderness of Zin, down to Ezion-geber? The determination of the question is by no means easy, though the latter route seems favoured by the statement in the book of Judges: "Then they went along through the wilderness and compassed the land of Edom."* Anything like exactitude in the line of route here taken by the Hebrews is unattainable, so imperfect is our knowledge of the ancient political geography of the district. The boundaries of Edom varied at different epochs. At one time † its dominions extended over the entire land bounded by the south end of the Dead Sea in the north, and the north end of the Red Sea in the south. Sometimes, however, Edom is identified with Mount Seir, the same as the range of mountainous lands which, being a continuation of the plateaux of Perea, suddenly break down on the eastern side of the Elanitic gulf. But if Edom and Seir were at one time coincident, undoubtedly the mountaineers of Seir would command the vale of Arabah at their feet; nor scarcely less certain is it that they would have

* Judges xi. 18. † 1 Kings ix. 26; 2 Chron. viii. 17.

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dominion over the line of hills running parallel with their own mountains, enclosing the Arabah in its western side. If so, how improbable that the Edomites would permit the Hebrews to encamp in the Arabah. In the Arabah, then, Kadesh can scarcely have been. But if not in the Arabah, it must have been in the western side of the Arabah. Such is the position in which we have placed Kadesh. With Kadesh in the desert of Zin, or on the west of the Arabah, we can well understand the request Israel made for a passage through Edom, for Israel was clearly beyond the territories of Edom. Equally can we understand the scriptural statement that "Edom came out against him (Israel) with much people." Not so, however, if Kadesh is fixed in the Arabah, for then already would Israel have been within the dominions of Edom. And if we suppose that the Arabah was only near Edom, the proximity would have been intolerable to both Edom and Israel. Is it likely that Edom would have endured, and perhaps for many years, so powerful and dangerous a neighbour? Is it also likely that Israel would have felt at ease immediately under the eagle beak of Edom? The moment we in the record find the two "brethren" in avowed relationship, we find them in actual or threatened hostilities. Not unreasonably, then, we infer that, from the first approach of Israel to the wilderness of Zin, Edom either feared or menaced, or both feared and menaced, Israel, while Israel was equally hostile to Edom. These hostile relations serve also to make it probable that, on being refused, Israel resolved to cut himself a way through Edom; but, suffering defeat, was necessitated to make his way round the gulf of Ailah, and so march along the flank of Mount Seir.*

THE ARABAH AND MOUNT HOR.

Before we follow the Israelites in their route, we must make the reader a little more familiar with the general features of the country. Two objects specially deserve attention—the Arabah and Mount Hor. The Arabah, stretching from the lake Asphaltites to Ailah, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, with a breadth varying from five to fifteen, is the

* To render these topographical details, as well as others that are given in the progress of the narrative, intelligible, the reader is recommended to consult a map of the Peninsula.

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thern termination of the long *crevasse* or chasm which, ing a bed to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, runs from the reme southern point of Lebanon. This southern termination of the immense valley rises gradually from the south and north, until it reaches its maximum height, at about 30° th latitude, where the watershed stands nearly 500 feet ve the sea-level. On either side rises a range of perpendicular heights, from one thousand to two thousand feet in ation—the eastern line being the more elevated and isive. The walls are continually broken by ravines down ch, in the rainy season, rush temporary torrents, which y everything before them. The surface of the district is the most part barren, but here and there vegetation rishes, and some of the lateral valleys are richly covered. as the traveller makes his way along the Arabah towards ant Hor, he passes on either side huge, massive, and dreary- ing mountain flanks, and finds himself gradually ascending a labyrinthine region of towering yet somewhat flattened ghts. Now granite and porphyry come into view; then lstone prevails; while sometimes the two are in some sort rmingled. The sandstone masses have received a variety urious forms from the action of the elements. Here is a y of the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome; another mass mbles an immense palace; while in a third place a veritable b has been excavated. By and bye Mount Hor opens on sight—a huge, sombre, castellated building, surely erected e to give Edom the mastery of the land. Let us, in ght, ascend to the summit of this Mount Hor, or, as the bs call it, Jebel Haroun—Aaron's Mount. As you go rards, mark that the body of the mountain is of sandstone, -coloured—bright, dark, yellow, blue, and even red stripes ning now parallel, now one into another, now together, rays very multiform. The stripes, you see, are now broad, r narrow, now straight, now curved; sometimes, especially , at our first ascent, giving the walls the appearance of a et. The grains, gathering into masses, build themselves into those round towers and domes, in the interior of sh concentric circles twist their diverse colours. You ember that the base, to the height of from one to two dred feet, consists of perpendicular strata, shooting up in h such forms as the granite mountains of Sinai and other

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parts of Arabia Petræa. Above these the strata are horizontal. Now that we are near the top, the two summits appear; the higher and more northerly surmounted by that white circular edifice known as Aaron's tomb. It stands, you are aware, immediately above Wady Mousa, having Selah on the south-east. That place, however, with all its interest, we must leave undescribed, for we do not know that it was in existence when Israel journeyed through these mountainous regions. However, let us look around. You see on yonder lower summit, which commands this spot, a small knot of men. They are Arabs, sacrificing a goat in honour of Aaron. Here is a cluster of cypress trees, and what beauty is displayed by those fine red anemones! There are cistuses, too, in bloom! Then look at those handsome pines. Those potsherds scattered up and down, and those curious constructions in that ravine, may be the remnants of a convent which, it is known, once crowned one of the less elevated points of this ancient natural sanctuary. A fit spot for Christian worship! I love those clusters of religious associations which run back through revolving centuries. The place is a solitude now; a solitude it always was; but many a human pulse has beaten where we stand; many a sigh has a sense of sin extorted from human souls here; and oh, what a busy scene was that when the teeming thousands of Israel hurried to and fro around that base, or worshipped in that valley (Wady Mousa) below, clambered up and down those crags, or looked shuddering down that precipice!

But let us carry our eyes into the distance. Turn your face southward. You have the Arabah on your right, and beyond, the wilderness of Zin, stretching in a westerly direction toward Egypt. On the left is Petra. Behind you the country runs northward to the Dead Sea—the road to be followed by the Hebrews, when they have rounded the gulf of Ezion-geber. Remember you are now in the centre of the land of Uz, and see the world as it appeared under the eyes of Job. When you contemplate the bare and rugged grandeur of that sea of mountains, you cease to wonder at the severe beauty of the poem.

The event, however, which throws the fullest halo of religious emotion round this summit is the demise of Aaron. Denied the satisfaction of beholding the promised land, a

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count of a defective piety, the venerable high-priest was commanded of God to ascend to this spot, and here to breathe his last sigh. The place may have been selected because of its universally recognised sanctity. Once chosen, Moses of course would spare no exertions to bring hither his brother and his fellow pilgrims. For this he was compelled to turn aside from the direct way, and encounter a hostile nation. Sustained, however, by a sense of duty, he persevered; and now, while the mountain below is environed by armed thousands—by women, by children, by flocks and herds—the old brothers, with a few attendants, calmly, as we may believe, ascend the mountain brow. It is the first of the fifth month, the first (July, August) in the fortieth year from the Exode. The venerable man was now in the 123rd year of his age.* His last hour is come. He has been divinely forewarned. He feels the pulse of his existence fast ebbing, and prepares to surrender himself into the hands of Him from whom he received the precious trust. It is a solemn moment; the moment is as still as it is solemn. No raptures, no ecstasy; equally, no dejection, no tears. "It is the will of God; Amen! let God's will be done." With serene tranquillity, therefore, he lays aside his pontifical garments. The diadem he hands to his younger brother, by whom it is placed on the brow of Eleazar, his nephew. Provision is thus made for the perpetuation of the sacerdotality in Aaron's family, while, when Moses passes to his rest, he leaves no representative sprung from his own loins. The scene is of the grandest kind. The mountains, the men, the occasion; the connection with the past, and the connection with the future; the darkness and doubt which still hang over the fate of Israel; combine to give the whole an impressiveness which is scarcely surpassed by even the final departure of Moses himself. A very solemn feeling sinks into the soul of the Hebrews as they see that decrepid frame sink down to rise no more. All hasten into the plain, and there for thirty days they mourn for the chief priest of Israel—the prophet as well as the brother of their distinguished leader.

At the time when Moses passed through these territories, the Amorites had become an agricultural people, possessing vineyards and cornfields.† This circumstance, as well as the promise that Esau's dwelling should be "the fatness of the

* Numb. xx. 28; comp. xxxiii. 38, 39. + Numb. xx. 17.

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Mount Hor.

earth," * implies a degree of fertility of which there is now scarcely any trace. Abundant evidence to the same fact is furnished by the extensive ruins of many towns and villages which are still seen in the eastern and southern parts of the land, as reported by Burckhardt, Laborde, and other travellers. The splendid ruins and monuments of Petra, however, are alone sufficient to demonstrate the wealth and civilisation of the kingdom of which it was the metropolis.† Fields of wheat and some agricultural villages still exist in the eastern portion of Edom; but the hill-sides and mountains, once covered with earth and clothed with vineyards, are now bare and sterile rocks. The soil, no longer supported by terraces and sheltered by trees, has been swept away by torrents of rain. The various contrivances for irrigation, which even now might restore fertility to many considerable tracts, have all disappeared. Sand from the desert, and the *debris* of the soft rock, crown the valleys that formerly smiled with plenty. The rays of a burning sun have imparted to the whole region a dark and gloomy hue; which, however, is in keeping with the melancholy story of its desolations.

* Gen. xxvii. 39.

† A description of the extraordinary remains of this rock-hewn city will shortly appear.

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The mountains of Edom come to an end at Ezion-geber, or Ailah. This is a species of oasis in the midst of surrounding deserts. How replete with stirring recollections is the spot! In that harbour once stood the fleet which was to achieve the circumnavigation of Africa. Centuries before, that beach was crowded with eager Israelites, whose face was at last turning northward for the Jordan. Thousands, doubtless, refreshed their burnt and parched frames in that clear, soft, warm sea, and then threw themselves for repose under tufts of palms similar to those. What vast quantities of shells, from the most minute to the most magnificent, lie there, thrown up in shoals along the beach! See, what varieties of crabs move up and down in all directions. Swarms, too, of yellow locusts and handsome dragon-flies flit about in the sun. Oh! mark how those fish leap in such numbers out of the water. The shores, you see, are anything but barren. Besides palms—figs, pomegranates, and the prickly pear grow here and there, and are obviously at home. Those natural features were essentially the same when Solomon's shipwrights worked on this beach, and Moses' camels doubled that kind of cape. But the clatter of the one and the tread of the other have sunk into eternal silence. Yes; and how many hearts that of old beat there with all the fondness of parental love, and all the bright hope of youthful fancies, and all the solemn fervour of pure devotion, have become cold and still. So pass the generations of men—even as the leaves in autumn.

THE HOSTILE TRIBES IN THE PATHWAY OF ISRAEL.

If from the country on the west of the Arabah we pass to that on its eastern side, we come to the last district over which the Israelites had to march on their long and toilsome journey. This district, viewed in its whole length, extends from the Elanitic gulf to the base of Lebanon. It consists of a series of table-lands, divided by streams which flow into either the Jordan or the Dead Sea. Of these streams, the principal are the Hieromax (Jarmauk), the Jabbok (Wady Zurket), the Arnon (Wady Modsheb), and the Zared (Kerek). The highlands, divided originally into several kingdoms by their natural boundaries, were at the time of the Hebrew invasion inhabited by independent petty princes, for the most part allied in blood with Israel. Among them we may place

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foremost the Ammonites, the Amorites, the Midianites, the Moabites, and the Edomites. The countries held by these tribes contained fine pasture grounds and large districts of plain and vale, well fitted for tillage. They were, in consequence, occupied by numerous, propertied, and, to some extent, cultivated populations. Extending their dominion severally over the neighbouring eastern desert, the princes and rulers of the small states maintained connection even with the princes who reigned on the Euphrates, and turned to account the intervening lands for pastoral purposes, so that they became rich in cattle. From the consequent wealth and intercourse there sprang into existence powerful cities, the last traces of whose greatness have not yet passed away.

Of these kingdoms just referred to, Edom and Moab were the chief. Edom and Moab, however, lie in the south. Near their territories, in consequence, would Moses have to pass first of all. Friendship being refused, how could the future results of hostility be avoided? Moses appears to have kept as far from their borders as he conveniently could, and for that purpose he passed along the edge of the wilderness. Even that precaution could scarcely have secured him against attack, had not other circumstances worked in his favour. We have already seen reason to believe that he had inflicted severe punishment on the descendants of Esau. The recollection, still fresh, may have prevented a second collision. The same success on the part of the Hebrews may have served as a salutary precaution to Moab. These hardy bands of stout Hebrews, fresh and vigorous from the mountain air and the mountain conflicts of Zin, Paran, and Sinai, were obviously regarded with fear. If they were dangerous to endure, they were still more dangerous to assail. And then each successive kingdom might hope that for its territories the peril would soon be at an end. "Why," might Edom say, "why need I be anxious? Israel passes my borders only to journey northward." And Moab: "My lands are on the east of Jordan, whereas Israel is to settle along its western side." If Edom is too far south, Midian is too far east, to be apprehensive of coming harm; and surely Bashan and Gilead, in the north, may rest at peace. To some there may be peril; but to whom? and why should I fight my neighbour's battles?" There was no union, and, consequently, no common cause. In the lack of

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concert, the Hebrews saw their opportunity, and found their strength. Utterly powerless as they would have been before the concentrated forces of these nations, they were well able to disregard, control, or even defeat them all when disunited.

Under these conditions the enterprise of the Israelites, which would otherwise have appeared as rashness bordering on folly, was made possible of accomplishment with ordinary prudence and extraordinary daring. Both those qualities were brought into play most fully, and so the grand result was gained. Nay, even more than Moses intended was achieved. Aiming to prepare the way to the conquest of Palestine, he actually made himself master of Perea; and such was the effusive ardour of his youthful heroes, that when the mounds were broken down, and they were let out on the lands, they stopped not until they had overflowed the entire eastern side of the Jordan, from Mount Seir even to Jebel-es-Sheikh.

THE ADVANCE UPON CANAAN.

The encampment near Mount Hor was soon broken up. Dispatch was of the utmost consequence, for it was already autumn, and winter would soon approach. The march was resumed. As the Hebrews made their way southward, how intense did their sufferings become! It was the season when the outer powers of nature had grown to a virulence which was literally intolerable. The sun burnt rather than shone. The earth was hot as plates of iron heated in a furnace. Water there was none. The scanty vegetation of the desert had withered and perished to the last tiny blade. Yet venomous and deadly reptiles luxuriated even in the midst of the universal desolation. Herein was the height of Israel's calamity—those fiery serpents. All else they could in some way endure; but those reptiles inflicted cruel death on every hand. All lips were open—"At least pray unto the Lord that he take away the serpents from us." The prayer was heard. By Divine direction, Moses made a brazen image, in the fashion of a serpent, and set it on a pole. The remedy was efficacious. Whosoever, when bitten, cast an eye on the effigy, was restored to soundness.* Thus God's pity followed close upon his wrath, and the people were pardoned after they had undergone the punishment due to their murmurs. Ancient as well as modern

* Numb. xxi. 4—9, comp. John iii. 14.

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authorities of the highest repute report that this part of Arabia abounds in serpents or scorpions whose bite is deadly.* The fact that these monsters were native in the desert through which Moses was passing in no way affects the scriptural statement that they were sent to punish discontent, for as all things are of God, so God originates and directs all agencies, and produces or overrules all events.

The overpowering heat to which the Israelites were here subjected can be neither imagined by the reader nor adequately described by the writer. Experience alone can give a conception of its terror. And of recorded experience we have none that relates exactly to either the locality or the season; for in the autumn, not only these parched and glowing wilds, but the whole country, is carefully avoided by travellers for the sake of their own safety. From Miss Martineau, who visited these parts in early spring, we borrow a few descriptive words:—"To-day," she writes, "we had experience of the Khamsin. When the heat had become so intolerable that all moved forward silently in dull patience—some, perhaps, with a secret wonder whether they should ever breathe easily or feel any muscular strength again—a strong wind sprang up suddenly from the south. Though it was as hot as a blast from an oven, and carried clouds of sand with it, I must say I felt it a great relief. I was aware that the sensation of relief could not last; for the drying quality of this wind was extraordinary and immediately felt upon the skin. The thirst which this wind caused was great. The sand was not coarse enough to be felt pattering upon the face, though it accumulated in the folds of one's dress; but it filled the air so completely as to veil the sunshine, and to hide altogether the western boundary of the

* We translate a few words illustrative of the text from that eminent Biblical scholar Tischendorf: "The most perilous thing in the desert is unquestionably the serpents. We often met with them. On our return from Suez to Cair, my Bedouins twice raised a shriek of terror—"A serpent! a serpent!" My interpreter hastened to jump from his saddle in order to fire his double-barrelled pistol against the deadly monster, while their attendants drove the camels out of the danger with all possible speed. These hateful creatures were of the kind called "horned serpents" (*Cerastæ*), taking the name from, in some sort, two horns (wings or flaps) growing from their head. These horns the animal pushes out above the sand. The birds, mistaking them for worms, are enticed thereby, and, of course, are speedily swallowed. The traces of serpents I saw in the sand were innumerable: wide districts were, so to say, veined over with them."—*Reise in den Orient*, vol. i. p. 262.

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wady and all before us. The eastern mountains, near whose base we were travelling, rose dim and ghostly through this dry hot haze."

Soon, however, was the desert left behind. Soon was the Red Sea reached and passed. Soon a new but less fearful desert opened on the glad eyes of Israel. Their faces are at length set in the right direction. Their feet have entered the path which must lead to Palestine or to ——. Young and ardent minds do not readily admit a painful alternative. Therefore, the possibility of defeat and disappointment occurred only to a few greybeards, accounted one in spirit with the generation that had perished in the Peninsula. The new race to whom the new land belonged by promise, and would soon belong by possession, saw all things in the bright light of their own confidence. And were they not now near their object? Did not every mile bring them sensibly nearer? Fairly within their grasp the prize at length seemed to be. One effort more, and they had won the victory. Thoughts like these must have inspired those hardy frames and stout hearts with indescribable vigour. Here was support for the feeble knees. Even the dying revived when they learnt that in a few days Canaan would open on the sight. All that had been learnt from teaching or experience, all elevation of character, all skill in arms, all earthly wisdom, and all heavenly reliance, were now concentrated into one mighty endeavour, in order to accomplish the great purpose of Moses, which was known to be also the solemn will of God. The result was a rapid career of victory, ending in the practical subjugation of several native princes, and the conquest of a line of country extending not less than one hundred miles, and affording, among other advantages, a most valuable base for operations beyond the Jordan.

The progress of Israel almost resembled a triumphant march. Having passed along the eastern borders of Edom, they pitched near the fountains of the brook Zared. Then partly defying and partly defeating Moab, with his famous capital of Ar, or Rabbath Moab, the invaders encamped on the upper banks of the Arnon, and so came into the neighbourhood of the land they looked for. But between them and that land there was a large and deadly lake, and further north there flowed the chief river of the country—the lake and the river alike held

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by enemies. How then, except by their swords, could they make for themselves a way into Canaan? What, however, if a confederacy were now formed among the native princes? The Israelites are far advanced in the heart of the land, and may easily be assailed on all sides. They are in no such danger, however. Already their work has been done for them in part. The quarrels of the native kings operate on their behalf. Moab, and his brother and neighbour Ammon, have been worsted by one of their own subjects, for the Amorites, the original masters of the soil, whom they had subdued, have successfully vindicated their independence, making themselves lords of nearly all the territory included between the Arnon in the south and the Jabbok in the north, together with the well-fortified capital, Heshbon. These changes have produced a general weakness on the part of the rulers of the country. Moab and Ammon are weak in consequence of their losses. The Amorites have not had time to consolidate their newly-acquired rights. This weakness is Israel's strength.

DEFEAT OF THE AMORITES AND THE BASHANITES.

Aware of the position of affairs, Moses asks permission to pass through the territories of the Amorites. Their king, Sihon, gives a refusal. Flushed with his recent conquests, he determines to drive Israel back. For that purpose he leads out his forces, and suffers a total overthrow. In consequence, the Hebrews, take possession of all his dominions, from the Arnon to the Jabbok. The acquisition of this fine range of country, together with its cities and its wealth, made Moses the master of the eastern banks of the Jordan. The only people which could have given him trouble, namely, the Ammonites, possessed not the requisite power. Already, before the defeat of the Amorites, their dominion was divided into two portions, a northern and southern, by the rebellion of that tribe; and as now the rebels had been crushed by Moses, the power consequent on this conquest strengthened the hands of an invader. When, therefore, Moses advanced to the northern portion of the territories of Ammon, he encountered no resistance, but rather was able to make of it a basis of operations against a still more northern power. This was Bashan—a fine country of wood, water, and pasture, lying along the east of the lake of Galilee. Marching into the land, Moses

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was encountered at Edrei by Og, its king, whom he defeated with dreadful slaughter.

Thus the whole water-course of Palestine, on its eastern side, fell into the hands of Moses. Two pitched battles had sufficed for so important a result. Rival powers, it is true, remained; but little able were they to repair losses which they had been unable to prevent. Leaving troops in the more northern parts to secure his newly-acquired possessions, Moses gathered around him the body of the nation, and selected as his head-quarters the wide plains of Moab, which stretch out on the eastern side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho.

On those plains, the last act in the drama was performed; for near them Moses, having seen his people prepared to enter into possession of the promised inheritance, was gathered to his fathers, and his fathers' God. Thus the ending of this drama, like the ending of the drama of every man's life, is a departure—a transition from a lower to a higher stage of being. So truly is the transference of Israel from Egypt to Canaan termed an exode: even at its termination it is an exode, for Moses *went out* of this house of our earthly bondage to enter into that "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." And these things are but types of that spiritual exode first made by the Lord Christ,* by which he passed from death unto life, and showed the way along which all believers have to travel.

BAAL AND JEHOVAH.

Life, however, is, in all ages, and under all circumstances, a chequered scene. That brightness was not to be without a cloud. With those shouts of triumph, wailings were to mingle. Sinful blandishments would prevail in breasts proof against sword and lance. And might not magical incantations prove effectual against these all-conquering invaders? The effort was made; but the effort proved fruitless, because here God was on the side of man; whereas man was left alone when Israel lusted after idolatrous women.

Of the two events alluded to in these remarks, the employment of Balaam deserves special notice. Let us endeavour

* Luke ix. 31. "Jesus spake of his *decease*"—in the original, *exodus*. (Compare *Exodus*, the title of the book reciting the exode.) Whence it appears that the Saviour compared his death to the Mosiac and Israelite exode. The same was done by Peter; see 2 Pet. i. 15.

rightly to understand the transaction. When we know its nature, we shall see and acknowledge its importance. The conflict between Moses and the magicians on the Nile was, we have seen, no mere idle clash of power between two sets of wonder-workers, but a vital and solemn assertion, before the eyes of a whole people, of the sovereignty of the Creator against the idolatrous falsities and the delusive pretensions of Egyptian polytheism. Similar is the issue joined on the heights of Moab, between Balak on the one side and Israel on the other; that is, between Baal, Balak's idol, and Jehovah, Israel's God. It lies on the surface, that the safety of the Hebrews in the midst of powerful foes could not be secured by any superiority of mere material forces. Man does not live by bread alone; rather he lives, and can only live, by the word of power which proceedeth from the Spirit of God. The same fact is stated when we say that without ideas, common ideas, a nation has no existence, and that of all ideas, that which is most essential is the idea of God. A mass of people is not a nation. A huge number of eaters and drinkers congregated on one spot is not a nation. Let myriads be assembled together, and whatever their thews and frames, whatever their properties, if they have no community of thought, nay, if they are not cemented by a common religious belief, they can never coalesce into a commonwealth; but will break up and crumble away and disappear. Faith makes nations; faith only makes nations. Cromwell knew this. Moses also knew this. And even Balak seems to have had an inkling of this truth. Could he, then, win over to his side the power of religion? Would Baal speak? Baal's curse, who could resist? Baal against Jehovah: let the issue only be fairly joined, and the result he could not doubt. The issue unquestionably was of the highest moment. Yes, the crisis had come; the turning-point in the enterprise. If Baal prevailed, those victories would pass away as rapidly as the full stream flowing down that ravine. If the authority of Jehovah was vindicated against Baal, the central idea of the Mosaic polity was finally placed in security, and the throne of Baal would be smitten to its base. Here, then, again Polytheism arrays itself against Monotheism; and here again, with joy and gratitude let it be added, Monotheism casts down Polytheism, and tramples it under-foot. The following are the

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more important details connected with this momentous collision.

THE KING OF MOAB AND THE PROPHET OF BAAL.

In the highlands of Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilisation, and the seat of the brighter as well as the darker science of the age, there dwelt a necromancer of high repute, a prophet of Baal, the divinity universally worshipped in the whole region. His word, in general estimation, was resistless. Blessed were they on whom he pronounced a blessing, and cursed were they on whom he pronounced a curse. His black arts and magical practices had gained him wealth, position, and renown. Throughout Western Asia his name was uttered with respect and fear. It was whispered as a menace to children; it lay as a spell on the hearts of the dying; and even the bravest heroes turned pale when conscious guilt articulated the dread word. What must not be the efficacy of that word on Israel! In this assurance Balak, king of Moab, sore afraid of the swarming myriads who covered his lands, filled his towns, consumed his substance, and even threatened his very existence, resolved to try whether Balaam's enchantments could not effect that for which prudence and prowess had alike proved nugatory. With that view he sent an embassy to Balaam, entreating the magician to hasten to the Jordan in order to utter a withering imprecation on the Hebrews. In order to give the greater effect to the request, he induced Midian to concur therein. Elders of Midian and elders of Moab, accordingly, hastened to Pethor, in Mesopotamia, bearing ample presents wherewith to support their application.

The dealer in religious deceits was prepared for their coming, and had his tale ready. He would take a night for solemn consultation. But whom should he consult? Baal? An answer from such a quarter might be suspected, and could, at any rate, have little power over Israel. If, however, Jehovah was made to appear as inclining Balaam to curse Israel, then would Balak be effectually served, and the cheat might act banefully on his dreaded enemies. Thus Baal's servant would in truth accomplish Baal's work, and earn from the king of Moab a debt of obligation too large to be paid. *The night came, and with the night its silence, and with the silence inmost reflection. From that reflection, by the aid of God's*

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Spirit, conscience was born in Balaam. Hence a division in the astrologer's soul—a division between Baal and Jehovah—the lie in progress, and the rising truth. The division ended in a conflict; and in the variations and the consequences of that conflict, as overruled by the Holy Spirit, is found the history, is found the psychological explanation, of this most graphic and most instructive, yet little understood, episode. During the watchings and the meditations of that troubled night, and just when Balaam, as we may suppose, was putting his false answer into seemly words, he felt moved and agitated in spirit; and, after sundry debates, as of evil against good, and light against darkness, he heard in the very depths of his soul a piercing voice, which made all his bones to quake, and which said, "Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed."* The Great Being whom Balaam, for his own nefarious purposes, had professed to consult, had spoken unasked, and avenged his own honour. Pale and trembling, the artful man, overcome by a stronger power, appeared in the morning before the princely embassy, and declared the fact that Jehovah forbade him to go.

When Balak received the answer, he discerned therein nothing but a feint. It was only Jehovah that had given the prohibition. Excellent device! A richer bribe, borne by more honourable hands, would soon determine the waverer. The former stratagem is repeated. Balaam retires into secrecy, half won over to the true God. In this state of mind, a conditional permission is given him; he might go, provided he went not to curse Israel, and would, in all he said, utter only what God put into his mouth. The next morning he prepares for his journey. But as he prepares, he reflects: "Those are gorgeous presents! those are splendid promises! this is an honourable escort! but what! am I going, then, expressly to nullify all this? Am I—the great prophet of Baal, whose fame is from the river to the sea, and from Ararat to Elam—am I about to speak the words of Jehovah, the divinity of this new and hated race, the invaders of these lands? No, I go, but I go for my own ends."

The resolution was clearly seen by Him who reads the heart. As Balaam rode on his way westward, he came into a narrow gorge, when before him rose a celestial presence, hemming him

* Numb. xxii. 13.

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way with a drawn sword. The ass on which he rode, sensible of the hindrance, turned aside into a bye-path, and so reached an open place. The blind, doltish man, befooled with his own cunning, beat the ass, but beat in vain. She entered an artificial path formed through a vine-grove, having a wall on either side. Then, again, the animal showed more sense than her master, becoming conscious before him of the mysterious presence. A third resistance was made to Balaam's progress in a yet narrower road. To pass was impossible, yet the blind seer turned not back. The ass, unable to advance, fell before the resisting power. The admonition was repaid by blows. Then a voice was heard, "What have I done that thou hast smitten me three times?" "Thou hast mocked me," was Balaam's reply. But as he uttered that reply he was thereby awakened to realities. What! duller than the brute beast he rode? Conscience asleep or dead? Not see the hand of God opposing his wicked purpose? Why, look! even there is the angel of his presence, all glittering with celestial light, standing and blocking up the way, and exclaiming, "Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times? Behold, I went out to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse before me; and the ass saw me and turned from me these three times: unless she had turned from me, surely now I had slain thee and saved her alive. "And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, I have sinned; now therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again." And the angel of the Lord said unto Balaam, Go with the men, but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak."

Thus, bound in tongue, the false prophet went on his way, and was met, long before its termination, by Balak, whose restless eagerness for his presence had taken him to the confines of his dominions, in order to sustain his ambassadors if needful, and accelerate the necromancer's steps. The meeting was not satisfactory. Balak reproached Balaam with hesitation and delay, and Balaam reported to Balak that he could speak only as he might be directed by Elohim. However, as the king had the prophet in his hands, and the prophet did not refuse to act, Balaam hastened to take the steps he judged requisite for the delivery of the curse. The two hurried to the vicinity of the camp of Israel. There heights on all sides rose to heaven. They rose upward, not to bear the incense of praise to the

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Maker of all things, but to bear the incense of human holocausts to the cruel, sanguinary, and lustful Baal. They were “the high places of Baal.” From one of these should the curse be pronounced. Thence should Baal hurl his fiery thunderbolt, and strike with instant doom the divinity of the impious invaders, by whom he was not worshipped, but set at nought. Of these polluted heights, that one was selected which gave the fullest view of the armies of Israel, for a sight of their teeming myriads would add fire to the prophet’s imprecations. On the selected heights seven altars smoke and flame with seven bullocks and seven rams. But where is the seer? Lo! he comes, bearing the message of Jehovah. Balak receives him with rejoicing heart, for he believes that the name is only a cover. Then Balaam said:—

“From the summits of Baal the God of the earth
Hath shown me the people he nurs’d from their birth;
The rays of his love on his people have shone;
They are his, and as his they shall still ‘dwell alone;’
Though their race shall be pour’d to the earth’s utmost end,
With the ocean of nations its stream shall not blend.
Who, oh Jacob, can count half the tribes thou dost lead?
As the dust of the earth is thy numberless seed.
May the death of the righteous, O Balak, be mine,
And the sun of my life as serenely decline!”

How can we describe the varying passions of the disappointed monarch, as word after word fell on his half incredulous ear? At length recovering self-possession with difficulty—

“Prophet!” the king in anger cried,
And grasp’d his bright sword’s glittering hilt,
“None yet have Balak’s power defied,
Whose blood this sharp blade has not split.
Of all the priests thou art the first
That dar’d to bless whom I have curs’d.”

Balak, however, had not abandoned hope. Perhaps he had been unwise in so placing the prophet as that he might survey those formidable myriads; if he himself was conscious of fearing them, the sight might well disturb the soul of a priest. The experiment, therefore, was tried a second time, on a spot whence only the outskirts of the armies could be seen. Again the intended curse proved a blessing; and what a blessing!

“Arise, King of Moab, and silently hear
The voice of thy servant, of Balaam the seer;
‘God is not a man’ that his word should deceive;
What his lips have declar’d his own arm shall achieve;
For firm as this mountain that looks o’er the plains,

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His purpose immutably steadfast remains.
 His Spirit, now prompting, forbids me to curse ;
He has bless'd, and I cannot his blessing reverse.
 His eye that beholdeth the heart doth not see
 Obdurate iniquity, Israel, in thee !
 The God of thy fathers, on whom they relied,
 Is still present with thee, thy strength and thy guide,
 And the mountains and valleys far echoing ring
 With the shout of a host, that proclaims him thy King.
 Against Jacob the arts of the sorcerer fail,
 No enchantment, O Israel, o'er thee shall prevail ;
 As a lion, by slumber refreshed in his might,
 Goes forth from his lair, thou shalt rise to the fight,
 Nor till thou hast drunk of the blood of thy foes
 From the feast of the battle lie down to repose ! "

Twice disappointed, Balak had yet a resource. There was
 a thrice sacred mount, Baal Peor.* Surely Baal, worshipped
 that summit by licentious rites so dear to him, would there
 forth his power. The needful sacrifices burned up toward
 a "king of heaven," when

"Dire rage in Balak's bosom rose,
 Trembled his lips and shook his frame ;
 Gasping he cried—"Curse me these foes,
 Or through this all-devouring flame
 Shall instant pass thy body, Seer,
 To Moloch, who is worshipped here ! "

All in vain, however. Balaam now felt himself wholly
 empowered by Jehovah. Therefore he went not, as at other
 times, to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the
 wilderness and uttered a burden, or a prophetic poem, still
 more honourable to Israel :—

"How lovely, oh Jacob, thy tents where they stand,
 Spread forth as the measureless vales of the land ;
 As gardens by rivers whose waters are clear,
 When cover'd with blossoms, thy dwellings appear,
 Like sweet flowering aloes in beauty they rise,
 Like cedars that lift their tall heads to the skies !
 As the waves of the sea, without limit or end,
 Thy reign o'er the nations shall widely extend.
 Oh ! bless'd be the man who has blessed thee first,
 But whoso shall curse thee, himself shall be curs'd." †

Thus was man's evil design against Israel overruled by the
 spirit of the Almighty, and even a false prophet was com-

* Baal Peor ; the second word alludes to the lustful crimes perpetrated in the
 worship of this form of the general sun-god, designated Baal—that is, Master
 Lord ; who also had the name of Moloch—that is, king, king of the visible
 universe, the burning and consuming sun.

† Numb. xxiii. and xxiv.

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pelled to give testimony to Jehovah, and foretell the glory of his chosen people. The heathen monarch burned with vexation and anger. The soothsayer was disappointed equally with the king. Wrathful with each other, they were even more deeply dissatisfied with the result, for as they were its authors, so was it the very opposite of what they intended. Vain, however, was their discontent. The blessing was irrevocable. Thus does God make the wrath of man to praise him.

THE DEATH OF MOSES.

In this period of triumph Moses had to prepare for death. It was a hard task. How delightful to have seen his people safe within the natural fastnesses of that land to whose borders he had brought them. But such was not the will of God; and the will of God was supreme with Moses. He who had been obedient in all things up to this hour, would be obedient still. And so has he lived in the sight of God that now, when his hour is come, he has few things left to do. The chief is simply to lay down his life in compliance with God's command. First, however, he must number the people. This is done; and their number is found to be 601,730—nearly the same as when they left Sinai, and nearly the same also as when they quitted Egypt. During the whole wandering, life had just repaired the losses occasioned by death. More could not have been expected; so much would have been wholly impossible but for supplies of food given immediately by the hand of God. The transference of half a million of adult males from the Nile to the Jordan, through the peninsula of Sinai, is itself a stupendous miracle, pre-supposing miraculous agency on the largest scale, and of very long continuance. For such a result, what are called natural means are absurdly insufficient. You must either deny the journey or admit the miracle. But to deny the journey is an historical impossibility, since the journey is the foundation-fact on which are built the Hebrew commonwealth, the Hebrew monarchy, the Hebrew literature, and the Christian religion.

Another preliminary duty which Moses had to perform was the selection of his successor. The choice fell on Joshua, already distinguished for his fidelity and valour. How disinterested an act! How rare such self-abnegation! How far above the ambition of ordinary great men does Moses stand.

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thinks of obeying God and serving Israel, not of perpetuating a name and founding a dynasty. In this the very bloom of his people's good fortune, when they hold nations under their yoke, and have received honour from a most unwilling tongue, Moses calmly and unpretendingly resigns his supremacy into the hands of one of his soldiers, that he may depart hence and be seen no more on earth.

The last important transaction was a review of God's mercies and of Israel's transgressions. How rich and numerous the mercies—one—how dark and repeated the other! The gratitude which the former are recited is equalled by the faithfulness with which the latter are rebuked. The endurance of the rebuke by the now triumphant myriads, proves not only the reality of God's goodness to Israel, but also the thorough excellence of the character of Moses. From no false tongue, and no simulated piety, from no inconsistent life, would the Jews have borne those severe reproaches, those cutting rebukes, those harsh rebukes. Why are not stones raised to curse him who speaks with a freedom which a Balaam's flattery could not have surpassed, and which would have richly justified even a Balak's hate? Nay, rather might it be said, how has that life been preserved these forty years, amid that inconstant, murmuring, and passionate multitude? By its integrity, by its religious elevation, by its nearness to God, and by God's nearness to it. The life of the life of Moses is a cure for scepticism.

At length came the end. Moses looked on the plains of Canaan: they were covered with his children, the armies of the living God, whom, with God's aid, he had brought up out of the land of Egypt, and taught, and guided, and led even to the spot; and there now they stood, prepared to cross the Jordan, and take possession of the inheritance given them of God. Moses looked on and said:—

"None like unto the God of Jeshurun!
Who rideth upon the heavens for thy help,
And in his excellency on the sky.
The Eternal God is thy refuge,
And underneath are the everlasting arms;
And he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee!
Israel then shall dwell in safety alone;
The fountain of Jacob upon a land of corn and wine;
Also his heavens shall drop down dew.

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Happy thou, O Israel!
Who like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord,
The shield of thy help,
And the sword of thy excellency!"

These were the last words of that man of God—the last earthly words of him by whose lips divine wisdom has gone out through all the earth. Having uttered them, he gently went up to “the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho,” and having with divine aid carried his yet undimmed eye over the promised land, from west to east and from north to south, he fell asleep there in the land of Moab. And so a cloud comes up over the closing scene. In the land of Moab he died, not in the land of Canaan. Alas! the darkness of that one act of distrust falls and covers him as he departs this life. God is faithful to his threatenings no less than to his promises. And this servant, whom the children of Israel now bewail for thirty days, ere yet they take up the ark and traverse the Jordan—this servant of God, so honoured by his Master, yet fell short of the full stature of the perfect man—an elevation reached only by HIM before whom Moses and the prophets, as well as angels and archangels, bend the knee.

The university of On, the passage of the Red Sea, the foot of Horeb, the regions of Kadesh, Mount Hor, the plains of Moab—these spots mark so many epochs in that great life which now ebbs out gently there on that summit, a life of singular power, originality, and holiness; but most distinguished for high and pure, nay, unparalleled disinterestedness. Deny that Moses was specially the servant of God, and you only add point and emphasis to his human excellencies. A liberator, a lawgiver, a general, a patriot, a hero, a sage; he raised a herd of slaves into a nation of freemen; surpassing Lycurgus in wisdom, Alfred in administrative skill, Cromwell in efficiency, and Washington in patriotism. But his career transcends, as well as comprises, the ordinary possibilities of human existence, and becomes explicable only then when we recognise in Moses the prophet as well as the deliverer, the servant of God no less than the benefactor of his nation. Illustrious patriot! where among men shall we look for thy equal? And in religion thine is the distinction to stand second to the divine Author of the gospel, Jesus the Christ, the Son of God.

JEWISH SECTS:

THEIR ORIGIN, EARLY FORMS, AND SERVICES.



The Chasdim Martyrs.

AT the period to which our attention is about to be directed, the bright series of Israel's glory seemed ended. The age of *its conquests, the republican period, or rather the age of hieftain heroism, as well as the splendour of the succeeding*

JEWISH SECTS:

monarchy, under Saul, and David, and Solomon, were now becoming ancient. Long past, too, were the contests and rivalry of the divided kingdoms, Ephraim and Judah. Both had been swept into captivity. The ten tribes, as such, returned no more; but the captivity of Judah had an appointed end, and that not distant. That end was come at the period of which we are to treat, and the exiled people is again re-established in the land of its fathers. The city has risen, phoenix-like, from its ruins, encompassed by a wall of impregnable strength; and a second temple has been reared on the foundations of the first, destined, though of meaner aspect, to be illustrated by a glory surpassing that by which Solomon's temple had been inaugurated. The patriotism of the chiefs of the Captivity and of the Restoration—of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and Ezra—had been sustained by prophetic hope. Inspiration still lingered on the lips of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, to animate the faith of a people who had to begin, amid desolation, their history and fortunes afresh. On the second temple, prophecy bestowed its consecration and promise; not long after which it was destined to cease for a period of four centuries.

Small were the resources, much reduced the numbers, and very narrow the territory, of the restored tribes of Judah and Benjamin, compared with what they had been in former times. But these tribes were devoted to the ancient covenant, and though not numerous, they were now in their home and on the soil of their fathers. They were under the protection of Divine promise; and a confidence in the Hope of Israel, the coming of the Desire of all nations, was the bond of their national unity—the inspiration of their further progress and story.

The greater part of the ancient territory of Israel—the central plain which comprised the pasture-land of Canaan—was occupied by a mixed people, composed of eastern colonists, and probably a larger proportion of the remains of its former inhabitants than their rivals, the restored tribes, were willing to acknowledge. These Samaritans pressed upon their limits northwards, and intercepted their extension, except by a route to the east of the Jordan. The sufferings of the captivity had endeared to them their faith and hope in Jehovah, and in his word; and, on the other hand, the presence of a neighbouring people, contending for a share in the

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same privileges, but resisted in this pretension, served to compact their religious unity, and to raise their attachment to their own institutions to a pitch of fervour unknown before. In addition to this there arose, as a grand auxiliary to their religious life, and a preservative from apostasy, the institution of synagogues, for the reading and exposition of the law. Whether such assemblies, in any less regular form, existed before the Captivity, cannot be ascertained. The domestic inculcation of the law, we know, was instituted by Divine command. Nor is it improbable that the Sabbaths of the rural population of Israel, remote from the tabernacle or temple service, were, by some of the devouter Levites, turned to the account of religious instruction. But these efforts were rare, and their effect transient; and thus, amid the constant recurrence of miraculous intervention, and even with the very presence among them of the Shekinah, the Urim and Thummim, and the holy flame which consumed their sacrifices, they were continually relapsing into idolatry. But after the Captivity, such relapse, with one perilous exception, occurs no more; and we witness, instead, the strange phenomenon of a people becoming, amid the withdrawal of the supernatural, fiercely tenacious of their religious belief, and assuming an intensity of national concentration, such as neither Grecian conquest nor Roman oppression could break up; a union which has preserved them, since their dispersion, distinct and unsocial among the nations, and on which time has had no effect, but the more to indurate it, and to confirm their forlorn fidelity to the hope of Israel!

Yet amongst themselves, and in part as the effect of the religious patriotism which had taken possession of them as a people, there arose, as is not unusual, a number of sects more enthusiastic than any the world had seen, which, without dissolving the national unity, contended fiercely for the ascendant, and played a most important part in their subsequent history, at one time conservative, at another disastrous. These sects survived to the time of Christ, and met his scrutiny; and they finally contributed, in opposite modes, to the destruction of the city, and the expatriation of the chosen people into all lands, to wander without a home for a period not yet ended in the dispensations of Heaven.

These sects, in their origin, character, and principles, and in

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their influence on Jewish history, it is the object of this treatise to portray. We shall have to distinguish their social tendencies, no less than to analyse their systems of belief. Of one of them we shall have to depict the wild and recluse life in the desert, where they gave the first example of monasticism to the world—an example emulously copied and surpassed in a succeeding age by enthusiasts of the Christian faith. We shall have, moreover, to contemplate the chief of these sects in the advanced and last stage of their degeneracy, as they present themselves in the times of the Messiah, and are exhibited in the faithful narratives of the New Testament. They will there be seen in a relation of singular, nay, of awful interest. In a course parallel to the whole extent of Messiah's mission, and of the first age of Christianity, the action of these sects will be seen in direct encounter with our Saviour's ministry, in the conspiracy which achieved his death, and in the first persecution which vainly attempted to blot out his name.

The subject is not rich in outward and historic incident. Ours will not be a tale of the battle-field, or a description of the splendour of cities, or of the picturesque scenes of the lands of Scripture. Yet it will be one, in many respects, of deeper interest to the reflective, in proportion as a picture of the feelings and thoughts current amongst a people is of more significance than the outward changes through which they pass. As a phenomenon present in the mental history of communities, and exerting its influence on their destiny, the element of religious controversy must be studied by all who would estimate accurately their character and progress. The forms of religious opinion constitute the deeper life of nations, and, in proportion as they are earnestly maintained, become palpable in their effects on their outward condition.

Imagine a history of England written, of the time of Henry the Fifth, without reference to the silent growth of the Lollards; or of the early years of George the Third, without any mention of Whitfield and Wesley; or of the present time, without allusion to those currents of opinion which set in so strongly in opposite directions, and which in some crisis may decide the fate of this country. We do not class these instances as the same in character with the sects of the Jews. We simply adduce them as forces acting on society. Such forces

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were the Jewish sects, and we shall perceive the remarks now made to be pre-eminently true, as illustrated in their history.

These sects, moreover, present an object worthy of philosophic investigation, on the ground of peculiarities attaching to themselves alone. The period in which they originated was the most hopeless and dark of any in Jewish history. When the age of visible divine interpositions was ended, when inspiration had become mute, and when the national faith founded on these had declined and seemed nigh to extinction, then was the flame rekindled to an intensity never exhibited before. That flame of religious zeal resuscitated a nation, that seemed on the point of deserting its faith in the Divine oracles, and of conforming recklessly to the abominations of Grecian idolatry. Its ultimate effect terminated in the fuller development of those sects which we are to describe—parties founded on distinctions of religious belief, which endured through many ages following, which arrayed themselves in unremitting hostility to the Redeemer, and which remained unextinguished amid the ruin brought by their crimes and factions on their devoted country.

SECTS, IN THEIR RULING AIM AND SPIRIT, DEFINED.

It may seem formal to offer a definition of the name "sect," yet it may not be wholly superfluous. All know, in a vague manner, what sects denote. We are familiar with the word, and with the thing, in many forms around us; yet the precise conception involved in them may not readily present itself to every mind. The designation itself, as now used, simply means a part of some whole by division, and it is specially appropriated to denote division among those who, while separate, or even hostile on some points, have yet *other opinions which they hold in common*. We speak not of believers in revelation and the votaries of pagan idolatry as different sects, but as belonging to different religions. Betwixt them the separation is total. But to varying classes in either great division, if founded on religious opinion, we apply the name of sects.

Sects are further to be distinguished, as being founded *specifically on opinions*, rather than on practical purposes or aims. Thus they are distinguished from political parties or

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factions, however nearly, in some aspects, these may resemble sects in religion. In political life, although parties may be founded on certain common views or principles, yet they never terminate in these, but evermore contemplate, as the object for which they combine, some course of *action* for the attainment of power in the State. Opinions, of course, must be assumed as the cement of parties ; but the agitation of plans for augmented influence is ever the ultimate aim. In sects, the case is different. There, opinions hold the chief place ; nor is there necessarily involved any further action by the party as such, except for the defence or diffusion of these same opinions. And the reason is, that they are opinions which, whether in philosophy or religion, are not directly related to secular interests. Of religious opinions, the consequences and interests lie mainly in the invisible world. They infer practical duties on individuals ; they present, necessarily, no common worldly aim to the sect. Sects, therefore, are not founded on common action, like parties in the State, but on agreement in opinions, and on their defence. As, however, political parties or factions rest on some agreement in sentiment as their basis, as they must at least profess "*eadem de republica sentire*," and thus resemble sects, while the essential element of party is concerted action for power ; so have sects often assumed the part of the latter, sometimes to secure the free utterance of principles, but not infrequently to augment their influence in the State. But these are occasional deviations from their original purpose. A sect subsists essentially in opinions ; political parties in ambition for power.

We have one more distinction to offer, and that relates to the *manner in which opinions are held*. Opinions adopted by sects, especially at their formation, are not speculations, but belief, as of ascertained truth. Whether this be their reproach or praise, it is a circumstance essential to their being. And this is obvious from what we have already said. Their cementing principle being opinion, if these opinions were vague in their forms, or but feebly realized, there would remain no element to bind individuals of a sect together, or keep them distinct from other parties. In history, this will be seen with clearest evidence. The earlier schools of Grecian philosophy, forasmuch as they held definite principles as truth, were justly denominated sects. Thus, the followers, respectively, of

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Zeno and of Epicurus, held distinct views, and with the tenacity of belief; whence the propriety of their designation. But when, in later times, a freer and more eclectic speculation was adopted, the title of sect became less appropriate. But in this respect, the most marked modes of opinion held in ancient philosophy, bear no comparison to those forms of absolute belief which have arisen among believers in revelation, both Jews and Christians. The highest convictions attained in philosophy were as vapour compared with the intense faith of the Pharisee, or the Essene, or even of subsequent Christian denominations. And the reason is evident. Revelation affords a basis of certainty. If we assume our interpretation is correct, this certainty in our views become absolute. Thus the forms of sects become more fixed, and their faith more enduring.

THE AGE OF JEWISH SECTS.

There has been, as there will continue to be, much controversy respecting the precise period to which the origin of the chief Jewish sects is to be referred. But is the attempt itself a philosophical one, to determine the very year of the formation of parties, which by their nature are things of silent growth, and not institutions of sudden and absolute creation, like the changes, for instance, effected in political government? We can frequently determine the latter, for they are usually complete in their character, as they are violent in their process; but the origin of tendencies and opinions which lead to the formation of parties, whether in politics or religion, is often concealed from the view even of those who are chiefly under their influence. We can easily determine the epochs of revolutions in the Roman state, from the regal to a consular government, and again from patrician to plebeian consulships. In our own history, we can fix the date of the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, or the Bill of Settlement. But who can mark the first movements, or detect the secret currents of popular feeling, which led to these changes? And the same difficulty attaches frequently to the problem of religious parties, if it be attempted to fix their origin to an absolute date.

It would be easy, in the first place, to fix upon a limit, antecedent to which we have no mention of sects, and when their existence was wholly improbable. We can again ascertain the *date of the first indubitable allusion to their presence, as insti-*

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tutions completely developed. Within these two points, we have to look for their early tendencies, their obscure foreshadowings, their insensible growth, till at last some signal conjuncture of events, religious or political, shall evoke latent elements into intenser union—into broader manifestation—into a compact form and structure. At first there are germs of opposite sects, which are rather feelings than sharply defined opinions. They are indicated in preferences rather than speculative convictions. Their next stage will be that of loosely-compacted parties, but still without a complete development of principles avowed on either side, and without the antagonism on all points that will afterwards distinguish them. Neither, perhaps, in this intermediate stage, will they have the designations which are to attach to them in their more perfect form, and in all succeeding history. At last, on their first prominent appearance as sects, they are seen in their marked distinctions—in the wide interval that parts them—in their mutual hostility and defiance—their respective watchwords, signals, and banners; and these latter blazoned with more distinguished and enduring names. Such are the stages by which parties, whether founded on political distinctions or exclusively on sentiment, usually rise from scarcely noticed germs to their powerful maturity.

Now, with respect to the Jewish sects, we need not dwell on the palpable certainty, that till long after the Babylonish captivity, there is absolutely no allusion to their existence. It is true that in every period of Jewish history, even from the time of the earliest rulers after the decease of Joshua, there would be a class who adhered with more fidelity to the institutions given them, and others who observed these more negligently. At first but few, and those with fearfulness, would venture on omissions in things enjoined, while the mass of the people continued devoutly tenacious of every minute observance. Then came times of corruption and idolatrous compliance on the part of the many, while the minority, oftentimes a small remnant, continued faithful. Under the leadership of some heaven-sent prophet, or monarch, such as Samuel, David, Asa, or Josiah, the nation recovered itself for a time, and resumed the strict and zealous maintenance of the institutions conferred upon it from heaven at its deliverance from Egypt. But this endured not long. The apostasy, first of the ten

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tribes, and finally of Judah and Benjamin, reached a height, which the Divine forbearance, as it had not availed to prevent, so it could no longer endure, and captivity was to teach the value of those principles which they had so long shared and abused. Yet even in this last and darkest period, when the clouds were lowering round them, there were not a few, we may well believe, besides the holy prophets, who continued to warn their countrymen, and maintained, amid the corruption of their times, a devout and protesting attitude; and these formed the remnant, from whose prayers and appeals, in the land of the stranger, was to spring the good seed of a wider renovation and repentance. The restoration from Babylon ensued, and they returned an altered people. They never apostatized in the same path afterwards. The corruptions of idolatry, which deform their previous history, never tainted their character any more. From this era they became, with one brief exception, to be afterwards noticed, and they have continued to be through age after age, and in every fortune, sternly faithful to the religion of their forefathers.

But while, in the centuries preceding the captivity, there were these fluctuations of fidelity in the nation, and in the varying numbers of those who steadfastly maintained the Divine laws and institutions, and of those who for the most part neglected them, these different classes consisted of *individuals promiscuously in the nation*, and could not be regarded as parties or sects. They were not banded into distinct and hostile factions. They avowed no special forms of belief. They acted from no plan or concert. Even the careless and apostate among them did not formally renounce the faith of Israel. They did not cease from their own institutions by design, but through the seductions of a sensual imagination. We, therefore, justly mark off the long ages before the captivity, a period of some thousand years, as having in it no trace of sects.

Yet in spite of the absence of all historic allusion, and the utter improbability of such a circumstance in itself, one of the chief Jewish sects in question, the Pharisees, affect to carry up their peculiar traditions to the very time of Moses, and, indeed, boldly derive them from unwritten directions which, they assert, he gave. The place for discussing this point, if it were deemed worthy of formal discussion, would be further on. We think it, however, quite sufficient to mention that no record

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which they can adduce, of any age preceding the Captivity, nothing in the sacred writings, nothing in the apocryphal, tells of their name or existence as antecedent to the restoration from Babylon. The very affirmation of later rabbis, respecting the antiquity of their traditions, is itself a mere tradition.

We may, however, bring down the period anterior to the era of sects to a point much lower. Not only is there no allusion to these sects as existing at the restoration from Babylon, but for an interval of 350 years later, history is absolutely silent regarding their existence. There is not the faintest trace of their origin amongst those who returned to their fatherland under Zerubbabel, (B.C. 536) ; none in the times of Ezra, who set the example, nearly a century later (B.C. 457), of interpreting the text of Scripture ; none during the period of the conquests of Alexander, or of the wars which ensued after his death, between the monarchs of Egypt and of Syria, for the possession of Palestine. In this period we are not without information, often minute and graphic, respecting the state of the Jewish nation, the succession of their priests and rulers, and the remarkable men who rose to influence and power under the Egyptian monarchs. We have anecdotes, not all of them trustworthy, but such at least as to show that Jewish history did not scorn insignificant details. We are informed how Alexander the Great fell prostrate in adoration when he met the high priest, Jaddua, at the gate of Jerusalem, in consequence of a vision which he professed to have seen at Dios, in Macedonia, in which a figure like that of the chief priest, arrayed in hyacinthine robes, and bearing on its tiara the Holy Name, had exhorted him to pass over into Asia, and achieve the conquest of Persia. We are told of the successful and long administration of the high priest Onias, and of the still more gratefully remembered administration of Simon the Just, and of the omens of coming disaster which took place at his death—the doubtful acceptance of the sacrifice ; the escape into the desert of the goat which it had been the custom, since the Captivity, to throw down the precipice, to be dashed to pieces ; the great west light of the golden chandelier becoming dim, and at times extinguished ; and the languishing of the sacrificial flame, and the failing supply of the sacrificial bread for the priesthood. We have minute particulars, further, of the methods by which Joseph, the versatile nephew of Onias

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II., gained from the Egyptian king the farming of the revenues in Palestine, by outbidding others with whom he had travelled in the same caravan, and boldly naming the king and queen as his securities; and how his son Hyrcanus, by a course of similar daring, seconded by magnificent presents, acquired the same authority. We have such details as these, filling up the interval of history from the times of Ezra (B.C. 456) to those of Mattathias (B.C. 167). Some of them, it will be said, are trivial, and some may be suspected to be fabulous. But all this makes for the inference with a view to which we have adduced them, which is the improbability, if Jewish sects at this time existed, that there should not have been some hint of their presence and interference. For, granting the traditional character of much history in this period, not even tradition or fable makes mention, down to this date (B.C. 167), of the formation of sects.

We are particularly anxious to impress this fact on the reader, because it has been of late somewhat confidently asserted, that the chief of these sects, the Pharisees, imported many of their peculiar opinions from Persia, on the return from captivity. The theory propounded is, that the Pharisaic sect was silently formed in the community of the exiled tribes, in the remote provinces of the Persian empire, through contact with speculations current amongst the population which oppressed them; and further, that this sect existed amongst the 42,000 descendants of Judah and Benjamin, who returned to re-possession the land of promise under the leadership of Zerubbabel. But, to say nothing of the improbability of this hypothesis, and the total absence of every shadow of contemporary evidence in its favour, how is it possible, with the subsequent history of this restored people for the next 350 years before us, where we can trace absolutely no symptoms of the presence of a sect whose very element was enthusiasm, and that with a constant tendency to action, for us to place reliance on the strange hypothesis alluded to? Much more natural were it to acquiesce in the Pharisaic claim of their descent from the times of the great lawgiver of Israel. But the pretension is absurd, though not equally so, in both cases. Of both theories, that of the derivation from Persia, and that of the descent from earlier times, it is enough to say that they *are not the slightest* colour of support from history, while

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the former of them oversteps, we think, the wildest licence of conjecture.

Let it, therefore, be borne in mind, that the first explicit mention of sects in Jewish history dates from the time of the Maccabean contest, and not earlier. The chief of them was probably called forth into distinct form and concert in that struggle, and, having aided its achievements, survived and attained a higher development in the periods of repose and prosperity that succeeded. The rival sect is also spoken of in the same age, but both sects differed at that time in their form and names, as we shall afterwards more particularly notice, from the character assumed by them in later history. The non-existence of the element of sects amongst the Jewish people, down to this late age, is a phenomenon of singular interest in itself, as well as in its bearing on other questions; and the fact, we think, has now been fully established.

THE INFLUENCES WHICH DELAYED THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECTS AMONGST THE JEWS.


It has not been without a reference to some further questions that we have dwelt on the fact of the total absence of religious denominations amongst the Jews till towards the Maccabean age. In their rise at this stage of history, rather than at some earlier or even later epochs, there is something so singular, that it may well claim to arrest our attention. That period was after the long era of continuous miracle and inspiration, in the intermediate age betwixt the cessation of prophecy and the appearance of the Messiah. This interval of the suspension of heavenly interposition, of fading light, yet of enduring hope and expectancy, from the age of Malachi to the coming of Christ, comprehends a space of 400 years. It is after the middle of this period, about the year B.C. 160, that we obtain the first glimpse of the origin of sects among the Jews. Before this time we have no trace of antagonist schools of religious belief. Whether the institution of synagogues, which date from near the time of Ezra, originated the germ of such differences, is a point on which we can only follow conjecture. We have no historical authority for referring their existence higher than the date already mentioned. And it is further remarkable, that, with the exception of the Essenes, whose origin is involved in much obscurity,

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and may have closely followed upon that of the Pharisees and Sadducees, *no later sects*, of a speculative character, arose amongst the descendants of Israel. The grand divisions of religious thought which became apparent a century and a half before Christ, subsisted to after generations, and maintained their form and prominence unchanged to the first century of the christian era. The birth-time, therefore, of the principal sects we have to delineate, was the obscure interval between the withdrawal of Divine interposition, whether by miracle or vision, and the coming into the world of the Hope of Israel.

The age of sects, let it be observed, thus *stands alone* in the succession of Jewish story. It is a phase of active, reflecting, and by consequence divided thought, evolved *then*, and not before. It is succeeded in after times by other phases, but none of them of the precise hue and complexion, or bearing upon it the same fervid, thoughtful character as that before us. It is true, no age is alone in such sense as not to receive some impulse and determination from the period preceding; or so as not to transmit, on the other hand, a similar influence to the age which follows, attempering its spirit, and modifying its character, however dissimilar may be its external events. Thus the age of Jewish sects had doubtless its predisposing elements in the times of the restoration and of the synagogue; and we know that it sent forward its tendencies, whether for good or evil, to the age which beheld the miracles and death of the Son of God, and beheld, not much later, the downfall of the nation, and the extinction of its chief religious institutions.

We have, then, in the history of this ancient and singular people, a succession of epochs in no common degree marked and varied. But throughout the long extent of changes in their eventful history, during the space of 1200 years, we can detect no symptom of the element of thoughtfulness determining itself, as in the age we have now to consider, into antagonistic forms of belief. Each of those eras had its peculiar character. Each had its glory, and its trials. Each had its moral forces, which developed their effect in the life of the nation. But from all, till towards the close of that immediately preceding the Asmonean dynasty, the element in question is absent. The chief reasons why such element arose *not in these earlier times*, we shall here attempt, without presumption it is hoped, to determine.



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In the first period of Jewish history, the *infantine state of the people, intellectually*, would sufficiently account for the absence of speculative differences among them. When but newly emancipated from slavery, in which the mind had been degraded to the lowest level, there would be evinced little tendency to think at all, much less reflectively to analyse the objects of thought. The intellect of the mass of the Hebrew people was in the same undeveloped state as was the intellect, in that remote age, and for many centuries to come, of the Pelasgic races, which became so illustrious in arts and literature in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. After the settlement of the chosen people in Canaan, the wars of the conquest followed with the remaining tribes of the Canaanites; and subsequently, in the period of the Judges, with the more powerful nations that pressed upon their eastern frontier, and the Philistines on the west, who held the coast of the Mediterranean. The wars of the monarchy ensued between Saul and David; and in the next age, after an interval of 40 years' repose under Solomon, the unity of Israel was politically rent, and destructive contests, often renewed, between the ten northern tribes and those of Judah and Benjamin in the south, wore out the resources and energy of each kingdom. The time at length arrived for the expulsion, first of the ten tribes to a foreign land, and then, after some interval, of the remaining ones, in whom centre, henceforward, the destinies of the Hebrew race. Yet no sects in religious faith appeared throughout all this period, not even when the political union was broken. Unquestionably, the intellectual infancy of the people, and the absorbing excitements of war, were among the causes which delayed amongst them the development of speculative tendencies. Knowledge is the product of meditative leisure, leisure of wealth, wealth of commerce, commerce of security. A people must gain repose and competence before they can turn their thoughts to the problems of philosophy.

But we have to remark, with respect to the Hebrew people, that, although at first degraded in intellect by slavery, they speedily became, if not at once in the highest sense a thoughtful, yet an instructed people. The Divine oracles were communicated to them with supernatural evidence and with overwhelming solemnity. Their institutions and laws were an

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education—an intellectual discipline; not to a class merely, but to the whole people. They had forms of thought revealed to them more awakening, more sublime, than all that philosophy has since developed. They became familiar with a poetry such as the fancy of later ages has not surpassed. They had also, amid the successive wars which occupied them, periods of rest and prosperity, in which opulence poured in upon them from the Indian seas, and the voice of mirth and song resounded through their borders. They thus became, on the highest questions, an informed and thoughtful people, at a time when the nations of Europe were still sunk in barbarism.

Thus the first conditions necessary to speculation and to varying sentiment very early existed, though not without interruption, among the Israelites, and became more and more developed in the progress of their history. These conditions are an awakened and informed intellect, joined to the acquisition of stores of knowledge on which intellect can further operate. These stores of thought went on augmenting in opulence, and with increasing brilliance casting forward the rays of prescience to ages yet to come, up to the time of the restoration from the Babylonish captivity. Yet no sects appear! The positive sources of diversity in sentiment existed, which in all other nations similarly situated have sufficed to awaken to varying thought; yet still without producing such results amongst the descendants of Israel. The Greeks in Ionia no sooner found leisure to think than they began to differ in the results of thought. Their opinions exhibit a unity at no period. Their different and contradictory sects date from the remotest times of their intellectual history.* In the same age, Thales, Anaximander, and Pythagoras set in action different currents of speculation. At a subsequent period, and with more conspicuous effect, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno originated hostile schools on metaphysical and moral questions, of which the influence is not yet exhausted. Amongst the dwellers in Palestine it was not so. Awakened, instructed, and disciplined, the course of thought among them kept on in one channel. The unity of the national belief on the highest questions was not broken till after twelve centuries of their national history.

What interfering influence then was it which retarded thus

* Ritter, i, p. 265.

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long the manifestation of diversified thought? As we have seen that it was not, after the first epochs of Jewish history, the intellectual sluggishness of the people, nor their want of sublime and exciting themes of speculation—what unnoticed element was it which kept speculation, whilst intelligent and free, yet one in its result and form? The force which mainly retarded such a result must have been *the continuing presence of some paramount authority to which the intellect unhesitatingly submitted*. To no human dictation will the mind, in its inmost assent, spontaneously bow; but if there come to it communications which it deems infallible, its acquiescence is instantaneous. It was the presence of revelation amongst the Jews, the continuance of inspired utterance to the times of their re-establishment in their own country, which enforced the unity of the national belief. So long as this paramount authority remained with them, they evinced no tendency to schism. It was not till after inspiration had ceased in its living communications—not till after its last representatives, Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi, had descended to the graves—that forms of varying belief or observance began to show themselves in Judea.

This we hold to be a fact of striking import in the history of Jewish sects. Some causes there *must* have been for this long delay in the appearance of contending schools of speculation which date so early in the progress of other nations. We have shown that it arose not from the want of intellectual development, or of incentives to earnest thought, whether in the heavenly communications given to the Jews or in the marvelous events of their changeful story. The presence of a paramount authority to dictate infallibly on religious questions would sufficiently account for the uniformity exhibited in national sentiment. And if we find that the divarication of belief is absolutely postponed through long ages till after the cessation of prophetic teaching, and that not before, but very soon after, *allowing an interval for the gradual decline of its impressions*, the age of sects commences; we have in this historical fact a coincidence of much significance between the affirmed duration of the prophetic period and the mental history of the people amongst whom it had existed. To sum up the whole argument: we find the diversities naturally resulting from the uncontrolled workings of the mind ~~not~~

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strangely postponed to a late era of national progress ; we ask the cause of this delay ; we have independent historical evidence of the presence of a controlling element ; and finally, we have the evidence that such control was really exerted confirmed in the fact that, very soon after this influence ceased in its living communications, the long-checked tendencies to varying opinions came powerfully into action.

THE POSITIVE CAUSES WHICH GAVE ORIGIN AND FORM TO THE CHIEF JEWISH SECTS.

Having attempted an explanation of the circumstances which postponed the date of the Jewish sects, we have now to assign the more immediate causes which operated in their origin, and which determined their peculiar form and character.

The cessation of prophetic teaching, the disappearance from the world of the last of the holy men who bore the attestations of Heaven in their instructions, removed a powerful element of control. But what, it may be asked, were the positive tendencies ready to come into play when this check was withdrawn ? The primary tendencies must be sought in the innate activity of the human mind itself, when exerted under different conditions of natural force, intelligence, and discipline. This reflective activity, in any given number of minds, must, in these circumstances, vary in its results. If it be an object to ensure unity of thought, human intellects must either be guided by some absolute infallible authority, or they must be subjected to the same precise steps, progressively, of acquisition and discipline ; and even then, their wayward independence will become apparent in striking differences on some point or other. Nothing can preclude these differences, or contract the range of questions on which they arise, except either the force of demonstration, as in the sciences ; or the growing precision and number of sound reasonings, as in moral speculation ; or, lastly, the presence of an infallible rule of thought, clearly propounded, as in revelation. The Jews possessed the last, not only in record, but in living oracles of interpretation and appeal. When, accordingly, this influence ceased in its more palpable and immediate action, then came into play the inherent tendencies of the intellect, so that, even had no other causes operated, there must have resulted some characteristic forms of dissension.

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But, for the origination of the Jewish sects, and for the precise cast and complexion they assumed, we have to look to causes of still more peculiar operation. The first of these was the institution of the synagogue; the second and most powerful was the zeal for the sacred oracles and observances kindled in the national struggle against Antiochus.

It cannot be doubted that the institution of synagogues exerted a direct and powerful influence in awakening the freer activity of the popular mind. Such an institution was without example in the history of other nations. It consisted of stated assemblies, convened in the towns and villages of Judea, for the purpose of hearing the word of God read and interpreted. Ezra, on the return from Babylon, commenced this practice of interpreting the law at Jerusalem, merely giving the meaning of the Hebrew in the now more familiar dialect of the Chaldee. It was subsequently copied in other towns and localities, and, in short, wherever a sufficient number of devout men could be assembled. By degrees, moreover, the range of interpretation was enlarged into something of exposition and remark on the general scope of the passage read. Thus a popular institute of a directly didactic character, wholly unknown to the other nations of antiquity, was insensibly formed among the Jews, which must have tended greatly to excite and inform their minds, and to interest them in the stores of Divine knowledge in their possession. By means of it, the intellect of the people would be awakened, not by startling speculations, but by a continuous stream of simple and direct teaching, fetched from infallible truth. That this sabbatical exposition of the law and the prophets had a powerful effect in rousing their minds to reflective thought, cannot be doubted; and no less certain is it, that the popular intelligence in the principles of the inspired record, and the more familiar acquaintance thus attained with its sublime truths, laid the foundation of that undying attachment to the Scriptures which so nobly braved the persecutions of Antiochus, and which has so honourably distinguished the Jewish race to this day. This system of teaching contributed also, indirectly, to the formation of sects, by exciting an independent spirit of speculation, and may justly rank, therefore, among the causes which tended to their development.

The last and most powerful cause was the element which

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by persecution—the intense zeal for the Divine oracles and institutions awakened by the attempt of Antiochus to abolish them, and to substitute the mythology and rites of Greece in their room. By what motives influenced, whether from pure hatred of the religion of the Bible, or because he regarded it as an obstacle to the complete subjugation of the people, it is immaterial to determine; but this tyrant of western Asia became suddenly possessed with a mania for the extirpation of the Scriptures, and of every vestige of religious usage which could remind the Jewish nation of their former belief and former history. Nor did his project appear at the beginning so hopeless. A long period of repose and prosperity had brought on a spirit of indifference and worldliness. The Jews were no longer an isolated people. Their country had become the battle-ground of frequent wars between Egypt and Syria. They engaged ardently in traffic, and visited other lands for purposes of gain. They took up their temporary residence in the chief cities of Asia Minor and Egypt. They became familiar with the fascinating literature and mythology of Greece. Their chief men frequented the courts of Antioch and Alexandria, and boldly played the game of political intrigue, sometimes for themselves, sometimes to avert danger from their country. There, also, they first learnt to endure the aspect of idolatry, and by degrees began, some of them, to conform to heathen usages.

After various wars, not so much with the Jews themselves as with the Ptolemies Philopator and Epiphanes, who contested the possession of Palestine, the Syrian monarchs had at length become masters of the country. And if the most able of the descendants of Seleucus—Antiochus Epiphanes—had been content with the political subjugation of the people, and trusted to the effect of foreign intercourse and example to introduce, with the manners, the mythology of Greece, it seemed, at one time, not improbable that he would have succeeded. But when, in his intense hatred of the Divine oracles, he proceeded to compel a whole people to renounce all they held true and sacred, and to conform to heathenism, he roused a spirit of resistance which baffled his ~~furthest~~ assaults. Yet his first measures were but too successful: ~~he~~ *he* ~~had~~ *had* ~~abolished~~ *abolished* ~~the~~ *the* ~~worship~~ *worship* ~~of~~ *of* ~~the~~ *the* ~~true~~ *true* ~~God~~ *God* ~~in~~ *in* ~~the~~ *the* ~~provinces~~ *provinces*. *He had suppressed the synagogues in nearly every town.*

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village. The Scriptures had ceased to be openly read, and the possession of them was punished as a crime. At Jerusalem he had despoiled the temple of its sacred furniture and treasures, had prohibited the daily sacrifice, and finally, in a spirit of insane fury, had consummated his triumph by defiling the temple with every odious pollution, and afterwards re-consecrating it to the worship of Jupiter. Thus was fulfilled, in its earlier reference, the desolation predicted by Daniel. The abomination, the image of European idolatry, was enthroned in the holy place, and worshipped by many of the Jews themselves, some through terror, and others through base apostasy from the faith of their fathers.

The worship of Jehovah was suppressed for the space of three and a half years. The work of extirpation had, however, to be enforced in detail in the remoter districts. The national faith, though proscribed, was not relinquished. The national spirit, subdued for a time, was not extinct. A single spark struck forth in the last moment, by the hand of persecution, kindled the enthusiasm of a whole people.

At Modin, a small town west of Jerusalem, situate on an eminence in view of the Mediterranean, dwelt Mattathias, a man famed for his integrity and firm adherence to the religion of his fathers. To him Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, resorted, and endeavoured at first to win his compliance to heathen worship by persuasion. With the aged Mattathias such persuasion was useless; but another of his countrymen was prevailed upon to commence the act of sacrifice to Jupiter. The attempt was fatal to himself, and to the officer who instigated his impiety. The old man's indignation could no longer brook apostasy and oppression. A stroke from his powerful arm and keen weapon laid the offender dead at the altar, and another blow destroyed the Syrian officer. The first step in resistance was now taken. Mattathias retired, accompanied by his five heroic sons, to the nearest mountains, and summoned his countrymen round him. The signal was joyfully obeyed. The war of the Maccabees followed, in which the aged father and three of his sons successively commanded. Zeal for the Scriptures resuscitated the nation from despondence. The yoke of the tyrant was broken, Israel once more became free, and the worship of God was restored.

The point to be remarked in this contest is, that it was not

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so much a struggle for their freedom as a people, as an insurrection in defence of their holy institutions and oracles. It was the deep-seated conviction of the Divine origin of their religion which sustained them in a warfare of protracted and various resistance, which ended in their liberty and independence. It was a war to save the record of heavenly truth from extinction. The feeling of the whole nation became intensely centred in this, that the knowledge of the early communications of the Deity to man should not be lost to after ages. This object rose paramount to all interests of a temporal nature. Hence, the zeal for the Scriptures in their integrity, and for the observances therein enjoined, grew to a pitch of enthusiasm which made light of suffering and death, provided only their Scriptures were safe, and the holy duties of religion restored in their families, their synagogues, and in the temple of God.

At this point it is we are to date, with nearest approach to accuracy, the origination of sects, which play henceforward a prominent part in Jewish history. The enthusiasm of this crisis developed the principles of the Chasidim; the subsequent decline or reaction of this zeal in the higher ranks resulted in the antagonistic sect of the Zadikim; while a third sect arose, not improbably from the collisions of both, and free from their defects and extravagances, that of the Karaites, which comprised the more devout and spiritual portion of the Jewish church.

Under these names we recognise the germs or earlier forms of the Jewish sects. When, in the reign of Alexander Janneus, nearly a century later, the chief of them assume political prominence, under the names of Pharisees and Sadducees, we discern the same leading tendencies, but with a fuller development. If we mark their character further on, in the times of our Lord, they will appear, while professing the same speculative principles, to have passed into a state of moral degeneracy, which it would be unjust to impute to their earlier forms. There are thus three stages distinctly marked in the progress of these sects, and characterised respectively by some ruling element. The first exhibits them under the impulse or reaction of feeling, yet not without difference on points of belief; the second, as antagonistic schools of opinion; the third, as sects, *the one unfaithful to its professed belief, the other more deeply plunged in unbelief, and both tainted with profligacy.* It is

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evident, therefore, with regard to these sects, that the history of one period cannot represent accurately the characteristics of another. Much may be true of the last stage which would be wholly false if affirmed of the first. These phases, therefore, require to be conceived and delineated apart. Thus alone can we gain accurate results in our inquiries. It is in this successive method of treatment that we have proposed to ourselves the exhibition of the subject. The remainder of this paper, accordingly, will be occupied with the delineation of the earlier forms of Jewish sects, as Chasidim, Zadikim, and Karaites. We hope, on some future occasion, to describe their subsequent stages.

THE CHASIDIM.

The Chasidim, or *the holy*, were so called by themselves, as aiming at a higher perfection in religious duties than the letter of the law required. They were also called zealots; but in their case, and in this stage of their history, this designation involved not censure, but the contrary. Their enthusiastic regard for the Divine oracles sought for itself fuller expression and embodiment by the addition of minute regulations devised in harmony with the ceremonials of the written law, but still wholly unwarranted. Their zeal sprang not originally from fondness for traditions, but from faith in Scripture, from reverence for them as alone divine, and from attachment to the usages there enjoined. To these usages, traditions were designed as supplements. Every thing new was sedulously framed in analogy to the old, under the illusive notion of carrying out still more perfectly the design and principle of each.

There is a zeal springing from a plenary persuasion as regards revealed truth, and from an ardent devotedness to the will of God as therein delineated, which is apt to seek for itself some new, more difficult, and higher form of self-consecration. This zeal is distant enough, at the beginning, from that blind fondness for these forms themselves, and that confidence in them as something infallible, into which, with the decline of genuine faith and spirituality, it afterwards passes, and remains as a besotted superstition. We have a striking example of this in the history of the christian church. We see there how the mistaken impulses of an exalted piety gave origin to traditions which have absorbed to themselves almost all the confidence, as well as zeal, of those who retain them. When

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once the palpable limit of the record is overpassed, no further barrier remains to arrest our steps. The same licence which might be pleaded for adding anything of our own, would give equal sanction for adding more; and imagination has no resting-point in her inventions. Hence the inevitable tendency is to progressive augmentation, and to concentrate on the traditions superadded the whole heart's devotion.

Yet at the earlier stage, this transfer of reverence from the scriptural to the traditional had not taken place; and hence we discern in the Chasidim the character of devout and true-hearted contenders for the faith of their fathers, without the extreme and ignoble addictedness to tradition which distinguished their descendants. Their character as a party, at this early period, entitles them, we think, to almost unmingled regard. Their distinction was self-sacrificing zeal for the truth; their error, the introduction of unwarranted traditions, though at first in a moderate degree; and unspeakably, we think, did their excellencies, in the former respect, exceed their failings in the latter.

We think it well to mark this feature in their early history, that their faith was sincere and deep-seated, and that supplementary traditions were rather a product of their purer zeal than its stimulating cause. The Chasidim received with profound conviction and reverence the sacred oracles. They sought not to dilute or explain away their meaning; but, in the fulness of their regard, meditated them incessantly, without, however, holding in check the eager impulses of the imagination. The plain sense did not always satisfy the cravings of devout fancy. The figurative glowed into reality, the allusive expanded into allegory, the more obscure was magnified into mystery. Ceremonials, under this process, acquired tenfold depth of meaning, and required auxiliary rules to fulfil their import. Holy men, learned in sacred lore, began to insist on these rules, and multiplied their number, by comments in writing, as well as orally in the synagogues. They thus superadded a system of religious casuistry and will-worship to the precepts of revelation. But still, at this stage, in the time of the great national conflict, and in the practice of such men as Mattathias of Modin, and old Eleazar of Jerusalem, of whom we shall have more to say presently, the field of their investigation lay chiefly in the Scriptures, and in

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the great principles of law and mercy therein unfolded. The ruling force of their religious being was zeal for the truth of God, and not fondness for superfluous ceremonial. Tradition had not yet increased to a magnitude which, by attracting the chief interest to itself, became fatal to faith in that primary basis of truth, in reverence for which it was originally compiled. The Chasidim were the ancestors of Pharisees; but they were not Pharisees.

It was, however, in their heroic self-sacrifice that the Chasidim stood pre-eminent amongst their countrymen. They threw themselves into the struggle against Antiochus with a determination which took no account of danger or death. The chief strength of the forces under Mattathias and his sons consisted of this sect. They braved peril under the stern confidence of predestinated victory, or of predestinated glory. They encountered every sacrifice and suffering in that protracted war, with a union, a pertinacity, and a magnanimity which showed how the convictions and hopes fetched from the certainties of revelation overmatched the direst physical assaults. By a comparatively small force, thus animated, the strength of a great monarchy was broken. Unlike the puritans of England in many respects, the Chasidim were not their inferiors in lofty daring for the truth of God. On the mountain summits, whence they poured their numbers down on the ranks of Gorgias, or in the retreats and caverns where they re-assembled after defeat, or again on the open field of stricken battle—in all the terrible vicissitudes of warfare, the Chasidim fought alone for the law of Jehovah; in all they were animated by the faith of Scripture, and advanced to death or to victory with the same intrepidity, cheered by the songs of Zion, desolate though now the temple lay.

But long before this time, before the right moment for open resistance had arrived, and while as yet fortitude had to perform the tasks of hope, the Chasidim shrunk not from the ordeal of suffering which preceded the Maccabean insurrection. While some basely succumbed to terror and conformed to heathenism, these ancestors of the Pharisees remained faithful to God and to their country, and willingly bore torture and death. The extremes of age and youth met in martyrdom, and the mother's tenderness submitted to the loftier calls of faith and patriotism. Eleazar, a scribe of Jerusalem, had

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reached the age of ninety years when these dark days fell on his country. His youth had witnessed the tranquil and prosperous times of the second Onias. He had afterwards seen his country prosper under the mild rule of the Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes. He had outlived this happy time. He had lived to witness the extinction of the light of Israel. The precious roll of Scripture was unfolded no more, or but stealthily. The grave teaching of the synagogue had ceased, and the solemn assembly; and then had also ceased the flame of sacrifice and the songs of worship. The temple now resounded to names which it was a horror to mention or think of. He had lived to witness this when his prayer would have been long earlier to have sunk into his tomb. But if he had outlived the happier days of his native land, he had not survived the hale energy of his own spirit. Courage, faith, and love for his country, remained to him fresh and holy as in the youthful time when his voice had mingled happiest in the choirs of Zion. And these principles, blended with a considerate wisdom and humility, determined the old man to take his stand resolutely in the trials of his country, and to fail in nothing which should attest his fearless belief in God and in his mercy. Though he might have pleaded the exemption of age in this crisis, and left the sublimer parts of the drama to younger men, his zeal for the truth would not brook this. The old man's heart told him that it became him to do some signal thing in this crisis which should speak to his country when he was no more; that he must add the honour of martyrdom to the glory of years; that by the meek endurance of torture and death he must summon back, with God's help, the spirit of hope to the people; in a word, to use his own noble language, he judged that he ought to leave *a notable example to such as be young, to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws.* And rightly did he deem of himself in all this. His faith told him he was equal to it. He had not long to wait for the moment of trial. His unshrinking bearing marked him for the next victim. On his refusal to comply with heathen rites, his tottering form is submitted to the scourge and the rack. He braves suffering by his smiles. His hope in God is mighty. He enjoins courage to his countrymen. He expires; his broken form sinks to the earth, and the grey locks of age lie mingled in dust and gore.

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There were many witnesses of that spectacle besides Athenæus, the Syrian commissioner, and his soldiers. It was designed, like preceding scenes of cruelty, some of them too horrid to relate, to break the spirit of the people, and chiefly of the Chasidim, from whose ranks, martyrs in largest numbers had offered themselves. And yet the lesson these scenes inspired was not fear. Even the weaker sex refused not to die in the cause of their religion and laws. In the circle of sorrowing but undismayed countenances, of all ranks and ages, which witnessed the last pang and heard the last injunction of the old Chasidim martyr, was one noble-minded woman, the honoured mother of seven brave sons, all of them now at her side, their hearts throbbing with the same feelings of mingled sadness, resentment, courage, and prayer. The youngest of them was a mere boy. These youths escape not the persecutor's eye. They testify too forwardly their sympathy for their father's old friend. They reply too eagerly with eyes and voice to the challenge of his last thrilling words and noble example. These young men look as if they ought, more properly, to be rescued by Providence, to mingle their valour with that of Judas and his brothers, in the coming insurrection. These destined chiefs of the impending struggle were themselves, probably, standing near in the throng. On the sons of the widow, however, the alternative is forthwith forced of honouring the principles they professed by martyrdom. They must either join in idol sacrifice, or follow the fate of the aged saint, whose disfigured corpse lies before them. The scourge is prepared, and other forms of torture are in reserve. Their hearts are firm, but they look on their mother's face, and think of her hard lot. Will she bear to part with them? Will she endure to witness successively their sufferings and expiring pangs? But she, too, has the faith and fortitude of the Chasidim. She answers bravely to their thoughts. She urges their decision, the decision of all. She is prepared for the martyrdom, in her own breast, of yielding up her all in the cause of God. The tragedy proceeds. Each of her sons is brought to the torture. She embraces each in succession, and tells him not to fear death; for the good die not, but only change their form of being. They sink one by one, all save the youngest, under the slow torments devised for them, and with one farewell glance on their still calm mother, resign

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their spirits to the mercy of the Allseeing One. The youngest boy is yet at her side, the last of his race; and the struggle of her affection seems renewed and concentrated in him, as the lone link of her existence, and the representative now of those that lie before her in death, deformity, and blood. But she fails not. His appeal for her assent is loftily answered. Death in the righteous cause is glory. Let him, too, lie by his brothers. God will not forsake him. God will defend his cause. He will accept these consecrated gifts of her faith and piety. She will not be parted from them long. The sacrifice is made. The youngest has sunk, unshrinking in hope, under sufferings. His eyes are closed, his lips sealed in death. If she asks the privilege of interment for the mangled forms of her children, she evinces no sadness, except in unbidden tears. Her boys died as they *should* do, and she is proud to be called their mother!

THE ZADIKIM.

When two sects seem formed on a principle of mutual dissent, it is scarcely necessary, nay it is somewhat difficult, for the writer, having touched on the peculiarities of one, to give any independent or detailed description of the other. We must not, however, slur over the chief characteristics of the Zadikim, even if it be at some risk of repetition. But our sketch on other grounds demands brevity.

The import of the designation they assumed is "*righteous*;" as that of the Chasidim is "*holy*." The Zadikim professed a rigid observance of the law of Moses, but declined compliance with any additional imposition. They were thus far a protestant community, as being opposed to traditions; but at this point the resemblance ceases; for their protest sprang not so much from earnest faith in divine truth, and a horror of human attempts to tamper with it, as from an aversion to the practical rigour enjoined by the Chasidim, and the coldness generally of their religious feeling. In their insistence on the limit of Scripture, as well as in hollowness of profession, the Zadikim were the proper ancestors of the Sadducees; and not only were they such philosophically, by analogy of views and character, but historically also, being the sect whose immediate followers assumed that name. That the Zadikim, however, at *this early stage*, reduced their creed still further, that they proceeded to the denial of angelic existence, and of much,

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other truth which must have forced itself on their thoughts, within that narrower portion of the sacred canon which they have been supposed exclusively to regard, we have no ground for assuming. The infidelity which is the reproach of their later history had not then infected them as a party. They adhered languidly, but still, we think, on sincere conviction, to their religious institutions and worship, as sanctioned by the Scriptures. Unspeakably superior in practice, and perhaps in clear convictions, to those Israelites in earlier times who seemed ever ready to exchange their hallowed institutions for idolatry; superior to the zealots of their own times, in fidelity to the limit of inspiration, and as yet free from the scepticism of their descendants; the Zadikim appear to merit no high admiration for earnestness of thought, or for zeal and daring in defence of religion.

Yet there are not wanting considerations which might constrain us to form a more lenient judgment of the Zadikim than their position historically, as the source of Sadduceism, might suggest. If they equalled not their countrymen of the Chasidim party in zeal, they were at the beginning not without zeal. They were not unbelievers. They were not, at first, slow to defend their religion, or to suffer in its cause. Whatever they subsequently became, they inherited the faith of their fathers. They were, equally with the fervent Chasidim, descendants of the devout band who had returned from the Captivity, who had given a new beginning, under God, to the fortunes of Israel, and who had rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem and reared once more the temple of God.

It is very doubtful whether the origin of this sect commences so early as that of the Chasidim. Its character bears the impress of protest and resistance to some previously organised and powerful party. The absence of distinct allusion to the Zadikim in the Maccabean wars would suggest that its origin dates subsequently to this crisis. It was probably the reaction of the intense enthusiasm and stern rigour which lifted the Chasidim to dominance in this period, that, in the following times of repose and enjoyment, issued in the formation of a dissident but smaller sect among the wealthier ranks. As, before the crisis referred to, the Chasidim had attained no prominence, and were rather a class dispersed than a party organised, so the Zadikim, in the next generation, were brought

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into concert and resistance by the extreme measures adopted by the earlier sect in carrying out its principles. Before this time, therefore, the Zadikim were mingled with their countrymen in common efforts to save their country, and, doubtless, bore some part in the sufferings and struggles of their day. They were firm believers in the divine origin of the Scriptures. They adhered to these exclusively as the rule of faith and practice. A contest, therefore, in which the very existence of these was in peril, could not have been surveyed by them with indifference.

We have been anxious to do justice to this sect, and to rescue its purer form from the opprobrium of its later development. As the source, which their party truly was, of a tendency which, at first protestant, became in the next stage speculative, and finally passed into infidelity, the Zadikim are in danger of losing, in the verdict of history, their early claims to respect. The time, unfortunately, but too soon arrives, in their progress and development, when their faults become more apparent, and over-balance their merit as defenders of the exclusive claims of the inspired record.

THE KARAITES.

It is not improbable that the reader, while reflecting on the religious history of the Jews from the restoration to the times of the New Testament narrative, has often asked the question, in what part of the Jewish community centred the purer belief or rather the spiritual element of the church of God in this obscure period? We see the nation variously impelled by the forces of sects. We see its union rent; its repose continually broken; its prosperity hindered; its very existence endangered; its ruin at last consummated by the influence of religious factions. In earlier times we see the elements of sect in their purer forms, but incorporated in parties so prominent as to engross seemingly the whole breadth of history. Yet, as we are not informed that these parties absorbed to themselves the whole of the population, or that they comprehended exclusively the whole religious element of the nation, we are tempted to ask, what was the religious state of the people *not* thus banded in sects? *and whether there did not descend, in the stream of their history, some purer current which either comprehended the*

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whole remainder left by the Chasidim and Zadikim, or was itself a third element or sect *in* that remainder; leaving the ambiguous portions on the margin in the undefined state of a low population generally—a population tending to profligacy, and liable, as in later times, to be impelled hither and thither by the influence of the sects in the ascendant.

We are not, we think, without something of a clue to the solution of this difficulty. If, for example, in looking more narrowly into Jewish history, we discover traces of a third religious community more spiritual in belief and practice than either of the others, and, moreover, evincing the working of a spiritual principle, the element sought after is found; and we are not only introduced to the knowledge of a people which may have had great influence on society, but we find in its noble qualities and progress the very church of God in the midst of Israel. This church of God, in ancient times, we think we discover in the character and principles of the Karaites.

The notices we have of this sect are scanty. We gain but a glimpse of their presence in some passing allusions. Yet these suffice to distinguish them alike from the Pharisees and Sadducees, as well as from their predecessors. They were essentially agreed with the Zadikim in the rejection of traditions; but they bear evidence of something more positive and intelligent in their principles, and are entitled to rank as an independent and more estimable religious party. The Zadikim simply disallowed traditions on the ground of their being unsupported by Scripture, and still more from repugnance to a rigorous discipline. But the slight notices we possess of the Karaites present them to us as a more earnest and devout sect, formed on the principle of guarding the sufficiency and integrity of Scripture, but also most seriously devoted to its truths and ordinances. Thus defined, they are a sect largely comprising the best elements of the other two sects. As earnest in belief as the Chasidim, but defining that belief within the limit of inspired statement, these Karaites constituted the puritans of the Jewish church. Theirs was a positive faith in the truths which the other sects affirmed to be the grand basis of religion. They derived spiritual life from the Divine word. They were on their guard, further, not to allow any principles therein contained to be practically neglected.

The Karaites have sometimes been identified with the

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Sadducees, and their claim to rank as a distinct sect disputed. But no one who will closely scrutinize the tendencies apparent in their character will fall into this mistake. Their affinity to the Sadducees is that of the letter only; in spiritual feeling they differed from them as life from death. They were averse alike to the Sadducees and the Pharisees. They dreaded the rationalism of the one and the superstition of the other. We deny not that there may have been many good men, in their earlier history, among the Zadikim and Chasidim, and especially the latter; but we must regard the Karaites as the right thinking portion of the church of God among the Jews. They continued the purity and power of godliness in its uncorrupted ancient forms, as it was exhibited before the distorting influences of sects came into operation. The Karaites kept themselves aloof from these influences. They emulated the simplicity of their forefathers; and we cannot help regarding them as the more genuine descendants of the holy remnant of the Captivity; the devout men who had shared the intercourse prayers, and teachings of the latest of the prophets—Daniel Zechariah, and Haggai; and who had attained their last earthly wish when, amid thanksgiving and tears, they beheld the second temple consecrated. They became known under a new designation as a sect, simply from the necessity which arose of distinguishing them from the other sects. They would else have been spoken of only as devout Israelites.

They sought no prominence as a party. They had no wish except to be allowed, in quiet and obscurity, to serve God. This kept them from public view, as they had no worldly aim to stimulate them to concert in action. Like the Paulicians in the dark ages, after the general depravation of christian teaching; like the Waldenses, to whom these imparted their evangelical principles; or like the Lollards in England; the Karaites were indeed a class, bound by an essential identity of principles, and by the sympathies springing from these principles, but they were not distinguished by the formal compact and concert of a sect. They were elements dispersed through society. Although powerful by the influence of their character as individuals and small communities, their presence as a party is sometimes scarcely discernible. Yet they could not be *extinguished*, for they were the church of God; and the *secret of their strength* lay in their remoteness from worldly

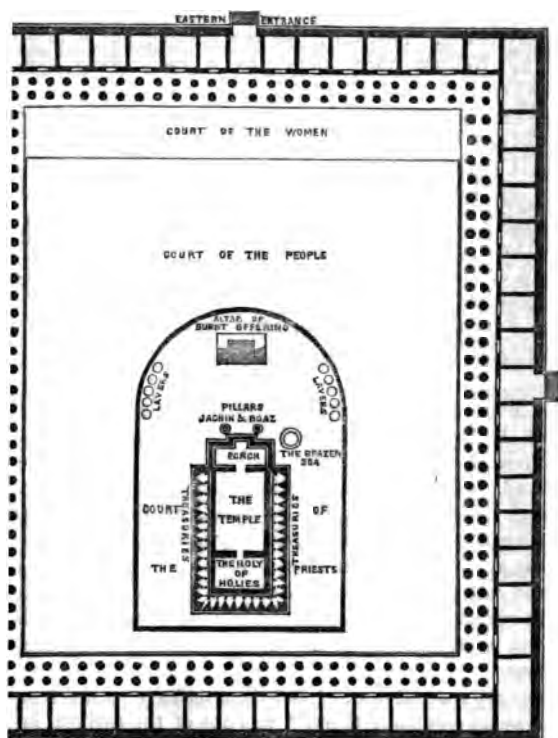
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aims and strifes. In the shade, their virtues flourished, and gained admiration and regard. Scattered through all ranks of society, but chiefly occupying its lower stations, everywhere their constancy in the truth made itself felt. Not often strong in numbers, they were, from the circumstances of their lot, always stronger in reality than in public recognition. Like the seven thousand who knelt not to Baal, and ranking, in fact, as the genuine followers of these devout Israelites, they maintained the continuity of the church of God in perilous times. The succession of these devout families continued to the times of Christ; and in this succession we are constrained to place the family of Bethlehem, and all the holy families dispersed through the rural districts of Galilee and Judea. As the parents of our Lord, and those of John the Baptist, and such devout-minded Jews as Simeon and Anna the prophetess, could have had no spiritual affinity with either the Pharisees or Sadducees; and though it may be that the *name* of *Karaites* was not much in use, or was convertible with the designation of "just and devout men;" we are naturally led to the conclusion that these saints without guile in Israel, as distinguished from other communities, were truly *Karaites*; and that from amongst these, moreover, would be derived many of the families who early attached themselves to the Saviour's ministry.

But we have already carried forward our notice of this sect beyond the chronological limit to which we confined our survey of the earlier ones. This was natural, on account of the *uniformity of principle and character maintained in this sect* alone. It is the continuous line of simple faith and piety, sustained alone by the Scriptures and the Spirit of God. But in the more prominent sects, this sameness is not maintained. On the contrary, they, being dependent on the outward and variable in human policy, and not exclusively on unchanging truth and the teaching of the Spirit, exhibit mutability and vicissitude. They pass on from phase to phase; and, unhappily, their progress is to stages of development wherein we behold in them much less to command regard than in that opening phase of their character with which we have been occupied in these pages.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON,

ITS ERECTION, ARCHITECTURE, AND DEDICATION.



Ground Plan of Solomon's Temple.

century or two ago the knowledge and worship of the
 ing and true God had been confined to a small strip of
 land and to an insignificant people, and their worship and
 offerings, moreover, were well known to date from remote
 antiquity. This admitted fact would be looked upon as offering a

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problem of great historical interest. Like ancient fossil remains, however, the interest grows if we look at the same problem through thirty centuries, and carry it as far back into the depths of antiquity as the light of history shines. Just such a people were the Hebrews, exhibiting precisely these religious peculiarities. All other nations, Asiatic and European, were covered with the dark shadow of idolatry and polytheism. Eastward, we see nothing but nature-worship. The Hebrew race alone, as a race, were monotheists. Whether journeying in the desert, or settled in the land promised to the patriarchs, they acknowledged only one living and true God. If, then, we travel back to the days of Solomon, and suppose ourselves to visit all the temples then existing upon earth, and ask to whose honour they were raised, we shall find but *one* erected to Him "whom the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain." It is this we intend, to the best of our ability, to bring before the reader, not excluding those collateral topics which may throw life into the picture, and thus, as a whole, impress it more vividly on his imagination.

RETROSPECTIVE.

Four hundred years had already elapsed since the days of Joshua. Under his leadership, sanctioned by the Divine presence, the Israelites had entered into the promised land. Their previous habits had been migratory. They had followed the pillar of cloud, as they journeyed from place to place, and, wherever they halted, gathered around it as the symbol of an ever-present God. The tabernacle, however, did not suggest the idea of rest and of a settled condition. It might be taken down and moved to various localities. It was significant of change and transition. Yet how momentous is the instruction we here receive! *The people were not to journey without God.* "Let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them,"* was one of the earliest injunctions given to Moses. They were to feel that the Eternal was nigh unto them. The indistinctness of thought and emotion that might have come over a nation so rude, if left to bare contemplation, was prevented by a central point being given, where all the families of Israel were more immediately, through inspired agents, to hear God's will, and to blend their boliest

* Exod. xxv. 8.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

sympathies with each other, as, from the uttermost parts of the camp, they bent both eye and heart towards the spot over which hung, in awful splendour, the glory of the Lord. They beheld no *similitude*—were to make no graven image. A visible theatre of Divine action was, it is true, before them; but they were apprised that this was no circumscription of the presence of Jehovah.

Soon after taking possession of a part of Canaan, the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh—a city in the tribe of Ephraim.* There the ark of God continued for nearly four centuries, from Joshua to Eli. It was here, as it had been in the wilderness, a centre of national unity. A common faith invariably cements a community. Every pious Israelite, therefore, thought reverentially of that locality, as bearing witness to the faithfulness, and love, and abiding care of the God of Abraham. Still the long period to which we have adverted was one of war and commotion. The tribes had, indeed, been dwelling in cities and tilling the land. They had reaped their harvests, offered the first-fruits unto God, enjoyed their Sabbaths, often been victorious over their enemies, and, but for their own sins and unfaithfulness, would much earlier have seen them prostrate and tributary, instead of meeting frequent defeats at their hands. They had, however, by no means sure and quiet possession of their heritage. The book of Judges is a chronicle of triumphs and disasters, the latter falling on them because they did evil in the sight of the Lord. They intermarried with the Canaanites, and served their gods. Intestine jealousies and wrongs marred their peace, and Midianites, Edomites, and Philistines made them a prey. The people were by no means *one*.

We have spoken of the tabernacle and the ark at Shiloh as tending to theocratic unity. There were other elements that worked in the same direction—such as the prohibition of idolatry, making it a capital offence; the institution of a priesthood to be confined to the family of Aaron, other Levites, a sacerdotal class, but not *sacerdotes*, discharging all spiritual offices *not* pertaining to the altar; the appropriation of forty-eight cities—thirteen for the sons of Aaron, and thirty-five for the rest—averaging four cities to a tribe;† all these were evidently moral and ecclesiastical bonds of great importance. A regal headship

* Josh. xviii. 1.

† Josh. xxi.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

wishing only to carry out God's will, would likewise have helped united action. It was only, however, with the ascendancy of David, and even then not without serious checks, that one soul seemed for a time to animate the nation. Being in the prime of life, indeed only thirty years of age at the death of Saul, and already anointed to the high office, he was immediately chosen king over Judah, and about seven years afterwards, king over all Israel.

Only a brief space had elapsed after this auspicious event, ere "David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is Jebus, where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the land."* At that time it was still in the possession of idolators, although some parts—perhaps the lower—had once been taken by Israelites, and burnt with fire.† Zion, the upper part, was now soon captured and fortified, and was thenceforth called "the city of David."

After effecting this important conquest, the Philistines did not leave him undisturbed; still he found time for other thoughts than those of war and military organization. Let the reader mark his devout words, and weigh his appeal to the people. Having consulted his chief officers, David said "to all the congregation of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and that it *be of the Lord our God*, let us send abroad to our brethren, and to the priests and Levites, and let us bring again the ark of our God to us; for we inquired not at it in the days of Saul. And all the congregation said that they would do so; for the thing was right in the eyes of all the people."‡ And though suspended for a time after the death of Uzzah, as they were coming from Kirjath-jearim, it was resumed with a more distinct recognition of the divine origin of the Levitical ministrations. David had made a new tabernacle for the ark, and when it was brought into the city of David, great was the rejoicing; while, amid the sound of cymbals and trumpets, the assembled Israelites were reminded afresh of the fulfilment of the covenant made with their fathers.

We have here, then, two points to notice—a new seat of government, and a man upon the throne who regards it as his supreme privilege and duty to honour the Most High. He looks upon the Divine presence as his only stay, and

* 1 Chron. xi. 4.

† Judges i. 1-8.

‡ 1 Chron. xiii. 1-4.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

is anxious to animate his ministers and people with like duty.

Following the history of David, he comes before us as a shepherd, hero, captain, king, minstrel, poet, prophet; a man not without several great blots, but, as a whole, ruled by those transcendent qualities and virtues which constitute the highest form of genius and of humanity. His taste was by no means exclusive and one-sided. He had an eye for the subordinate, as well as for the supreme instruments of civilization. He knew that the arts were flourishing in Tyre, and he availed himself of the friendship of Hiram to have a palace erected in Jerusalem.

But as this magnificent structure crowned the heights of Zion, the tent that had been made for the ark was close at hand. Nothing more than a tent; the ark of God still dwelt within curtains. A palace for man; a tent for God! A fixed stone residence, adorned with columns of richest cedar, for frail human nature; a frail erection of planks and hangings, and other ornamental furniture, that might be an easy prey to a spark, for the recognised abode of the authoritative testimony and symbolical presence of the Eternal! The contrast between what *is* and what *should be* is always seen in greater relief in proportion as the mirror of the soul is kept bright. The purest piety was glowing in the king's heart at this time, and this association of ideas, under the mental law to which we have referred, suggested the thought of a glorious and solid temple to Jehovah.

How little can we paint intellectual operations! How much of their fulness is lost in the successiveness with which we must look at them! The noblest of athletes, the victorious antagonist of lions and bears, and the giant-champion of the Philistines, here rises before the imagination, seated in his palace, full of sublime religious musings and purposes. What human spectacle can there be greater than a hero-monarch bending before heaven, as feeling all his strength there, and meditating a plan by which all his subjects may be brought to do homage to the blessed and only Potentate? Three thousand years have passed away, yet the thoughts of that hour are the sublimest and most needful now for all monarchs and all men. *Palaces we find in every land; but few stones of God's temple are yet laid.*

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David at length opened his mind to Nathan the prophet—a man sure to sympathise with every lofty aspiration. “Go,” said he, “do all that is in thine heart; for the Lord is with thee.” But the purest impulses of good, nay of inspired, men may be carried out more fitly at one season than at another. God knows the time that is best. Nathan urged the king to the good work at once, as prompted by an exalted piety. Nathan’s Master, however, checked it. He was sent the same night to David to inform him that the execution of this noble purpose should devolve on another, and that it was under the more quiet dominion of his son and successor that a temple should rise to the honour of the great I AM.

Various reasons are assigned for this decision in the several historical notices of the incident. We should observe that *all* the Divine intimations on the subject were not conveyed by Nathan, or else they are not all given to us consecutively. There is one beautiful feature in his message worthy of notice. *God* gives David a promise that he will build *him* a house. The Divine Being assigns the work contemplated by the Jewish monarch to another, but meets the *intention* with a signal blessing. No sooner had David heard this than he went in and sat before the Lord, and poured forth one of the most humble, beautiful, and touching thanksgivings ever offered by mortal to the Author of all good.* At length then that day had dawned of which Moses had spoken.†

Other things here also are instructive. There *was*, it is hinted, no absolute necessity for a solid, massive temple for Jehovah. He had dwelt with them in a tabernacle. Why *was* this suggested? Was it not to teach that God’s presence in all changes and everywhere is the chief thing to be desired—the joy and shield of his people Israel? Elsewhere, too, we see that David was taught a deep lesson in the love that should rule the latter days, by hints relating to the warlike character of his career, and the preparatory nature of his administration. Internally, his policy had been constructive, but he had been a destroyer. “Thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.” Though he could not build the house till God had given him rest from his enemies round about, yet when he had rest *he* was not to do it. While the *intention* met with the Divine approval, the work itself was to be achieved by one who

* 2 Sam. vii. 18--29.

† Deut. xii. 5--7.

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had not been a warrior, and around whom and throughout whose kingdom peace should spread its blessings and hold its sway. Rich in suggestion *then*, it is richer *now*, and has been since the song of the angelic hosts at the birth of Incarnate Love. Wars shall cease, and the house of God shall be built in all lands, when the destruction that wasteth at noon day shall no longer ravage the earth.

Here we pause as to retrospective matter. God has ordained a lamp for his anointed, and, though gusts of wind may come from every quarter of the heavens, and threaten to blow it out, yet shall it illumine a first and second temple, and Jerusalem shall become a praise in the earth.

TOPOGRAPHICAL.

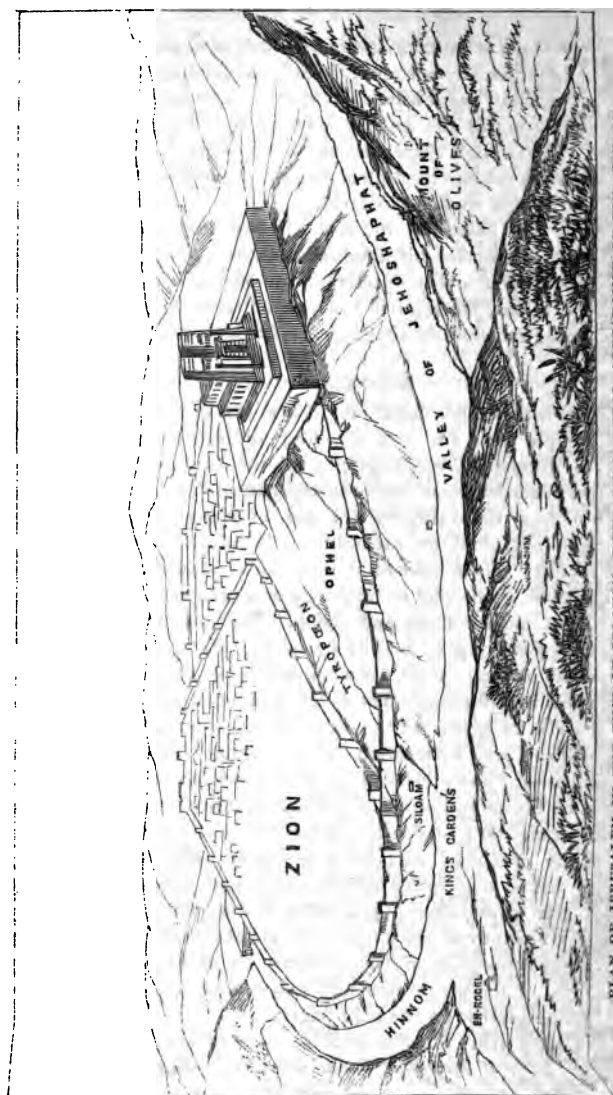
There can be little doubt that at first David intended to erect the temple near his own dwelling on Mount Zion. Jebus, that is Jerusalem, was originally allotted to Benjamin.* His southern border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south, and onward descending to En-rogel.† Yet a part of it must have belonged to Judah.‡ Magnitude, space, and all relations of locality are best learned by actual measurement and vision. The next best thing for this purpose is a good map or drawing. Farther, there is the power of looking on things when one's eyes are shut—a topographical imagination. The habit of viewing things mentally, as it were, in *space*, is absolutely requisite in order to render description and delineation of any value. We must map localities—ravines and rushing cataracts, vales and mountains, sweet as Tempe and beautiful as Carmel, cities, deserts, encampments, heights, and depths; these, we say, must be mapped upon the outspread surface of the mind; else we turn from model, atlas, descriptive outline, etc., and look on vacancy. Each man must have a projection of his own, derived from a thoughtful study of the subject. To aid the reader in acquiring a general conception of the configuration of Jerusalem and its environs, at the period now under consideration, we have given an outline picture on the next page.

We have just mentioned Zion; and if the inquirer will *imagine himself standing* on an elevation south of it, now

* Josh. xviii. 28.

+ Josh. xviii. 16.

‡ Josh. xv. 8.



PLAN OF JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF SOLOMON, WITH CONJECTURAL APPEARANCE OF THE TEMPLE.

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known as "The Hill of Evil Counsel," he will have at its foot the valley of Hinnom, sweeping right and left; and directly in front of him, the city of David, rising in defensive attitude on the other side that place of abomination. Moving along to the right he will come upon Siloam with Ophel opposite. The Mount of Olives lies farther on, commanding the whole of the city as it slopes north-east; while the brook Kedron is below—usually only a winter torrent, that here rushes south-eastward along the valley of Jehoshaphat. Mount Moriah—the spot we have especially to notice—lies over against the Mount of Olives. It comes before us at an early stage of scripture history, as the scene of a symbolical sacrifice. Thither Abraham was directed to journey with Isaac his son, as if destined for a burnt-offering—a vision in act—a representative resurrection. The whole was *meant* to be limited to the representation. The patriarch's obedience and faith had reached their final limit; and looking upon his son as dead, he learned, when the Angel stayed his hand, although thus painfully and typically, truths of grand significance for all ages—the essence of true piety—the hope of immortal life—and the vicarious ground-work of human salvation.

Nine or ten centuries later this identical locality became invested with new and deepening interest. We are thinking of the times of David. Some deep-seated evil in his heart—satanic suggestions obeyed—brought an awful calamity on his subjects. The visible phenomenon of an Angel between earth and heaven, with a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem, betokened the Divine displeasure. The monarch and the elders of Israel, clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces, and their prayers were heard. David was then ordered to build an altar to the Lord in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite;* and, being answered from heaven by fire, (verse 26) he continued to sacrifice there instead of going to the tabernacle of Moses, which was then in the high-place at Gibeon. The fact is thus referred to at a later date, after that hallowed spot had been chosen for the site of the temple: "Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, in Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite."[†]

* 1 Chron. xxi.

† 2 Chron. iii. 1.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

Moriah is shut in on the north by the hill now called Bezetha; on the west by Acra, then known as Millo; on the east it looks *down* on a steep rocky ravine—the valley of Jehoshaphat—and *over* to the Mount of Olives; while to the south it joins the triangular space called Ophel, and is separated from Zion by the valley of the modern Tyropœon—a Greek compound, meaning the valley of the Cheesemakers.

We shall hereafter have to refer to the platform of Moriah, its extent, etc.; and for the present we only just remark, that a Mahomedan mosque now occupies the area which was once consecrated by the presence of the living God. Three thousand years read us their solemn lessons from thence, and not the least impressive is that which tells of the rise and progress of corruption, and leads us to contemplate holy ground overrun with the rank weeds of falsehood—as given up to imposture and delusion.

A GLANCE AT THE POLITICAL AUSPICES AND OTHER FAVOURABLE ASPECTS OF THE AGE.

When a great man really contemplates a great purpose, one may generally observe a state of things favourable to its embodiment. Otherwise, he only speaks of it as the possibility of a more advanced culture—a plan which might be carried out under more promising conditions. The *theories* of such men are often prophetic, and suggest, as well as foretell, what a better age will realize. If, however, they sketch out present work, they commonly see their way to its performance.

When David thought of the temple, “the Lord had given him rest;” and, apparently, there was very little to threaten any serious interruption of his repose. Various events show that he, like other men, only knew the future as God revealed it to him. Still, the ascendancy he had gained greatly favoured the arts of peace and the blessings of civilized society. His own palace was a boon and pledge of political amity. The conception of the temple suggested by it, was associated with the same architectural skill and foreign aid. He looked to Tyre for instruments, and to God for a blessing.

The flourishing state of the Phœnicians in the time of David indicates the growth of ages. It is true, everything favoured their development. Having Lebanon as their heritage—with “winter on its head, spring on its shoulders,

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autumn in its lap, and summer at its feet"—their position on the coast of the Mediterranean was most propitious. All countries tell of their colonies and commercial intercourse. They fell at length by their pride, but they have a history as instructive as their end. They traded in timber, iron, copper, tin, glass, and especially in that brilliant dye and those rich fabrics of art which gave them their name, and awakened the songs of poets as they gazed on the sumptuous beauty of court dresses and the dazzling decoration of thrones.

Of this people, in the time of David, Hiram was king. These two formed an alliance, on a basis, no doubt, of mutual advantage. As soon as he heard that Solomon had been anointed king in the room of his father, he sent him an embassy of congratulation.* The next thing we find is, that Solomon sent to Hiram (Hiram), the king of Tyre, saying, "As *thou* didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him a house to dwell therein, even so deal with me."† Solomon agrees to give him corn, wine, and oil, in exchange for his services. According to these passages, it was one and the same Hiram, the son of Abibal, who was the ally of both David and Solomon. Such is Winer's opinion.‡ In Kitto, David's ally is made the *grandfather* of the other.§ Moreover, at this time there lived a Tyrian artificer of great celebrity, and of like name with his royal master. He is known to us|| as Hiram, or Hiram *Abif* (his father); but, as Gesenius remarks, this "does not belong to the *name*," but is an appellative, meaning here "his counsellor, head workman." Nor is it to be overlooked that this Hiram was a union of Israelitish and Tyrian blood and genius, his mother being a widow of the tribe of Dan, or of Naphtali, according to some other mode of registration.

Cedars of Lebanon, and the useful as well as more precious metals, were in abundance. A special site for the temple had been marked out by no uncertain tokens. All things, it may be said, were ready. Without this combination of agencies and events, no such structure could, at that time, have been reared to the Divine Name. Commerce had begun to pour its streams of wealth over the hill of Zion, and the earliest of its benefits were made tributary to the Divine covenant, in the

* 1 Kings v. 1. † 2 Chron. ii. 3. ‡ "Real Wörterbuch, Hlr."
 § "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature." || 2 Chron. iv. 16.

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establishment of the throne of David and the sanctuary of the Eternal in the midst of Israel. Solomon then being in his glory, and having all these available elements around him, for the grand undertaking thus laid upon his heart, he entered, shortly after he began to reign, on those preliminary arrangements which at length issued in its realization. In the following passage, we have his beautiful message to the Tyrian king, and the answer of Hiram—one of the oldest letters on record in the world—in which he assents to Solomon's request. "Behold, I build an house to the name of the Lord my God, to dedicate it to him, and to burn before him sweet incense, and for the continual shewbread, and for the burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the solemn feasts of the Lord our God. This is an ordinance for ever to Israel. And the house which I build is great: for great is our God above all gods. But who is able to build him an house, seeing the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain him? who am I then, that I should build him an house, save only to burn sacrifice before him? Send me now, therefore, a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide. Send me also cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees, out of Lebanon: for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon; and, behold, my servants shall be with thy servants, even to prepare me timber in abundance: for the house which I am about to build shall be wonderful great. And, behold, I will give to thy servants, the hewers that cut timber, twenty thousand measures of beaten wheat, and twenty thousand measures of barley, and twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil.

"Then Hiram the king of Tyre answered in writing, which he sent to Solomon, Because the Lord hath loved his people, he hath made thee king over them. Hiram said moreover, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, endued with prudence and understanding, that might build an house for the Lord, and an house for his kingdom. And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Hiram my father's; the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was

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man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out any device which shall be put to him, with the cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord David thy father. Now, therefore, the wheat and the barley, the oil and the wine, which my lord hath spoken of, let him send unto his servants: and we will cut wood out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need: and we will bring it to thee in flotes by sea to Joppa; and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem." *

The result soon appears. Tens of thousands are busy in the mountains of Lebanon. Stones are hewn, and cedar trees are felled. Ancient Joppa is in motion; for the Tyrian fleet and rafts have passed the Phœnician coast, rounded the promontory of Carmel; and artizans and cunning workmen of all needful crafts, and the materials on which they will employ their skill, will soon be tossing amid the surf that here rolls violently in from the great sea; and, should they land safely, after a journey of nearly forty miles, they will find themselves and their burdens near the hallowed spot where they will be employed to aid a more sublime object than Phœnicia ever thought of; and in the neighbouring territory Tyrians shall hear the voice of Him to whom Baal and Astarte (the Hercules and Venus of the west) are an insult and an abomination.

Eastern empires, with all their magnificent resources, have at this time—about a thousand years before Christ—temples, altars, images, and unseemly rites; but God, the blessed God, is not in any of their thoughts—has no place, save among Israelites, in the religions and worship of the world.

PLAN OF THE TEMPLE, ITS COURTS, ARCHITECTURE, ETC.

We should be glad to accomplish for our readers, as well as for ourselves, more satisfactory results than we can at all promise them on the points now suggested. The *general* plan of the actual temple underwent no alteration at any time. The ground-form of the tabernacle was embodied in the outline and divisions of the more durable erection. This, therefore, may be given with sufficient confidence. If, however, we venture beyond Scripture, we go to sea without compass, and

* 2 Chron. ii. 4—16.

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remove no difficulty as to any questions at issue by arguments based on the facts of a much later age.

We think it better at once to put the reader in possession of the truth. Neither our knowledge of the second temple, nor the authority of Josephus and other Jewish writers, can help us to any correct representation, *architecturally considered*, of the temple of Solomon. No architect, antiquary, or theologian has ever yet satisfactorily given even the very entrance of the building. What was the *porch* of the sacred edifice? Did one or two towers, or a square massive front without either, strike awe into the spectator as he looked towards the dwelling of the Holy One of Israel? On this essential point we are literally at a stand *in limine*. We reason and conjecture, and remain just as ignorant as ever. The plates of the Spanish Jesuit Villalpando are exploded. He set out on the false hypothesis that Ezekiel had delineated the first temple; and then, as Dr. Bähr remarks, with the aid of Vitruvius, constructed one like a huge palace, in a sort of Roman and Greek style, with Corinthian columns, and gave a sketch of it as like the old oriental structure as darkness is to noon-day. More than two centuries and a half have passed since his time; but as he will always be referred to, it may be useful to give a single example, just to show the extent to which a man of great learning may become the victim of his imagination.

He assigns * *eleven hundred* columns to the court of the Gentiles, upper and lower; making them consist of the purest marble, with capitals of exquisite beauty, "*opere Corinthio pulchra ad miraculum*;" and, exaggerating Josephus himself, by making the cubit equal to a yard, gives each and all of them a height of sixty feet each in one shaft, the diameter being six feet. This it would be difficult enough to believe of the columns of Herod's temple, but in Solomon's is *here* out of question. The whole is a magnificent fiction. *No such court was then existing*. "Atrii enim gentium nulla in primo templo fit mentio." †

As bearing on the present state of our knowledge, we may just advert to the fact that Romberg and Steger would not insert any view of the first temple in their *History of Architecture*. Moreover, the recent researches of Mr. Ferguson and

* Critici Sacri, vol. ix. p. 1748.

† Reland. Antiq., P. I., c. 6. ‡ 6. C. B. Michaelis Adnot. 2 Chron. iv. 9.

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Mr. Layard, however they may aid us in the way of probable analogy, furnish us with no sure ground for positive delineation.

Looking at the *petitio principii* involved in assimilating the temple of Solomon to any other structure at present known, we may be excused for pausing at the threshold. "Of the great edifices of the Jews, not a fragment of masonry nor the smallest remains are left to guide us." "It is impossible to comprehend, by the help of the descriptions alone, the plan or appearance of the temple of Solomon." * Yet Mr. Layard thinks that the ruins of Nineveh, the hints and statements of the Bible, various remains, together with existing customs, may help us, "to a certain extent, to restore the principal buildings of both nations." We shall be happy to see something of the sort, and do not despair; but at present we are in great ignorance, and, in order to show this, we revert for a few moments to the elevation of the porch as given in the sacred volume. "The porch that was in the front of the house, the length of it was twenty cubits, and the height a hundred and twenty." † Now let the reader weigh the following facts. The length of the cubit is not settled. Some writers make it eighteen, and others twenty-one inches. We shall give both, calculating the height of the porch on either scale.

120 cubits, if the cubit be a foot and a half, is equal to 180 feet.

120 cubits, if the cubit be 21 inches, is equal to 210 feet.

"This," says Gesenius, "would give to the porch the form of a tower, unless there is here an error of the text." "Perhaps," he adds, "we may read, with Meyer and others, *twenty cubits*." Bähr is decidedly against the present reading. Layard regards it as "an error slipped into the text." This, however, is cutting the knot, not untying it; and, moreover, a great difficulty comes in the way of this conclusion. Josephus gives the same measurement as to the height of this vestibule and doubles our difficulties in a most extraordinary manner, by adding an *upper story*—at least, so we must consider it—of sixty cubits *over the house of God*. His words are express:—"The height and length of the temple was sixty cubits; its breadth twenty. On this was another building of equal dimensions, so that the whole height of the temple was

* Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 640-1.

† 2 Chron. iii. 4.

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a hundred and twenty cubits."* This makes the height of the temple and the porch one and the same. As he gives the particulars of the *pronaos* in the next sentence, the measures in this can have no reference to it, and we are thrown on one of three alternatives: either that we have no account of the upper stories of the temple, or that Josephus has confounded its height with that of the porch, or, in fine, that he has drawn on his imagination. The reading, too, may be as corrupt as that of the chambers just after. It is observable that the height of the *porch* is not given in the book of Kings. That, however, of the *house* is given at thirty cubits.† Here the text is apparently at variance with the later Jewish historian. It has, however, been suggested that the Bible account has reference only to the internal elevation, and though this is not a satisfactory, it is yet a possible, solution of the problem.

We have then the distinct assertion in Chronicles that the porch of the temple was 180 or 210 feet high. Mr. Layard thinks that it "may have been a propylæum, such as was discovered at Khorsabad in front of the palace." If so, it must have been worthy of admiration. He describes the gateway of certain ruins in the neighbourhood of Kouyunjik as formed by "a pair of majestic human-headed bulls, fourteen feet in length." The *entrance* was more than fourteen feet wide, and the height, including the tower, fully a hundred feet.‡ A porch of this description might be surmounted with aggregated chambers, galleries, etc., rising more than a hundred feet above the mass of the building, and filling the depth of the porch, without any great difficulty of conception on mere architectural grounds. Supposing, however, we accept the suggestion that it might have been like the towers of some of our churches or cathedrals, the elevation is not very great. The spire of the cathedral at Strasburg is 474 feet above the pavement, 112 feet higher than St. Paul's, and 24 feet higher than the great pyramid. Something not half that height might have existed in a different shape. Stieglitz§ has proposed to solve the difficulty in a peculiar way. He would construct the porch of a couple of towers of a pyramidal shape, and *divide* the 120 cubits between them. Each would, therefore, be 90 or 105 feet high. Such is the shape of the temple at Edsou. This mode of looking

* Antiq. viii. 3. 2.

† 1 Kings vi. 2. ‡ Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 122-3. § Eühr, p. 35.

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at the matter is supported by the account given of the height of the two well-known pillars to which we shall presently refer.

These conflicting opinions and expedients show that we could not adopt the tower, single or double, or upper stories of massive and ornamented stone-work chambers, like the intercolumnated elevation over the gate of the palace of Sennacherib, without placing ourselves in an indefensible position. We might as well set up an Egyptian portico, or embody the hypothesis of Stieglitz in an actual engraving.

Let us now, then, look at the account given by the sacred writer of the other proportions of this vestibule. The passage that states them is very likely to be misunderstood. "The porch before the temple of the house, twenty cubits was the length thereof, according to the breadth of the house; and ten cubits was the breadth thereof before the house."* Here the *breadth* of the house—whose length ran from east to west—is the measure of the *length* of the piazza, because the walk was north and south. The direction in which exercise could be taken, and the line in which the columns ranged, would of course be the vista along which the eye would travel. Moreover, in pacing this colonnade, the eye would glance right and left, and what would be *breadth* in relation to the *portico* would be in the direction of the *length* of the *house*. The portico, therefore, was from 30 to 35 feet long; and the half of this, that is, 15 or 17½ feet broad; and if the reader will substitute *deep*, the description will be all the more intelligible.

Close by, or just inside, this porch are two pillars, showing consummate art in their fabrication and enrichment. The compiler of the books of Kings says that Hiram, who was "filled with wisdom and understanding to work all works in brass," cast for Solomon "two pillars of brass, *eighteen cubits high apiece*;"† while the writer of the Chronicles says that "he made two pillars of thirty and five cubits high."‡ The explanation here is not very doubtful. The latter manifestly speaks of *both* the pillars; and, although the exact measurement would, in that case, be thirty-six cubits, yet half a cubit in a column of that height might be swallowed up in the chapter or base. Pool suggests that they are here spoken of as lying lengthwise in the mould, before they were set up. They were each 18 or 21 feet in circumference; the

* 1 Kings vi. 3.

† 1 Kings vii. 15.

‡ 2 Chron. iii. 15.

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whole height, adding the capital of five cubits, was $34\frac{1}{2}$ or $40\frac{1}{2}$ feet. They were adorned with a considerable depth of lily work, and on the jutting part of the capital there were, in several rows, two hundred pomegranates, which, with other beautiful designs, crowned the head of each pillar as it rose in majesty before God's house.

These pillars Solomon ordered to be placed in the porch of the temple; and "he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof Jachin; he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz." The names here given have occasioned much dispute. Gesenius suggests that the latter might have been so called from the architect, or if it were a votive offering, from the name of the donor. This is gratuitous. There is nothing satisfactory in the conjectures as to either of the pillars. Still further: the hypothesis that they are a mere imitation of Egyptian obelisks, or symbolical of physical forces or principles, which heathenism unblushingly personified, or a sort of facsimile of pillars taken from the temple of the Phœnician Hercules, etc.,* are far-fetched, and, in many respects, extremely revolting to every devout reader of the Bible. We do not here treat of the symbolism of the temple, and therefore, omitting the discussion whether or not these pillars refer to the "Divine and human natures of Christ," we merely remark, in passing, that *stability* is the fundamental idea they embody. The old etymology of the name Boaz (*in eo robur*), may or may not be well founded; but at any rate it is more in harmony with Jachin (*he shall establish*) than with the notion of *activity*, wholly dependent on an assumed root, suggested by an Arabic word of that signification. If Boaz signifies *alacrity* (Ges. Lex. s. v.), it is merely a proper name, and means nothing in relation to the general unity of thought belonging to the entire temple.

These pillars, so highly ornamented, suggest a great deal as it respects the character of the whole entrance. The nature of the case requires that it be in keeping with them, and it could not be so without corresponding beauty and power in its lateral and upper dimensions.

THE HOUSE.

Suppose we now cross the porch, and enter the house. This

* Bähr, p. 206—210.

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term is applied to the whole of the temple properly so called. It is also applied to the holy place, as distinct from the most holy. We here see before us a rectangular edifice, the whole length of which, inside, from east to west, is 60 cubits, that is 90 or 105 feet; the breadth 30 or 35, and the height 45 or $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The reader will easily picture to himself this shaped building, by thinking of one of our oblong chapels, or the body of St. Pancras Church in Euston Square. Forty cubits, equal to 60 or 70 feet, were allotted for the holy place.* The most holy was the half of this, and therefore formed a perfect cube (verse 20), according to the height there assigned to it. This makes the *sanctum sanctorum* 15 or $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet lower than the body of the temple. It has been suggested that this might be so outwardly, the second part of the building being lower than the first, and the third than the second; or inwardly, the height within the most holy being such, without excluding a space above, that might harmonize with the general altitude. Could we identify the spot, and were it true that there is in that spot a *natural rock* of that height, as has been said, then there must have been steps up into the most holy, of which we have no account. These 15 or $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor of the holy place, must have given an area of 20 cubits square.

The walls of the temple were covered with fir and cedar; the latter, however, predominating to such a degree that the whole was said to be covered with it. "All was cedar, there was no stone seen."† Carvings of plants and flowers beautified the woodwork. A partition separated the oracle from the holy place: it had doors of olive-tree, offering to the eye carvings of cherubims, palm-trees, and open flowers (verse 32); a curtain suspended by gold rings and chains veiled the interior from the gaze of mortal, and over the central point of its mysterious depth the wings of cherubim met, indicating the care with which the heavenly powers watch over God's covenant and law. In Exod. xxv. we find the command given that two were to be made of pure gold, and overshadow the mercy-seat. The two belonging to the temple were of olive-wood. They were as colossal as some of the Assyrian figures, and there was a squareness about them, each covering a space of 10 cubits, in height and length. The two thus rising either 15 or $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet, having their fore and hind wings extending over

* 1 Kings vi. 17.

† 1 Kings vi. 18.

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an equal portion of the breadth of the chamber, meeting and filling it from side to side (verse 27), must have had a very imposing appearance. The small engravings we are accustomed to see deceive us in this matter. We must strive to paint it on the mind's eye in order to conceive of it correctly, and spread a canvass of the appropriate size before the imagination.*

Near the entrance of the oracle was placed the altar of incense, often called the golden altar. Here also, as in the tabernacle, were the golden candlesticks and the table of shewbread. The light of the holy place was wholly, or mainly, derived from these seventy lights; for it appears there were ten of them made "according to their form," which must mean that given in Exod. xxv, and therefore having three branches on each side of the shaft, thus making with the central light the number we have named. Five of these were placed on the right, and five on the left, before the oracle.†

The whole temple of which we have been treating was overlaid with gold in a style of extraordinary magnificence. The accounts given in the history baffle all conception. When the reader has occupied himself with only a small part of the details, he finds himself bewildered with their richness and variety. Nor, in view of the statement that Solomon made gold and silver at Jerusalem as plentiful as stones,‡ can we, as some seem disposed to do, suspect the writers of exaggeration.

THE COURTS.

The courts require now to be noticed. In order to save ourselves from confounding things that differ, we should bear in mind that the house of God—the holy and the holy of holies—formed but a very small part of the buildings erected on Mount Moriah. Around it, for example, omitting the eastern side, were three storeys of rooms, intended either for the priests' garments, or for other appendages of the temple service.§ They had floors resting on, but not fastened into, the wall of *the house*. The breadth of these rooms increased a cubit each storey—five, six, seven cubits broad, being the dimensions given. There was thickness enough in the stone-

* Some excellent elucidatory remarks on this subject will be found in Kitto's "Daily Bible Illustrations," in the volume on "Solomon and the Kings."

† 1 Kings vii. 49; 2 Chron. iv. 7. ‡ 2 Chron. i. 15. § 1 Kings vi. 5.

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work to allow of its being narrowed a cubit at each storey, *on its outside*. The *rests* were placed on the stone-work of the house. On the north, south, and west, therefore, there were two horizontal *shelvings* visible before these buildings were added. The door for the middle chamber is said * to have been on the right, that is, the south side of the house, as the sacred writer speaks relatively to the east—the face being turned towards the rising sun.

There is some difficulty experienced in determining the nature of the “windows of narrow lights” which Solomon made for the temple. If the chambers mentioned in the 10th verse are the same as those in the 5th, then they rose to only one half the height of the house. And even if the height increased with the breadth, which is not said, it would merely be 5 + 6 + 7 cubits, and take up, therefore, on the larger scale of the cubit, only about thirty feet. The narrow windows might then have been above, and intended more to change an atmosphere rendered unhealthy by oil-fed lamps, the incense, and the oppressive closeness, than to admit light to the temple. Others imagine that spaces were left for these side apertures below, and that the latter set of chambers was on the roof of the house, and rising five cubits above its walls. Such is the opinion of Pool. This, however, he submits “to the learned and judicious.” The latter are the more likely to pause in giving their assent to this view.

Before we pass to the courts, it will be needful to remember that, though we took the reader into the temple proper, it was only a mental intrusion, or merely in virtue of our Christian economy, because all Christians are kings and priests unto God. Under the Jewish dispensation the *people* never entered even the sanctuary. The 134th and similar Psalms are addressed to the Levites and priests who had to minister in the daily service. A distinct recollection of this fact will show that *the temple* itself was never designed for the accommodation of worshippers. It was all symbol. The depth and mystery of the Divine nature, worship, and invisible care visibly symbolized, were the dominant ideas. Great confusion has arisen from supposing that the temple was, in the ordinary sense, a *place of worship*. The sacerdotal class were the *only persons* admitted to the holy place, and the High

* 1 Kings vi. 8.

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Priest the only person admitted to the holiest of all. This took place on the great day of Atonement. He entered several times on this solemn occasion, but on no other day in the whole year. Whoever else drew aside that veil forfeited his life.

We now are supposed to be outside the temple proper, and have around us other structures of greater magnitude, variety, and extent, than can be gathered from any articulate statements of the sacred history. What, for example, were the actual proportions and architectural character of the *courts* which Solomon erected? What space did they cover? "He built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar beams."* "He made the court of the priests (the same as just called *inner*) and the great court" (the court of the people).† "Quod a tribus lateribus atrium sacerdotum ambiebat."‡ These passages show how far writers may diverge in their comments on the same text. It is maintained by some that the three rows of stones, etc., were simply a stone breast-work round the court of the priests, low enough to allow the people to witness the sacred rites and the sacrifices that were offered on the altar of burnt-offering. Widely different, however, is the following suggestion by Pool. The three rows of hewed stone and row of cedar beams were "so many galleries, one on each side of the temple, whereof the three first were of stone, and the fourth of cedar, all supported with rows of pillars, etc. . . . for it is hard to think that only the making of a low wall about the court would be called *a building of the court*." We agree with this remark, but confess that it only adds to our perplexity. At the same time all our convictions are in favour of the large accommodation thus provided for the officers of the temple.§ Moreover, the *great court*, the court of the Israelites, had around it, most probably, colonnades and galleries: we say "most probably," because everything about the narrative gives us the idea of magnificence in the *tout ensemble*.

The reader will have a clearer view of this whole matter if he imagine himself to enter at the east gate. This would lead into the outer court, the space more remote from the temple, where the people assembled to worship toward God's holy habitation. All this was under the open sky, and occupied the

* 1 Kings vi. 36.

+ 2 Chron. iv. 9.

‡ C. B. Mich. *Adnot. in loc.*

§ 1 Chron. xxi.—xxvi.

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largest portion of the surface of Mount Moriah. Next, probably beneath the galleries just named, he would see *beyond* a smaller court, the court in front of the temple proper, belonging to the priests; and, in its centre, the altar of stone covered with brass, twenty cubits square and ten high;* also the brazen sea—an immense laver, ten cubits in diameter, five in depth, and thirty in circumference—while, resting on bases and wheels of brass, five smaller brazen lavers on the north, and five on the south side of the priests' court, afforded the means of washing the victims that were offered to the Lord. All this, too, was under the open heavens. He would then have before him, in a direct line, the vestibule or porch—that is, the entrance to the holy place into which, as we have said, the priests and Levites alone entered daily, to trim the lamps, to burn incense, and, on the Sabbath, to change the twelve loaves of shew-bread which were ever to be kept before the face of the God of Israel.

Should the observer now look around him from some central point in the court of the priests or the people, he would have the impression of an extensive plan, and this would be increased by perambulating the boundaries of the whole. We have no doubt that the precise area was defined, that great works of which we have scarcely a hint in Scripture were carried on to complete the design, and that the apologetic tone not uncommon now-a-days as to the temple, has arisen from the incessant reference to *its* dimensions, as if there were nothing else to measure, and from the unintentional association of a worshipping assembly with *the house of the Lord*. The moral significance of the sanctuary is, in truth, its stand-point of absorbing interest. This is not, however, our present drift. We wish it not to be too readily believed that the old impressions—not Villalpando's, of course—of the sacred structures on Mount Moriah are without foundation. Scripture, for example, is silent respecting the steep and diminutive character of the eminence on which the temple was built, and of the steps taken to enlarge it. "Originally the level space on its summit scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But king Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was built upon the embankment."† The other side of the sanctuary, says

* 2 Chron. iv. 1.

† Traill's Josephus, b. v., c. 5.

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Josephus, remained exposed, and the extension and improvement are due to a later age. If, however, we compare this with another passage, we gain a view more in harmony with the probable facts. In the latter he informs us that Solomon surrounded the temple with a wall three cubits high, to exclude all but the priests; that outside of this was another temple, quadrangular, having gates towards the four winds—quarters of the heaven—for all the people that were cleansed and kept the law of Moses; that to erect this second building, he filled huge clefts 400 cubits deep, so as to make them level with the area of the temple; and that he begirt the whole with double piazzas, resting on stone columns, with roofs of cedar and gates of silver.*

This gives great extension to our thoughts respecting the undertaking. We propose to support this latter and larger view by argument, and by facts that have recently come to light. It is said that among the things which astonished the Queen of Sheba was the ascent by which Solomon went up into the house of the Lord.† It is impossible to suppose that the valley now called the Tyropœon was blocked up. A mere mole, closing the thoroughfare from the western quarter to the south-east, would have been a folly. It must have been free for traffic. This *ascent*, therefore, was a *viaduct* carried across from Mount Zion to the mount opposite. Buxtorf, Lightfoot, C. B. Michaelis, and Gesenius, all assign to the word the signification of *ascent*. It is naturally supposed to relate to the great work mentioned by Josephus. (Antiq. xv. 11, 5. Ed. Hav.) And though Lightfoot renders the words referring to this point, "the valley between being *filled up* for the passage," there is nothing in the term *απειλημμένης* to exclude under passages, arched or otherwise, which the nature of the case required. When a structure of this description is thus emphatically noticed as one of the wonders of Jerusalem, we have only to bear in mind the splendour of Solomon's own palace, and that this was the king's way, and it becomes matter of necessary inference rather than conjecture that, as with the porch, so here, the *principle of congruity* was sacredly adhered to, and gave to the aggregate of the structures in question an imposing magnitude.

The investigations of Dr. Robinson and others confirm this view. "During our first visit," says he, "to the south-west

* Antiq. viii. 3, 9. Ed. Hav.

† 2 Chron. ix. 4.

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corner of the area of the mosque, we observed several of the large stones jutting out from the western wall, which at first sight seemed to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake. We paid little regard to this at the moment; but on mentioning the fact not long after in a circle of our friends, the remark was incidentally dropped that the stones had the appearance of having once belonged to a large arch. At this remark a train of thought flashed upon my mind which I hardly dared to follow out until I had again repaired to the spot in order to satisfy myself, with my own eyes, as to the truth or falsehood of the suggestion. I found it even so. The courses of these immense stones occupy their original position; their external surface is hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the commencement or foot of an immense arch, which once sprung out from this western wall in a direction towards Mount Zion across the valley of the Tyropœon. This arch could only have belonged to THE BRIDGE, which, according to Josephus, led from this part of the temple to the Xystus (covered colonnade) on Zion; and it proves incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs.* Dr. Robinson afterwards states that there are stones here $21\frac{1}{2}$ and $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and that the distance from this point to the precipitous natural rock of Zion is about 350 feet—the proximate length of the ancient bridge. Looking at all the evidence of the case, he concludes that there is “little room for hesitation in referring them back to the days of Solomon, or rather of his successors, who, according to Josephus, built up here immense walls immoveable for all time.”†

The question we have now discussed is intimately connected with the *sub-structures* of Mount Moriah. These have been examined by Mr. Tipping and other artists, and various relations between them and the *viaduct* established or suggested. A conjectural view of the latter is given in the second volume of Traill's Josephus—edited by Mr. Isaac Taylor—a work in which the resources of art are made admirably to serve the purpose of illustration. The notes appended are equally instructive and interesting. The writer calculates that the arch indicated in the above extract, “if its curve be calculated with an approximation to the truth, would measure sixty feet,

* Bib. Researches, vol. i., p. 425:

† Ibid., p. 427.

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and must have been one of *five*, sustaining the viaduct (allowing for the abutments on either side), and that the piers supporting the centre arch of this bridge must have been of great altitude—not less, perhaps, than a hundred and thirty feet. The whole structure,” he adds, “when seen from the southern extremity of the Tyropœon, must have had an aspect of grandeur, especially as connected with the lofty and sumptuous edifices of the temple and of Zion, to the right and to the left.”*

We now just advert to the object of these arguments and quotations. They are intended to forestall the sense of littleness often felt by considering the small dimensions of the sanctuary, and to bring before the imagination something of greater extent—walls, colonnades, courts, and chambers—in addition to the temple proper, as comprehended in a plan which, however afterwards improved, *if improved*, was originally magnificent, and *of a piece* with all else on which art and wealth had been lavished in the city of God.

Another object we may now avow. Solomon, says Josephus, carried walls up from the valleys around the site of the temple, to enlarge the area on the summit of the hill. We have no account of this in Scripture. These substructions must have been immense. They were, it may be, connected with the vaults and passages which *now* run under the mosque of El Aksa. Mr. Tipping examined them at the peril of his life. Beneath that mount on which once God’s temple rose, there are unexplored monuments of antiquity. We give the interesting results of his investigations of that part to which he obtained access. The most recent portions are ante-Saracenic, consisting of columns which may have belonged to the decorative restorations effected by Justinian. The roof, with its arches and groins, is assigned to the time of Hadrian or Herod, that is, several centuries earlier. The following is the part of the note we wish the reader to consider.

“Beyond this is found *that* masonry which itself is a *crust upon an interior and anterior work* (and) on the whole, it seems difficult, if indeed it be possible, to interpret these heterogeneous remains on any intelligible supposition, or by means of any series of suppositions, which does not allow to the *interior* structure an antiquity as remote as the history

* Vol. i. p. xxix. Appendix.

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of the Jewish people will admit, or which it may demand.”* All this is too suggestive to need comment. As it respects the buildings that once crowned the summit of Moriah, not one stone is left upon another. But we believe there is a Jerusalem entombed beneath rubbish, and one lower that has never been destroyed. Superstition shuts it up now, but will not always. The main interest of the investigation to us lies in demonstrating the connexion between these works and the age of Solomon. They *suit* no subsequent period, and they stand related to a more stupendous set of works than the brief records of Scripture lead us to imagine.

We ought not to forget that the *tabernacle* furnished only the ground plan for *the temple proper*, and for no other portion of the building. A comprehensive genius was required for the latter. Did Hiram devise these substructures, and the architectural elevations overhead? The Bible gives reason to believe the contrary. He was Solomon’s chief workman, but an artist more than an architect. The outline of the great work proceeded from David. “Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, etc.† This attributes the plan to David’s own mind. Hiram Abif came afterwards to carry out these and other instructions.

It has been supposed that the Israelites were indebted to Egypt or Phœnicia for the arrangements of the temple, and for every architectural conception. We cannot accept assumptions as proofs, and here proof is wanting. Any man like David, or Solomon, or Pythagoras, or Lord Bacon, may inaugurate a new age. Dr. Bähr has examined this point with great diligence, and has shown the utter incompatibility of Egyptian and Phœnician ideas with those which were embodied in the whole structure of the temple erected to the living God. We give his general conclusion:—“Thus, then, in every point of view—no less than in the comparison with the Egyptian temples—does it appear that the hypothesis which makes the temple of Solomon a copy of a Phœnician temple is *wholly indefensible*, and we can only, in fine, express the wish that it may be given up, and no longer transferred from one book to another.”‡ We leave on this as a part of the subject that may yet have light thrown on it by the progress of events. When, however, it

* Traill’s *Josephus*, vol. 2, p. 104, notes. † 1 Chron. xxviii, 11.

‡ *Der Salomonische Tempel*, p. 222.

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reared its head on that hallowed mount it was worthy of the monarch who erected it. As he ascended the throne in the eighteenth year of his age, and began to build in the fourth year of his reign, the temple was completed ere he had reached his thirtieth year. It was seven ($7\frac{1}{2}$) years in building. In various ways, nearly two hundred thousand men were employed in connexion with it and other contemporary structures.

THE DEDICATION.

More than a thousand years, then, before the Christian era, and within a few hours' journey, had a railroad been at hand, of the temples of Hercules and Astarte, had this sacred edifice been erected to Jehovah. The place on which it stands, and the precincts that encircle it, are holy; but that it stands alone, the sole temple of all nations in which the ONE GOD, the great I AM, is worshipped—this gives it a solitary moral grandeur which prepares the mind for the sublime prayer offered at its dedication. The day is come in which the glory of the Lord is to fill the house. The vessels, instruments, and treasures that David had dedicated are carried into it. It is the seventh month. The harvest is over. The people can now, during a part of our September and October, gather together and keep the feast of Tabernacles. They did this; but it is only mentioned, as it were, by the way. "Also, at the same time, Solomon kept the feast seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath into the river of Egypt."* We revert to the consecration.

Let us now group as many Israelites as possible on Mount Moriah and around it. The courts are crowded. A train of bearers is advancing. They consist of priests and Levites, bringing with them the ark of the covenant and all the ornaments of the tabernacle from the city of David. Before the ark is carried into the Holiest of all, sacrifices are offered in great numbers. The brazen altar in the priests' court is not able to receive them.† The middle of the larger court is therefore hallowed, and here on every hand are holocausts burning towards heaven.

Imagine a solemn stillness pervading the whole assembly. In a central position, commanded by every eye, there has been erected in this court a brazen scaffold—a sort of platform—

* 2 Chron. vii. 8.

† 2 Chron. vii. 7.

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eight or nine feet square, and about five feet high. On it stands the wisest and greatest monarch of his age. He first speaks a few words to the people: then kneels down before all the congregation of Israel, and, full of the Divine Spirit, pours out his soul to the God of heaven and of earth. The Lord is faithful: there is none like him. Sovereign rule and universal providence belong to him alone. Omnipresence, omniscience, justice, and mercy are attributes of his being. Sin is hateful in his sight, and yet he hears the prayer of the penitent and forgives the sin. The judgments he inflicts, he can remove. All diseases and calamities are his servants, and all the agencies of nature attend his will. The hidden places of the heart are open to him, and he can punish the wicked and send comfort to every one who knows his own sore and grief. All grace and wisdom come from him, and he condescends to teach his people the good way. There is no man who sinneth not; and, owing to this, the Lord may deliver his servants into the hands of their enemies, but he is near and afar off. The remotest captivity is not beyond his presence or favour, if they only bethink themselves, and turn to him with all their heart.

Such is a brief summary of the great truths involved in this sublime composition. One quotation we must give in the words of Scripture. It is a prayer for mankind. It is a recognition of the great fact, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." It is essentially a Christian aspiration antedated. "Moreover, concerning the stranger, which is not of thy people Israel, but is come from a far country, for thy great name's sake, and thy mighty hand, and thy stretched-out arm; if they come and pray in this house, then hear thou from the heavens, from thy dwelling-place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all people of the earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy people Israel, and may know that this house which I have built is called by thy name."* Could we give the essence of this divine meditation and prayer, the soul of the reader would feel a kindred sentiment of elevation. It is a noble confession of faith. It is the utterance of exalted praise. It is the reverential supplication of a sinner. It is the creed of an earnest believer. It trusts

* 2 Chron. vi. 32, 33.

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in a God whose eyes are open day and night upon his temple, and, at the same instant, surveys immensity. It wonders how the Eternal can behold man with favour, and in the act of astonishment looks up and prays: "But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house that I have built!" Yet "have respect unto thy servant, and let thine ear be attent unto the prayer that is made in this place." And, as if by an act of transcendent faith in the possibility of the Infinite One making then and there, as of old in the desert, a local manifestation of his presence, Solomon closes the loftiest address to the Deity to which mortal ever lent ear, by a direct appeal to its glorious object: "Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into thy resting-place, thou, and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness."

Who can wonder that petitions like these were followed by divine manifestations? Who, on philosophical grounds, can do other than recognise the great truth so vividly taught by the phenomenon it underlies? Burnt offerings and sacrifices were in readiness, and had been sanctified by the word of God and prayer. And lo! the fire of heaven descends and consumes them. A visible incandescent stream from above, a preternatural flame, kindles the mass and testifies God's acceptance of the house now hallowed by his name. On that spot alone is he publicly owned; thence will he issue oracles for mankind. Was it miraculous that the Deity should act there? No more than that he should speak to or in men. The lightnings are his messengers, and every kindred agency is at his command. We cleave to the old belief of immediate interposition. Our creed and our sympathy at this hour are with the then assembled multitude. "When all the children of Israel saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the Lord upon the house, they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground, and worshipped, and praised the Lord, saying: For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever." That we know this great religious truth, and the pure theism of the dedicatory prayer we have considered, is not owing to the unaided intellect of man. The fire that kindled the sacrifices and the fire that warmed the heart were from one source. The theology

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the reality of the Divine presence must stand or fall ther. The theology is among the miracles, and springs of them. God in act, and in history, gives us the Scripture-theory of God.

is singular enough that men who reject this position, who laugh at supernaturalism, are the most credulous men arth. What will the reader think of a secret chamber the holy of holies, with an electrical apparatus for ling the fire on the altar, and thus deluding the people? Bähr says it scarcely deserves mention. True, on one nd; but on another it is eminently deserving of notice. The who could resort to it evince the straits of unbelief, and r that they too, like certain politicians, study "the science igencies."* No anachronism is too startling to under- revelation. Science, perhaps, is only recollection—the niscence of the Platonic school! Shades of Franklin and ani! pale your lustre. What are ye, with your kites batteries, to those old Hebrew electricians who could com- d their element as spirits, transmit it without a medium, bind it with invisible chains? Henceforth, know your on the roll of fame. Ye have only restored a palimpsest somewhat clumsy manner, and re-written what of old legibly inscribed on the columns of time! Are we wrong nis? Then Elijah was not right. Was Mount Moriah iestcraft and a lie, like Tyre and Paphos? Are we to ate any such representation? We trow *not*. Those rate multitudes adore a present God—yet the one God fills immensity, the incomprehensible Jehovah. Those tes arrayed in white, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, united voices, as of one man, sound his most worthy se. The ark of the covenant, in which was nothing save two tables of stone Moses put there at Horeb, is now s place, in the oracle of the house, in the most holy, under wings of the cherubim—the pledge of his immutable ity. God is not a man that he should lie. His people this day seen that he has respect unto his cove- . Concealed from mortal gaze is the symbol of his ence; it is no longer a visible pillar of cloud.

Es soll (das Obergemach) ein geheimer Raum mit einem Altarfeuer gewesen seyn, durch den man das Altarfeuer anordnen konnte. — Der Sal. Tempel, p. 30.

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The glory that has filled the house to-day is a temporary manifestation. The Shekinah is within the veil, and the great significant fact of his invisible nature is taught by the exclusion of all artificial and natural light from the inmost sanctuary, where the covenant God of Abraham abides. "The Lord said he would dwell in the thick darkness." *Without*, moreover, there is only a partial illumination. The sunlit universe itself hides while it reveals its author. God's chosen servants who approach him, and those who stretch forth their hands towards his holy oracle, see but through a glass darkly; yet is this light sweet, and the things the spiritual eye sees by it are not shadows. Depart then, ye multitudes, with a devout and thankful spirit to your homes! "Seven days ye have feasted, and seven days, even fourteen days;" and now, away unto your tents, joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that the Lord has done for David his servant, and for Israel his people!

The thought of David as, resting in his own house, he mused over a more suitable abode for the ark of God, is at length an embodied fact. The purpose of the Most High has been carried out through Solomon, and the seal of heaven has been set upon the holy place. Divine attestations have been given amid crowds of worshippers; and, in addition to these, the Lord has anew appeared to Solomon, and made known to him the conditions on which this temple shall continue, or perish and become a bye-word among the nations. This solitary temple to the true God stands, and can stand, only on moral grounds. Remove these, and Iahabod is written on its courts and altars. But at this moment at which we are about to leave it for a time, how goodly does it look! But the moral glory outshines the splendour of the material structure, though the latter glitters with precious stones, and is overlaid with gold; and while the Shekinah dwells in the heart of Israel, its presence shall glorify the temple Israel has built.*

* The historical fortunes and vicissitudes of the Temple will be sketched in a subsequent tract.

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE:

ITS VICISSITUDES AND DESTRUCTION.



Jehoiachin and his Court going into Captivity.

At the close of a previous tract we left the temple of Solomon in the first purity of its consecration. It had been baptized with the Divine presence, and, after being devoted to God, stood, clad in snow-white robes, a stately and unsullied

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monument to the honour of holiness and truth. How had the Jews come to know and adore these attributes? Were they the abstractions of philosophical genius? Had *it*, by a slow process of inference and reflection, at length arrived at the conception of several great moral qualities, and erected this temple to establish their claim to universal admiration? Efforts have been made to work out this sort of hypothesis, with little promise of profit to the workers, or to any one else. In fact, whoever would make this the Genesis of his Bible might close it with an Apocalypse, and yet have no revelation from God, and no God to make one. He might be an unmitigated atheist, though doing homage in thought and feeling to an impersonal virtue, or rather to a virtue having no higher than a human personality for its source. But this temple is dedicated to a BEING—to THE ONE who is the only holy and true. The creations of philosophy and the inventions of priestcraft are equally unknown in this sanctuary. No aggregate of attributes thought out by the intellect, and having no other subject than the human understanding, could ever lead to Him who inhabits the praises of eternity. He, however, is here the sole object of trust and adoration; and though he holds converse with his people from off the mercy-seat, immensity is his temple, and the universe the theatre of his operations.

Such is the proclamation of this house of God. From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from Phœnicia to the Red Sea; in the fleet at Ezion-geber, and throughout the tributary tribes of Edom, Ammon, and Moab; echoing through the halls and monuments of Egypt, and awing the nomadic Arabs of the desert—something shall now be heard “by the hearing of the ear” of his great and ever-blessed name. We know not, indeed, how much of the seed of Divine truth was then scattered among the nations.

NO NECESSARY PERPETUITY BELONGING TO THIS INSTITUTION.

The loftiest thoughts embodied in a material edifice may be obscured and forgotten. They may be overlaid by corruption, and the worship, once pure, may decline, or even sink into an abomination. Can He whose eyes are ever upon the truth, then take pleasure in any sanctuary, even though called by his name? Will he continue his favour and share a divided homage with idols and a lie? Is there to him any sanctity in

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place, when sanctity has been exiled from the heart? Shall Moriah be his altar, if the faith of Abraham no longer brings the sacrifice? Shall fire from heaven kindle it, when it has been consecrated to Baal and slain by Baal's priests? All these questions receive an answer from the principle stated at the close of our recent number on this subject. *The stability of the temple had only a moral foundation.* Its walls are as adamant while Jehovah is honoured within them. Should his name be dishonoured, all its strength will not save it. The gold of Ophir covering it shall become an object of cupidity, and all its splendours fade away, when once its spiritual effulgence has suffered this fatal eclipse. On given conditions, the Divine Being promises a perpetuity of good; revoke them, and he threatens a flood of evil. Immutability, yet total change! A relative unchangeableness! "It shall be thus, and no otherwise, if ye remain my servants. It shall be just the contrary, and no otherwise, if ye rebel against my commands." God's mere mind has two sides, according as man stands to it in the attitude of alien or child. Evil clouds are gathering on the distant horizon, and the dark phase of the divine government may too soon receive illustration. For the present, however, the sky is bright. The sun which shone on the day of dedication shall not yet go down. "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals: Israel was holiness unto the Lord."

In these early days, then, and soon after the ark of the covenant had been carried with great rejoicing into the holiest of all, the Lord appeared to Solomon the second time,* and told him that if he would walk before him in integrity and prightness, he would establish his throne for ever. The most High rests everything on this moral antecedent. However absolute the phraseology may seem, it is in fact conditional throughout. "I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for a house of sacrifice." "I have sanctified it that my name may be here for ever, and mine eyes and mine heart shall be here perpetually." This is an auspicious promise for that hallowed spot, and for that people who came to worship towards the holy oracle. "There perpetually—if"—a serious proviso for dogmatic theology to deal with. We often meet good men who scout the notion

* 1 Kings ix. 3; 2 Chron. vii. 12

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of a God who uses "ifs," and do not reflect that they thus scout a notion which God himself sanctions. What were barren Ebal, and fertile, beautiful Gerizim, but emblems of a curse and a blessing? "These blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken to observe to do all his commandments, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee."* In the one case they were to be victorious, and fruitful, and eminent above all nations; in the other, to be harrassed and enslaved, pining and needy, smitten with blasting, mildew, and disease, and a prey to desolating wars, until their foes had carried them captive and chased them into every corner of the earth. Their national existence thus depended on moral grounds, and therefore the temple, also—the grandest symbol and the strongest bond of their nationality. "If ye turn away, and forsake my statutes, then I will pluck you up by the roots, and this house which I have sanctified for my name will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a proverb and a by-word among all nations."† Towards this gloomy issue our narrative will lead. Yet *beyond*, there is an issue to which this will contribute, all radiant with light. Faith gazes thitherward.

THE WALLS OF THE TEMPLE SHAKEN TO THEIR FOUNDATIONS BY SOLOMON'S OWN ACTS.—POLITICAL RESULTS OF HIS IMPIETY.

The words we have just cited were addressed by the Deity to Solomon in his second vision. From day to day, from Sabbath to Sabbath, from new moon to new moon, from the passover to the feast of tabernacles, the order of God's house had been maintained, and all Israel rejoiced when called to appear before him. The wisdom of their monarch had become the theme of all lands. Gifted with a comprehensive intellect, he had yet, in the first years of his reign, shown his humility by saying: "I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in: give, therefore, thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, and to discern between good and bad." The speech pleased the Lord, and he gave signal proofs of his complacency on the day of dedication by the ~~extraordinary~~

* Deut. xxviii.

† 2 Chron. vii. 19, 20.

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very spiritual fulness he bestowed on the Jewish king, and by the glory with which he crowned and pervaded the temple here he had placed his name.

Solomon, however, had ere this entered into affinity with haraah, and had married an Egyptian princess. His court was on a scale of unsurpassed magnificence. One article may be named as a specimen of regal luxury—as indicating the splendour with which he received the representatives or tributary potentates of other nations. Let us imagine ourselves present at such a reception. The eye can travel in no direction but it is dazzled by light. All objects are lustrous and attractive. Above every other, however, is the seat from which the sovereign dispenses favour, and around which courtiers and crowns do homage. During an interval of ceremony, with quick thought and glance, we can gather a description of this single ornament, which, amidst a thousand monuments of art, embellished the palace of Solomon. Is it constructed of albug, or cedar, or stone? Neither. It is a great throne of ivory, imported from Spain or Africa, exquisitely carved, and richly beautified with the purest gold. Six steps lead up to it, and the top bends round towards the arms, while on either hand are placed, at the height of the projecting supports, two lions; and on the one side and on the other, upon the six steps, twelve lions; there was nothing like it for stliness and regal splendour in any kingdom.* We can form no conception of these accessories of this great throne of ivory, without assigning them massive proportions, and ringing before the imagination those remains of ancient grandeur with which recent discoveries have enriched our knowledge, and amplified the means by which we may illustrate the notices of art and architectural magnificence found in the historical records of the Bible.

Has Solomon, then, forgotten whence wisdom and wealth flow? Has he grown intoxicated with greatness, and, therefore, set it in its noblest sense? Is universal genius about to waste a celestial fire on baubles? Has his navy, at its periodical return from Tarshish—Tartessus, in south-western Spain—bringing “gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks,” made him, in love with gewgaws and vain shows, that he has changed his eagle plumage for one of gaye colours, and chooses rather

* 1 Kings x. 18—20.

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to strut about the walks of an Asiatic parterre, than to soar amid the clouds of heaven where lightnings may strike him blind? Scripture does not convey this impression, but speaks of a more potent cause of declension that may harmonize very well with it. "Solomon loved many strange women." Hundreds of the fairest daughters of Moab and Ammon, Sidon and Edom, were in his power, and, though many of them perhaps were brought there as political hostages, the relations in which they stood to him led to idolatry and corruption.

Moreover, we may conjecture that, instead of remembering the ignorance of man, he had indulged in some of those speculations hinted at in his later writings, which, known afterwards in western lands under the name of Epicureanism, were necessarily a source of demoralization. A farther step is even possible. Perhaps he had theorized on the visions in which God had appeared to him, and resolved them into subjective phenomena—purely inward workings of the religious consciousness? The terminology here is modern; but idealism—the thing—is as old as philosophy itself.

Looking at the whole problem before us, as involving intellectual and moral elements, we imagine that a fearful cloud had settled on the mind of Solomon ere his heart surrendered itself to the blandishments of sense. No longer is he as he was on that day when he stretched forth his hands in devout supplication, and, from an elevated platform, made intercession before God on behalf of his people Israel. He had fallen from his glorious elevation; the gold had become dim, and the most fine gold was changed. Sensualism, both in the shape of philosophy and in shapes more palpable, clothed in all the charms and sorceries of the Sidonian Astarte, had bewitched his imagination. Years had passed away since the dedication of the temple. Sage, divine, and minister of God, ere he had attained the age of thirty, he was then renowned as the worthy hierophant of the mysteries of Jehovah. And now, instead of mellowed wisdom and moral dignity, we have a record of guilt and melancholy infatuation. "It came to pass, when Solomon was old, his wives turned away his heart after other gods." This was not in the fervour and the fever of early life. Age had come upon him, and with it, alas! moral dotage. The monarch himself violates the fundamental principle of the theocracy. He is guilty of a capital

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offence, and, by the most solemn penal statutes of the Hebrew commonwealth, is already doomed to die. The command given to Israel—a command well known to him—was that they were to “quite pluck down all the high places” of the heathen; * but *he* built them up—built one for Chemosh, and one for Moloch, and others for any and every god to which his strange wives burnt incense and offered sacrifice.†

All these were erected on the hill that is before Jerusalem, called in 2 Kings xxiii. 13, “the mount of corruption;” meaning thereby, the Mount of Olives, which faced the very gate that led directly into the temple of God. What must have been the revulsion of feeling in pious Israelites as they looked across the valley of Jehoshaphat at these abominations or wended their way past them to worship at Jerusalem? These high places, and that dedication prayer—how melancholy a contrast! And the saddest thought of all to such hearts is, that *Solomon* stands foremost in both. What rebuke too grave, what sarcasm too bitter, what judgment too appalling to apprehend, when the most favoured monarch that ever sat on the throne of Israel adopts this unholy syncretism, attempts this union of the irreconcilable, and confronts God’s sanctuary with idols? We may be sure that he never entered the courts of the Lord’s house without keen self-reproach. Nor will it be long ere outward events will remind him of his sin. “The Lord said to him, Forasmuch as this is done of thee, and thou hast not kept my covenant, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy servant.” The catastrophe was not to come in his days, for David’s sake, but in the days of his son.

There are already, however, sundry portentous signs hanging on the horizon. Hadad, an Edomite of royal blood, was carried by some of his father’s servants into Egypt when he was a little child. This was when David and Joab made havoc of the male population of Edom. Pharaoh was glad to receive the infant fugitive. He assigned him a house and land and food for his household. In after years he admitted him to the closest relationship, by giving him to wife “the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen.” On the death of David and Joab, Hadad left Egypt, and

* Numb. xxxiii. 52.

† 1 Kings xi. 7, 8.

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must have undertaken some enterprise of which we have no account, but it is allowed that his movements were attended with "mischief." *

Moreover, it is said that God stirred up Rezon, the son of Eliadah, who, with a band he had gathered together, obtained possession of Damascus; and, abhorring the Israelites, was an adversary to them all the days of Solomon. Rezon had been an officer of rank under Hadadezer, king of Zobah. Hamath-Zobah, his kingdom, lay north-east of Damascus, between the Orontes and Mesopotamia. He had suffered some loss in this latter quarter, and it was "when he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates,"† that David overthrew his army, and took from him immense spoil. The Syrians of Damascus, who came to help Hadadezer, met with a like fate, and fell, to the number of two and twenty thousand. Solomon had garrisons, as his father before him, in those parts; but the narrative gives ground for the suspicion that Rezon was a great annoyance to him. He, in fact, founded the Syrian monarchy, that lasted about 250 years. A glance at the map will show how much might be done in that position by a bold and inveterate foe in pillaging the caravans that passed through Tadmor in the desert, on their way to or from the eastern limits of Solomon's dominions.

Thus, north and south, the sky is overcast. Another darker cloud, however, is forming, in which Egypt has her share, as if now about to cast over Israel some shadow of her ancient plague. God looks angry. The prophetic spirit is aroused at the apostacy of the chosen race. The wives of Solomon are not the only worshippers on the high places.‡ The king, who had them built, has by this act read his recantation. He is a pure theist no longer, and the people are ready to renounce Jehovah, now that their monarch thus shows his indifference to the sole glory of his holy name. Judgment, however, does not slumber. The hand is lifted up that shall cleave the kingdom of Israel asunder.

The first instigators and the early birth-places of revolutions would form an interesting volume. Here, however, there is something more than human; and yet, humanly speaking, those two men who are "alone in the field"—Ahijah the

* 1 King* xi. 25.

+ 2 Sam. viii. 3.

‡ 1 Kings xi. 23

Shilonite, and Jeroboam the son of Nebat—embody the events of ages; the action of Ahijah is as pregnant with consequences as any of the great battles of the world. Solomon had marked Jeroboam as a young man of great valour and industry, one who “did work,” and therefore he had made him ruler over all “the charge of the house of Joseph.” On one occasion, as he was going out of Jerusalem, “clad with a new garment,” Ahijah found him in the way, and seizing the new garment, rent it into twelve pieces, and said to Jeroboam, “Take thee ten pieces: for thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee.”* How poetically tragical! A new kingdom, recently consolidated by David, is set forth by a new garment. The latter is torn to shreds by prophetic hands; the former is on the eve of being given up to distraction.

The infatuated monarch, as soon as this threatened disruption comes to his ears, does not accept it aright, or seek to avert the evil by repentance and by the overthrow of the high places; but, wholly intent on the human aspect of the crisis, and forgetful of his second vision or disbelieving the judgments it proclaimed, wishes only to take away Jeroboam's life. He escapes, however; and Egypt becomes likewise his place of refuge. Ahijah is too sacred for outrage; yet his symbolic act, dictated by the spirit of prophecy, was a more potent agency than the individual might of the son of Nebat. It immediately invested the latter with a divine retributive destiny.

Solomon's alliance with the Pharaohs did not blind the Egyptian court to its own interest. Moreover, we know of no actual relationship between his queen and Shishak. The latter, the Sesonchis or Scisciouk of Manetho, harboured Jeroboam.

At length Solomon sleeps with his fathers. No details are given of the closing scenes of his life. His reign was one of great splendour, that, like a gorgeous luminary long since set, still flings its richness up into the heavens. His death is instantly followed by threatening appearances that may well appal the eye that can look into futurity. Jeroboam is *already on the scene*. The Israelites had called him out of

* 1 Kings xi. 30 31

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Egypt, and at once, thus supported, he, with dauntless brow, appears before Rehoboam, to demand, in the name of the tribes of Israel, a relaxation of their national burdens. Political sagacity had forsaken Solomon in his latter days. The moral paralysis he had brought on had affected his vision. His people therefore had been made a prey. Having forsaken God, his wand fell from his hand, and his subjects felt that it was no longer the magic of wise thought and political foresight that was ruling them, but the strong arm of Asiatic despotism.

Rehoboam can yet, it may be, avert the threatened doom. By a wise policy, Jeroboam may either be employed as the leader of his hosts, or may be thwarted in his expectations. It is quite consistent with Scripture—in fact, the religious requirement of the Hebrew faith—not to regard the threat of Ahijah as an unconditional fatality. Revelation does not bind men with a chain of adamant, nor does it make the Divine economy a rope of sand. The predestination taught in heathen systems had but one handle. That of the Bible always had, always has, two. Theirs was a rigid fate; this, a wise purpose. Its unity, like man's, is a duality; that is, God, *as we know him*, makes his conduct hinge on moral conditions.

A RELIGIOUS REVOLT.—FIVE-SIXTHS OF THE ISRAELITES FORSAKE THE TEMPLE.—REPUDIATION OF THE AARONIC AND LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

When all Israel was in the commotion we have described it needed great thought and grave men to solve the problem. Return to the covenant and to the spirit of the Hebrew commonwealth, and there shall yet be one people. The old men said so. The theocracy will remain, the nation be happy, and the temple inviolate. Ahijah is at Shiloh, musing over the decrees and mysteries of heaven. The man whose garment he rent will be here again with the expectant and anxious multitudes in three days. A brief space, but sufficient to stereotype whole centuries of folly. Answer them thus, said the young men: "My father chastised you with whips; I will chastise you with scorpions." What marvel that when a king of Israel neglects to take counsel of God, he should become the victim of judicial infatuation! The tribes assemble; they

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receive this harsh, unwise, and unjust reply : the doom of the kingdom is sealed. "To your tents, O Israel! Now see to thine own house, David." And so he would were he on earth. The schism would yet be healed. But his grandson? Alas! that is quite another matter. He has inherited a curse, which came from Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, and from an impure fellowship with Egypt, and the votaries of Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians.

Now again the surrounding nations are awake. The rent is an accomplished fact, and Jeroboam is king of Israel. Even in this melancholy crisis, as civil war is prevented by a divine interposition, there is ground for hope, if the two kingdoms will preserve *their religious unity*. But sin is never barren; her offspring is quick and numerous. Declension, idolatry, carnal policy, follow one another like curse upon curse, and now sit grouped together in infernal consultation. The rivalry between Ephraim and Judah is no new thing; very little is required to make the separation entire. Even the purity of religion shall be given up. "And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom of Israel return to the house of David, if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem. . . . Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."*

Thus, under the guise of fatherly concern for the people, the divine law was set at nought. The second commandment had been given them; they knew that Aaron proclaimed a feast to Jehovah when he made the golden calf, and yet that God said they had corrupted themselves, and that, in addition to brother shedding the blood of brother, they were then made naked, to their shame, among their enemies. They were, however, here called upon to shut their eyes to the blessings and the curses that were on the great stones, set up close to them, on the mountains of Ephraim.† And the very first curse was on the man who made a graven or molten image. Instead, therefore, of cleansing the land, the Israelites themselves were now active in defiling it. Ebal and Gerizim publish the statutes of heaven in vain. Jerusalem—the place where God had put his name—is treated with contempt. Dan, in the farthest north, and

* 1 Kings xii. 26—28.

+ Deut. xxxvii.

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Bethel, in the centre of the Israelitish state, where these calves are placed, will henceforth be the resort of all the tribes save Judah and Benjamin.

Another stroke of policy was directed against the priesthood. "He made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi."* The axe, then, is now laid to the root of the tree, the tree that God planted, and would have watered with his own hand. The change in the divine institutions is complete. The sensualized mind of Israel concurs as readily in the spiritual as in the political revolution. The priests and Levites were actually cut off from executing the priest's office unto the Lord.† We may hope that, at this time, there was much piety amongst them, and that their character and feelings assumed the form of a protest against the measures of Jeroboam. There can be little doubt that he entertained almost universal suspicion of them. The influence they had would have been of great service to him could he have commanded it. They were located in thirty or forty of the cities of Israel, and yet had, it appears, to seek new places of abode. It is difficult to appreciate the magnitude of this movement. Thousands of offices must have become vacant by their non-adhesion to the new policy. Nothing but a sort of social exodus was open to them. On this they decided, and thus far Rehoboam reaped considerable advantage from the accession of a numerous and powerful class, though they could not transfer their old local influence. The priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him out of all their coasts; for they left their suburbs and their possessions, and came to Judah and Jerusalem. In lieu of these, Jeroboam consecrated any one who presented himself: "Whosoever would, he consecrated him;" and thus "ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made."

We thus see a fearful blow struck at all *religious unity* by the spiritual defection and apostacy of the ten tribes. The temple of God and the sacerdotal family of Aaron are abandoned together. And whatever fidelity in outward observance still characterized the *two* tribes, the records of Scripture show the breadth and depth to which the moral leprosy was eating out the marrow and the soul of the whole people of the kingdom of Judah. The sin of Solomon was the original spring

* 1 Kings xii. 31.

† 2 Chron. xi. 14

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of this fretting evil. Even his son Rehoboam, who succeeded him, was not a Hebrew of the Hebrews. In blood and religion he was impure. His mother was an Ammonitess, not a daughter of Abraham. We have, therefore, brief allusions to the enormities into which his subjects ran in a short time.* They committed sins above all their fathers had done. Again we cast back a glance on that hallowed season we have depicted, and now in melancholy and grief look around on general corruption. Yet while all these evils are at work, entailing political weakness in their moral guilt, the current of revelation runs on, and the Divine purpose is embodied in historical reality. A tempest hangs over Moriah: it will shortly burst, a new phase of the Levitical dispensation will appear, and the world will be better prepared by the things that are shaken for the things which cannot be shaken, but are ordained to remain.

A BLAST FROM THE NILE.—THE TEMPLE PILLAGED.

Let us now just glance at several points of interest in the present crisis. Jeroboam ascended the throne of Israel burdened with obligations to Shishak. By these he is fettered and made the ally of the Egyptian. The *ecclesiastical* revolution he carried out in the ten tribes widened the breach between them and their brethren. They had become a divided people, and, instead of rejoicing in each other's strength, were ready to undermine it, either by mutual assault, by connivance, or by direct co-operation with heathen powers. Indeed, it is said there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life.†

The fame of Solomon, and of the wealth of the temple, had astonished the neighbouring nations. He, however, slept with his fathers. The ruling mind of the age had just ceased to take part in human affairs. The splendour and the riches of God's house remained. Israel will not now help Judah. Jeroboam will march no force southward to oppose an Egyptian army. Such is the aspect, and such the change, of political affairs thirty-three years after the dedication. Sleeps Shishak at this hour? Syria is on the watch, does Egypt slumber? Rather has she not started from a passive state into an attitude of active hostility? Clouds of dust and darkening hosts, chariots and horsemen, threaten impending ill. Shishak

* 1 Kings xiv. 22—24.

† 1 Kings xv. 6.

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has taken the fenced cities of Judah ; and is on his way to the capital. Only the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign had opened when "the king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house ; he even took away all : and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made.* It does not appear that he defaced either of these structures. Perhaps he was propitiated by the surrender of all on which he set his heart. The details are not given. A brief chronicle of the fact, stating the capture of certain cities, and the after movement of his forces, is all we know of the invasion. But the extent of the pillage, or exaction in the metropolis, is conveyed in a single phrase : "He took away everything." Making allowance for general language, it is yet plain that he carried off with him immense booty, though the form in which this is recorded would lead one to suppose that his withdrawal from Jerusalem was purchased by the treasures of the temple and palace, properly so called—a sum ample enough to sustain him in other enterprizes of considerable magnitude. We view the matter in this light because we hear of no slaughter of the inhabitants. Rehoboam and the princes of Judah humbled themselves, and the Lord showed them favour.†

The particulars of this campaign may be recorded in Egyptian hieroglyphics, and no one can say whether even these shall not one day or other be given to the world. There is from time to time a resurrection of letters. The dry bones of antiquity are even now in motion, and an informing spirit breathes upon them from every quarter of the globe. Egypt, Assyria, and India are covered with fallen monuments of thought. Eager eyes are fixed on them, and earnest hands, heads, and hearts are at work to raise them from the dust in which they have been lying prostrate and buried for ages. Multitudes of them already stand erect, and at the bidding of modern criticism yield important contributions to the history of the past. But whether our information on this subject shall ever be more copious or not, the judgment threatened by the Divine Being fell. The temple was stripped, and infernal powers kept festival over its spoliation. Nevertheless, there was a revival from time to time, and a return to God ever found him faithful to his promise.

* 1 Kings xiv. 28.

† 2 Chron. xii. 1—12.

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THE TEMPLE AND ATHALIAH.—JEHOIADA AND HIS ROYAL WARD.

The reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, and Asa extended over a period of more than sixty years. The latter restored in part the wealth and vessels of the sanctuary.* By the vigour and piety of his early days, he brought about a considerable reformation. For a quarter of a century a like good work was carried on by his son and successor, Jehoshaphat. He, however, acted an unwise and sinful part by marrying his eldest son, Jehoram, to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab. After the death of her husband and son, she murdered all her grandchildren, save one babe, and took the reins of government into her own hands. She was a woman worthy of her mother and father, Jezebel and Ahab. She knew neither justice nor mercy. Joash, the youngest son of Ahaziah, was the only one of the royal seed that escaped her butchery. We honour his aunt, Jehosheba, who hid both him and his nurse in a bed-chamber in the temple, and there his uncle, Jehoiada, the high priest, had him for the space of six years under his tuition and special care. The secret was well kept.

At length Jehoiada decided on crowning the child, and putting an end to the disgusting tyranny of Athaliah. He accordingly organised a strong conspiracy against her, in which the Levites bore a conspicuous part. The week's work of the temple usually called for about a thousand men, and the plan of Jehoiada was to retain these companies who would ordinarily, at the close of seven days, have gone home, to watch the gates and the temple, and to form a guard for the young king. A popular high priest was a very fit person to dethrone an idolatrous queen. Four and twenty thousand of the house of Levi took their turns in the various services of the Lord's house and courts,† and were therefore able to give effectual aid to his project. Moreover, he engaged several civil and military officers in the movement, and these went about in Judah and brought an extraordinary number of Levites together to Jerusalem.‡ Athaliah had made herself infamous and detestable. But the question of rightful heirship was also a religious question. When, therefore, Jehoiada said, "*Behold, the king's son shall reign, as the Lord hath said*

* 2 Chron. xv. 18. † 1 Chron. xxiii. and xxiv. ‡ 2 Chron. xxiii. 1—3.

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of the sons of David," the natural interest felt for a young prince, who had been almost miraculously snatched from the hands of a bloody woman, deepened into a solemn obligation. Sound moral elements thrown into a popular insurrection always work marvels. There was here, too, a holy, venerable, patriotic, and able man as leader. However sacred his functions, he appears to have had abundant capacity for civil government, and to have felt, like most men of real sense and strength, that a priest is not to be a cloistered mummer, but a patriot, whenever the perils of his country call him to action. Boldly, therefore, did he mature his measures. And now the day is come for putting his plans in execution. Mount Moriah and all the courts of the temple are crowded with priests and people. There is much bustle and interest in that mysterious apartment which had from the first been the hiding-place of Joash and his nurse. Jehosheba, though merely his aunt, feels as his mother. Jehoiada looks glad and firm. He means to do his work heartily; and, as an earnest of it, he has already delivered to the captains of hundreds, the spears, bucklers, and shields that had been king David's, and were kept in the house of God. From the south-east to the north-east side of the temple, and at the other points of danger, there are serried files of armed men. The whole multitude stands in mute expectation. They await the decisive moment with a degree of excitement that is too deep for speech. All utterance is in their looks; every eye is bent on Jehoiada; every movement converges towards the priests' court. There is a stir within that sacred enclosure. Another instant, and the shouts of the people shall gladden Jerusalem and make the palace tremble. He comes—he comes! Jehoiada, and his sons, and the priests, cluster around an infant monarch. At most, he is only seven years of age. And thus in state "they brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony, and made him king, and anointed him, and clapped their hands, and said, God save the king!" In the sight of the whole assembly he stands, raised, as it would seem, on some platform close to a pillar (perhaps Boaz or Jachin) "as the manner was;" and the sound of the trumpet and the reiterated exclamation, "God save the king!" spread and echoed over the heights of Zion on the other side the valley, and aroused

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Athaliah herself, possibly then worshipping at the shrine of Venus or the Sun.

Hastily the alarmed queen came to ascertain the cause of all this commotion, and read her death-warrant in the spectacle. A glance was sufficient. "She looked, and behold, the king stood at the pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king; and all the people of the land rejoiced and sounded with trumpets; also, the singers, with the instruments of music, and such as taught to sing praise. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Treason, treason!" "Yes," might they reply, "to thee, but not to God, or the house of David." "Retribution" would have been a truer and more fitting exclamation. The shadow of death, with fiercest glare, is at her side. She turns and flies—not, however, to escape.

"Have her forth of the ranges; let not her foul blood pollute the precincts of this holy place. Whoso followeth her, let him likewise be slain with the sword." Such were the orders of Jehoiada—orders promptly obeyed. They pursued her, therefore, to the south-western gate; allowed her to cross the viaduct we have spoken of elsewhere, leading to Mount Zion; and, as she reached the chariot entrance to the king's house—the scene most likely of her own murderous policy—they slew her; glad perhaps to find, as she thought, a retreat in death from a more lingering vengeance and deeper public execration. Oppressors, however, above all persons that pass to their final account, will discover that hell is no fiction.

Jehoiada next made a covenant with the king and the people to be the Lord's. Forthwith they razed the house of Baal to the ground, dashed his images in pieces, and slew Mattan, his priest, before the altars on which, with strange sacrifices, he had so often insulted the living and the true God. Thus, then, once more is the temple purged, and the claims of the Most High vindicated among men.

The sacred edifice had suffered much during the ascendancy of Athaliah. Her sons, to use the Scripture phrase, "broke it up"—made the breaches in the walls of which we read—"and all the dedicated things belonging to it did they bestow upon Baalim."* The offices of Divine service had been interrupted, and every step taken to sensualize the inhabitants

* 2 Chron. xxiv. 7.

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of Jerusalem. Jehoiada brought about a great and most beneficial change. The order established by David in the temple worship was restored, and all other measures of public interest, during the king's minority, appear to have been dictated by wisdom, patriotism, and religion.

We have, therefore, much to awaken joy during his life and administration. Joash was guided by him in all public affairs, and evinced the greatest ardour in repairing the damage the temple had sustained while that wicked woman, Athaliah, reigned over the land. In accordance with his command, a public collection was devoted to this object. Indeed, he appears at this time, though not thirty years of age, to have outstripped the whole priesthood in his religious zeal. The flame of his piety outwardly burned straight to heaven. "After this, Joash was minded to repair the house of the Lord. And he gathered together the priests and the Levites, and said to them, Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of all Israel money to repair the house of your God from year to year, and see that ye hasten the matter. Howbeit, the Levites hastened it not. And the king called for Jehoiada the chief, and said unto him, Why hast thou not required of the Levites to bring in out of Judah and out of Jerusalem, the collection, according to the commandment of Moses, the servant of the Lord, and of the congregation of Israel, for the tabernacle of witness? And at the king's commandment they made a chest, and set it without at the gate of the house of the Lord. And all the princes and all the people rejoiced, and brought in, and cast into the chest, until they had made an end."

This is an instructive statement as to the method then adopted for keeping up the fabric of the temple, and the result is equally instructive. The chest was soon filled, and the king's scribe and the high priest's officer came and emptied it, and then carried it to his place again. "Thus they did day by day, and gathered money in abundance."* As the result of this liberality, masons and carpenters, and such as wrought iron and brass, were soon busily occupied, and "the work was perfected by them, and they set the house of God in his state, and strengthened it."†

Thus far, then, Joash was not unmindful of one most significant act attending his coronation: "They gave him the

* 2 Chron. xxiv. 4—11.

† Ibid. xxiv. 12.

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testimony." The divine injunction as to the future king of Israel is found in Deut. xvii. 18: "And it shall be, when he sitteth on the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites." The Jews say it was to be written with his own hand. At any rate, it was to be from the autograph of Moses, in order to invest it with greater sacredness, so that, feeling God's words were before him, he might never attempt to contravene the Divine commands, or presume to invalidate them by human legislation.

A romantic interest, a spirit of public justice, a liberal and buoyant piety, have hitherto entered into this reign. It began by anointing a child to be king, whose existence, known only to few, had been a seven years' mystery. No hired assassin in Athaliah's pay ferretted him out, or proved a match for his nurse and Jehosheba. Jehoiada, too, his uncle and guardian, was equal to any crisis. But men, however great and able, die. They rest from their labours, and the strength thus withdrawn from the body politic often brings on a paralysis that is felt for generations. Those linked with them in official dignity, but of little intrinsic power, no longer grasped by the moral force that kept them in their place, as frequently fall off and exhibit a melancholy change. What follows is an affecting instance of backsliding, and of the extent of human depravity. Before, however, we pass to it, we will take one more glance at the noble and venerable high priest and chieftain of those degenerate and degenerating times.

"Jehoiada waxed old, and was full of days, when he died: a hundred and thirty years old was he when he died. And they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God and toward his house." Among the kings! yes, not without conferring honour on their place of sepulture. His monument was a standing lesson to crowned heads. "He had done good;" yes, and because all Judah had felt and known his piety and patriotism during a patriarchal life, public sentiment demanded this homage to his name. Glorious old Jehoiada! Moses, and the prophets, and all the blessed spirits above, read thy history with joy as well as we. Amidst them also art thou exalted, and in that brightest constellation thy star shall shine with undimmed lustre for ever.

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We now turn to gathering darkness. What was muttered in it we do not know, but something satanic enough, judging by results. "After the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah, and made obeisance to the king: then the king hearkened unto them. And they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, and served groves and idols."* Prophets remonstrated in vain, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon Zechariah (called Zacharias in Matt. xxiii. 35), the son of Jehoiada the priest, who stood above the people, on some sort of pulpit or platform in the temple, and said unto them, "Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of the Lord that ye cannot prosper? Because ye have forsaken the Lord, he hath also forsaken you." Just by where Joash had been crowned was this seasonable warning uttered, and amid a people that had recently lost and honoured one of the most illustrious high priests that ever presided over the commonwealth of Israel. Their conduct now went far to show the hollow virtue of the age. It was circumstantial. One great man dies, and the state totters—religiously and politically. Joash, it is said, ruled well all the days of Jehoiada. And now, affecting change! Zechariah was actually stoned to death, by the command of the king, in the court of the house of the Lord.† That holy spot is thus stained. A more flagrant instance of ingratitude is scarcely upon record. Owing everything to Jehosheba and his uncle, he yet violated the most sacred obligations to God and man by ordering their son to be murdered for his faithfulness and zeal in the service of Jehovah. Well might justice allow Zechariah to exclaim in his dying moments, "The Lord look upon it and require it"—a righteous prayer, answered in due time. Hazael, king of Syria, soon after this came against Joash, and once more the vessels of the temple were sacrificed to induce him to depart. The Syrians, however, again made their appearance in the course of a year or so, and the hosts of Judah were given into the hands of a far inferior force, because of their sin; while Joash, afflicted and confined to his bed, was ultimately murdered by two of his servants, and closed a long reign of forty years by an ignominious death, neither bewailed by his people nor honoured with a resting-place for his remains in the sepulchres of the kings.

* 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 18.

† 2 Chron. xxiv. 21.

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Could the reprobate ward be placed next his guardian? Had it been so, the monument of Jehoiada would have cried out. Such baseness was enough to taint the air around his tomb, and the city of David on the summit of Zion, where he lay, was less fit for him than the valley of Hinnom down below. Stern Hebrew virtue would have said, "Like to like," and stamped his memory with its deserts.

THE TEMPLE PLUNDERED BY ISRAEL.—AHAZ CLOSES IT.

(B.C. 839 to 726.)

The reader of Scripture is constantly struck with the fact that the seeds of religious corruption usually first sprang up in "high places." Monarchs and princes took the initiative. When Amaziah, the son of Joash, ascended the throne, the hopes of the righteous were partially revived; but, after a while, he likewise proved faithless to the theocracy, and forsook the worship of the one God. Inspired truth says, "his heart was not perfect," that is, he was ruled by no steadfast principle of piety. A signal proof of this was that when, about the twelfth year of his reign, he had conquered the Edomites, he at once "brought the gods of the children of Seir and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them." * Pride and infatuation immediately possessed him. Wishing most likely to avenge the injuries that the Israelitish forces had inflicted on certain cities of Judah, he provoked the king of Israel to battle. This brought on him a series of disasters. Among other evils, the temple was ransacked. Its treasury had again been replenished by the free-will offerings of the people; the precious vessels had been replaced; but everything valuable that had not been concealed was carried off, in addition to hostages and treasures from the royal household.

This is a new and more affecting phase of things. The ten tribes are here in action. The brethren of Judah and Benjamin have lost all reverence for the temple, and do not hesitate to transfer, perhaps to the service of the calf that is in Bethel, memorials of its profanation. Judah has sinned so deeply that apostate Israelites are allowed to vent their rage against God's house, and, having pulled down six or seven hundred feet of the wall of Jerusalem, gather in crowds

* 2 Chron. xxv. 14.

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even in the sanctuary, and pollute it without shame. The rains descend and the floods come apace. Amaziah was slain at Lachish by some of his own subjects, who were permitted to conspire against him.

His son is called both Uzziah and Azariah, and was blessed in early life, and for many years, with the wise counsels of a prophet named Zechariah, "who had understanding in the visions of God." Being made king in the sixteenth year of his age, he needed, in a special manner, higher guidance. Sad that he ever left off seeking it! He appears to have had a good deal of energy about him, and as long as he sought the Lord, the Lord made him to prosper. But, like some other monarchs, he thought he must burn incense as well as build towers, and in the very act of so doing—profaning the temple proper by his presence—was smitten with incurable leprosy, and thrust out of the house of God, to pass the remnant of his day in feebleness, isolation, and scorn. There was then a priesthood of Divine institution, and while the line of Aaron was thus distinguished, the encroachment of Uzziah was sin, like the sin of Jeroboam, and tended to disorganize still further the Levitical economy. He might have died in peace had he listened to the warning of Azariah and the four-score priests who rebuked his presumption. It is, in many respects, melancholy to see a king, whose name "spread abroad," terminating a bright career of fifty-two years in a leper-house as a penal visitation; and it is pleasing to find that Jotham, who did not rule over Judah a third of the time of his father, maintained a sincere and uniform piety amid the corruptions then common among the people.

Ahaz is at hand, B.C. 742, and the idolatry of Solomon's latter days is now about to receive a darker hue; and looking over the brow of Mount Zion itself, the inhabitants of the holy city will see beneath in the valley of Hinnom, the fires of Moloch kindled, through which their children will pass to destruction. Heathenism will shortly be once more in the ascendant. This Ahaz had an ancestor named David, whose memory might have abashed his impieties; but David is to him only a name. The twenty-seventh psalm may be chanted by the courses of singers he appointed a little longer, and then its devout aspiration—"One thing have I desired of the Lord," etc., shall cease, and the Shekinah dwell in silence

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and darkness, with no incense burning before it, no golden candlestick lighted up, and no prostrate heart responding, "One thing, too, I desire, to behold the beauty of the Lord and to inquire in his temple." The dark roll of Ezekiel could not be more prophetic than the crimes of Ahaz. The very expedients he resorted to for safety were so many stages on the road to destruction, not immediately as to him, but remotely, as bearing on the destinies of his people.

The Assyrian monarchy was just then beginning to spread its wings westward. We know not its origin. Its rise and progress are among the mysteries of time. But, at the date of which we are speaking, it appeared to be a full-grown empire and of extraordinary magnitude. Once in view, it will be some time ere its part come to a close. It became the ally of Judah as follows. The king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, were leagued against Jerusalem. They besieged Ahaz. He therefore sent to Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, saying, "I am thy servant and thy son; come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me." * As usual, his aid was bought by the treasures of the temple and the king's house. The Assyrian monarch then laid siege to Damascus, took it, slew Rezin, and made captives of his people. A subordinate power and foe was thus broken. But this left both Israel and Judah, apart from providential checks, at the mercy of the Assyrian tiger.† The day when his help was craved will prove a day of vexation. No sincere, much less a hollow and selfish, alliance can forestall the results of sin. "The Lord brought Judah low because of Ahaz, for he made Judah naked, and transgressed sore against the Lord."

There is large political instruction in the Bible, and the example before us is a good illustration of it. Syria was crushed; but the paw that struck it to the earth was at once raised to strike a fresh victim. All that Ahaz had sacrificed, laying under tribute for the king of Assyria every source of wealth in the kingdom, was fruitless. His rapacity was not to be diverted from its own objects. Hence, as other feeble states have found in a like political crisis, "he came to him and distressed him, but strengthened him not." He drew on his resources, but gave him no real help.

* 2 Kings xvi. 7.

+ Tiglath-Pul-Assur, i.e. the Tiger-Lord of Assyria.

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As we read these admonitory lessons we at once ask, Will not Ahaz listen to the warnings of Isaiah, and Micah, and Jewish history, and betake himself in sackcloth and ashes to the strong for strength? Alas! Jehovah is become to him no God at all. "In the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the Lord." "Because," said he, "the gods of the kings of Syria help them, I will sacrifice to them that they may help me." This is the logic of a heathen, and not of an Israelite. No inference from the miraculous annals of his ancestors! No faith in God's threat or promise! What then will come next? Dense exhalations are steaming up from Tophet, and amidst them, as inured to their poison, stalks a figure along the viaduct that leads to the temple, full of insensate fury, and with fell purpose on his brow. A second destroying angel over Jerusalem would be, in comparison, a herald of good tidings. Bent on evil deeds comes this minister of hell. Behold! it is Ahaz himself, and thence has he accepted his commission. The vessels of God's house are first gathered together at his bidding and cut to pieces. The borders of the ten laver-bases are removed, and, probably, consecrated to idols, or given to Tiglath Pileser. The Sabbath covert, of which we have no description, and the king's entry to the temple, he turned away for the king of Assyria. We may reasonably infer from this expression that he had virtually commanded Ahaz to turn his back upon Moriah. "I will be your ally; but, as a condition, you shall give me your treasures, and pour contempt on the worship of Jehovah." The tiger-tyrant is more than obeyed. Impiety, as if ruling in the heavens, will now make a final move for the overthrow of a pure worship; for Ahaz has not only destroyed and appropriated the vessels of the temple, but has shut up its doors, and made him altars in every corner of Jerusalem.*

Once more, then, no temple in God's whole world owns him. Again the spirit of heathenism spreads over the land. Few are valiant for the truth. Israel no longer means "the soldier of God," as to either king or people. Instead of being a "defender of the faith," he has become the active missionary of idolatry and polytheism. In every several city of Judah he made high places to burn incense unto other gods, and provoked to anger the Lord God of his fathers. A grand

* 2 Chron. xxviii. 24.

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religious provision for the nation! open-air services! loud preaching in every city! altars at all corners of Jerusalem! Come, all ye gods, and thou Moloch especially, make haste! there are human infants burning for thee, and other sacrifices of a sweet smelling savour for you all. Come! for all things are ready; and while in the holy city your altars smoke daily, the temple of Jehovah is shut up. Yet some ages longer will it stand, and teach momentous lessons to mankind. Think, reader, of its history. Time shall not cancel it. Think of the original sin of Solomon, and of its present issue. Imagine yourself between the porch and the altar. Blood was shed there, still speaking like Abel's. You will, as it were, hear Boaz yet saying, "In him is thy strength," and Jachin, "He shall establish thee"; and may ask, In what sense shall this prophecy be accomplished? Fear not, it shall come to pass. A deeper silence than reigns here now shall leave its truth unimpaired and immortal. Meanwhile, the din of the valley of Hinnom makes this silence awful. On earth there is nothing like it. God's house is shut up, and forsaken of his own people. It is a monument of his presence, as once living in the midst of them. Behold it, and muse! Moloch's gong is at this moment drowning the cries of his victims on Mount Olives, and beneath the brow of Mount Zion. Listen and muse!*

THE TEMPLE RE-OPENED BY HRZEKIAH.—MANASSEH'S IDOLATROUS PROFANATION.—JOSIAH AND THE AUTOGRAPH OF MOSES.—THE SANCTUARY A PREY TO FOES AND FLAMES.

Hezekiah ascended the throne B.C. 726, and for a season a refreshing change was felt in every town and city belonging to the tribe of Judah.

The laws of transmission, both in relation to good and evil, are a profound mystery. That they act on a large scale no one can question. Exceptions are, however, numerous and unaccountable. Reaction will explain much in political events, and goodness may be brought into play by a recoil from evil; but it is a general principle we want, which this does not supply. We cannot say that an unholy parentage will have an unholy offspring. Special grace—the old idea—may make a contrast

* The gong proper belongs to China, but something like it has been commonly used for this purpose in all human sacrifices. Some think Moloch's were *always* first killed, and then thrown into the hands of the idol heated red hot. Not so.

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where we should look for resemblance. Thus it was with Hezekiah. Wisdom, if it dawns on eastern men, often dawns very early. A king, at twenty-five, showing himself an earnest iconoclast, is a noble sight. It was at that age the son of Ahas began to reign. No filial feeling restrained his indignation against idols. Groves, images, and high places shared one common fate. The thing, however, we most admire in him is the freedom with which he dealt with a divinely appointed symbol: "He brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made." It was a great thing even for a Jewish monarch to be so exempt from superstition. Hezekiah saw a serious crime in the common mind relative to this object, and, moreover, he saw it had answered its assigned purpose. The children of Israel had, it seems, preserved it, and actually burnt incense to it down to those days. Nothing could justify an infraction of the fundamental law of the theocracy. He therefore destroyed it to destroy relic-worship; he called it a thing of brass, Nehushtan, and, as he shivered it to atoms, felt that both God and Moses were on his side.

Not a month had transpired, after the sceptre of Judah was in his hands, ere he "opened the doors of the house of the Lord, and repaired them."* Close to these words we find an affectionate exhortation to the Levites to sanctify themselves, and to renew the whole temple service. There is reason to believe† that, in obedience to the king of Assyria and the reigning idolatry, the holy place itself had been defiled with every species of abomination. In sixteen days the vessels were replaced, and the sanctuary and courts purified. Other steps were then taken towards a general reformation. "It is in mine heart," said the king, "to make a covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that his fierce wrath may turn away from us." He was anxious to produce a great religious revival. Nothing could be better fitted to this end than the celebration of the passover.

Since the days of Solomon and the separation of the kingdoms, no national commemoration had taken place. Letters were now sent throughout Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh—a measure that required the concurrence of Hoshea, the king of Israel, and appears to have had it—calling on them to unite in this solemnity, on the fourteenth day of the second month, at

* 2 Chron. xxix. 3.

† 2 Chron. xxix. 5, 18.

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Jerusalem, not being ready by the usual day, the fourteenth of the first month; but as the posts passed from place to place, they met with nothing save mockery and scorn. Yet, at length, a goodly number came from Asher, Zebulon, etc. Judah was of one heart; and this union of pious Hebrews from every quarter of the land must have made all bewail their differences and strifes, and must have given an unction to the services of the fourteen days during which the passover was kept, that assured them the Lord had not yet wholly forsaken the people of his choice.

But, alas! the next five years will not close ere Israel will cease to be a kingdom. Shalmaneser, the rod in God's hand, executed his providential commission, and B.C. 721, the ten tribes—at least multitudes of them—were carried captive beyond the Euphrates, and crossed over as idolators into a land of idolatry—the cradle of their race—as a punishment for their rebellion against their God. Judah then only remained. A great blow had been struck at idolatry, and many of the captive Israelites had carried with them a hallowed recollection of the recent occasion on which they and their brethren had once more gone up to the house of God in company.

But the spirit of the accursed thing was still among the people, and no sooner had Manasseh come to the throne than they went back to their evil ways. Hezekiah ruled over Judah nearly thirty years. He was an able and devout man. He made an effort to shake off the annual tribute paid to Shalmaneser, in which he succeeded for a time. He was also successful in other enterprises. Still, under Sargon (Sennacherib), the mighty incubus of Assyria pressed upon him. The wealth of the temple and of the king's coffers went to propitiate the enemy. All the gold was stripped from the doors and the pillars of the sanctuary. This, however, was not enough; and a second invasion, only two or three years later, would have been fatal to Hezekiah but for a divine interposition, in which Jehovah vindicated his great name from the insults of the Assyrian monarch by the total destruction of his army. A short time elapsed, and Sargon himself was murdered by his own sons.

It would weary the reader to tell the tale of the reactionary measures which Manasseh adopted, after the death of his father Hezekiah, in order to undo the good work of more than

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a quarter of a century, and to replunge all Judah in the thickest mire of idolatry. By his command altars were built in the two courts of the house of the Lord, and dedicated to all the host of heaven. But the judgment destined to make men's ears tingle was on its way. It was in the captivity and the thorns and fetters of Babylon that he learned wisdom. He was brought back to his kingdom a penitent and a reformer. The latter chapters of his history we read with thankfulness. They suit great sinners, and show that Divine pity does not abandon even the worst of men. Altogether, he reigned the long space of fifty-five years. But though, in his converted state, good days returned, after him came Amon, and the evil story has to be told afresh. The reign of good Josiah follows; and the tender piety of his childhood—having such a father—again suggests those mysterious alternations of good amidst evil, which are not of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. He was only twelve years old when he began to restore the order of God's house. A notable incident occurred during this process. The original copy of the Book of the Law of the Lord, by the hand of Moses, was found, most probably in the ark that had been carried into the treasury of the temple. He himself read it to the people. Huldah, the prophetess, declared that its denunciations would be accomplished. The time, however, had not yet arrived. We give the above opinion as to the place in which the law was discovered, because it is plain from the third verse of the following chapter, that the holiest of all had been invaded. If the ark was to be put there, and not to be borne by the priests, it had, we imagine, been removed in those evil days when all reverence for the Divine sanctity had disappeared, and God had withheld the tokens of his presence from unhallowed eyes. The place he had chosen, he was once more about to bless for a season.

The heart of the king is animated with holy fire, hot enough to calcine Jeroboam's altar, and all others that pollute the land, and to reduce them to powder. The twenty-third chapter of the Second Book of Kings is a lively record of his proceedings. He discarded the idolatrous priests, defiled Tophet, removed the horses dedicated to the sun from the very entrance to the house of the Lord, had the bones of the old priests at Bethel burnt upon its altars, then made dust of it, and scattered it and them to the winds, thus fulfilling the

prediction of the man of God.* Having restored the ancient service, and repaired the temple with the free-will offerings made for this end, the festival of the passover was observed by the people at large. "Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah."† It was a great occasion, when the nation's heart was, for a while, flooded with fresh life. But alas! the tide will soon ebb and leave no trace of having risen to such height.

About this time the Assyrian empire was enfeebled by neighbouring nations. Medes and Chaldeans were in arms against it. Egypt had been rising in importance and power, and Josiah lost his life at Megiddo, in an attempt to obstruct the course of Pharaoh-Necho—a man of enterprising spirit—who likewise was marching against Assyria, and most probably wished to secure some valuable commercial posts on the Euphrates. Thus, then, fell one of the best of kings, after a reign of thirty-one years, and his death awakened the mournful strains of minstrels and prophets, as they mused over the virtues and piety of the man who had so long and so worthily occupied the throne of David his father. Justice, like Jehu, is driving fast and furiously at this point in Jewish history. "Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day." And well they might, for Jehoahaz, or Shallum, his evil son, deposed and imprisoned by Necho, is succeeded by Jehoiakim, and the land made tributary to Egypt. Wickedness grows rampant, prophets become martyrs, and Jeremiah, B.C. 607, foretells the triumphs of a very different power—the Chaldee-Babylonian—which is not only to punish Pharaoh-Necho, but to sweep the whole land of Israel with the besom of destruction. And thus it was. The last two chapters of the Second Book of Kings, and the closing chapter of Jeremiah, may be consulted for the details.

Having driven the Egyptian monarch from Syria, and seized all that pertained to him, from the Nile to the Euphrates, Nebuchadnezzar turned his arms against Jerusalem. Bands of Moabites, etc., were also now let loose against the devoted city. Jehoiakim was taken prisoner, and, though allowed to retain his throne, became dependent on Babylon.

* 1 Kings xiii.

+ 2 Kings xxiii. 23.

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Then was the prediction of Isaiah,* delivered more than a century before, fulfilled in the captivity and position of Daniel and his brethren. They became hostages to the conqueror. Owing, however, to the revolt of Jehoiakim, the Babylonian army again appeared before Jerusalem ; and, at length, Nebuchadnezzar arrived in person, B.C. 599, and Jehoiachin became a prey to the mighty power that now held Judea in his grasp. There is no hope. Surrender is the only way open. Never before had such a melancholy train issued from the gates of Jerusalem. A fallen king is in front, with his mother, and the princes, and the chief officers of his court. They go forth to the king of Babylon. Women of exquisite beauty—the king's wives—with downcast look and streaming eyes, give deep interest and sadness to the procession. After them come mighty men of valour, and all the craftsmen and smiths, and all that were strong and apt for war—the flower and thew of the nation. Waggons of treasure bring up the rear ; and these, with all that can give assurance of absolute submission for the future, will soon be on their way to enrich a distant land. Ten thousand captives will bewail their lot in those remote regions. Only, however, let nine years roll over, and worse scenes will be enacted. Zedekiah had been left by the king of Babylon upon the throne of Judah. About 593 B.C., he made an alliance with Hophra (Apries), king of Egypt, and withdrew allegiance from Nebuchadnezzar. The latter, therefore, was determined to make an end of the Jewish kingdom. After some movements, which issued in the retreat of Hophra to his own territories, Jerusalem was again besieged and taken. The end is now come. Famine and fury are at work. The walls are broken down ; fire rages in the temple, the palace, and every great man's house in Jerusalem. Zedekiah is carried to Riblah, and judgment is given on him in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar. His sons are slain before him, and, when his eyes are put out, he is bound with fetters, and thus, both in his trial and punishment, fulfils prophecies he was not inclined to believe.†

The brazen sea of Solomon, the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, are now in the hands of the heathen. Where is now the stability they promised, when placed at the porch of the Lord's house ? Where it was when they were placed there

* 2 Kings xx. 16—18.

† Comp. Jer. xxxiv. 3 ; Ezek. xii. 12.

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God's faithfulness shall not fail. The flames have wound around the courts and colonnades, and rushed through the sanctuary. The heavens are lighted up from Syria to Idumea. The cherubim and the ark of the covenant have perished. The cedar-beams have fallen from the roof, and all the apartments over the holy place have sunk in the common ruin. Mount Moriah is a desolation. Jerusalem is a charred mass. Zion is in sack-cloth and ashes. The temple of Solomon, after witnessing the vicissitudes of four hundred years, is no more.

But we may ask, in conclusion, was that temple of no use while it stood, or was it useless even in its ruins? As well might we suppose Adam unserviceable after the fall. *He* was a human, undefiled sanctuary for a time, and yet after defilement capable of restoration; nay, in his ruin more meet to exhibit heaven's mercy. And in all the severity that allowed the holiest of all to be laid waste, the fire on the altar to be put out, and the temple to be razed to the ground, we see goodness to mankind. The reader will, we think, often find it true that certain arrangements of the Divine economy stand only to show what man will make of them. They are abused by him, then broken up by his Maker, and the inner truth that formed their sole life and value escapes from the hard forms of a local and transient scheme, and, exemplifying its own ethereal nature, spreads a spiritual element and blessing over distant lands. Can we picture to ourselves the colony on the river Chebar without feeling that here likewise Israel has his mission? Daniel and his associates in a heathen court, showing the faith of Israelites indeed, and filling posts of honour, though in bonds, prefigure the real temple of Divine erection in which God for ever dwells. What structure was ever so honoured as the one we have described? It was distinguished throughout by preternatural indications of the Divine presence. Yet the very monarch who reared it became insensible of its claims, and, with mingled folly and guilt, insulted the Supreme Majesty to his face. If men corrupted a system so carefully guarded by stern and holy laws, and placed the altar of Chemosh by the altar of Jehovah, was it not a proof that the best outward forms are insufficient to sustain the piety of the church? The *heart* must be in a healthy state in order that the arterial tubes may convey the life-blood to the extremities; otherwise, disease extends, the

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whole organism becomes affected, and ere long death ensues. A similar analogy pervades the framework of religious institutions. To no one church-polity has God ever given the privilege of having life in itself. This can only come from those who sincerely adopt it, and thus infuse into it the vital energy that flows to them from a higher fountain. Never was a greater truth taught than this, nor with more solemn lessons—the destruction of the temple of Solomon and the expatriation of the Jews. Men's eyes grow clearer when they read by the light of calamities. The favoured people brought themselves to think that God loved Abraham and a sacrifice apart from the obedience of the patriarch and the sacrifice of a broken spirit. They reduced his election to a carnal preference. They made the Deity a materialist, and he rebuked their impiety by scattering them and their temple to the four winds. The spiritual alone can ultimately triumph. Whenever men grow satisfied with a mere *scheme* of religion, and assign to it and its adjuncts an objective virtue, it is already doomed and must see corruption. The prophets discerned this issue with respect to the whole temple service. Thorough-paced Judaizers of old times, on the contrary, indulged in visions suited to their tastes. They meditated nothing less than the reconstruction, on a more extended basis, of the Jewish state and entire polity. Altars were to be built and sacrifices to smoke in the spacious courts of a new and larger temple. Meanwhile Isaiah, looking beyond the existing economy and its end in the light of that great living truth it taught, is inspired to address this sublime message to the Judaizers of an after-age: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest? For all these things hath mine hand made, and all those things have (thus) been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to him that is of a poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.*" God's own selected temple is the human heart. In it the lost Shekinah shall be found.

* Isaiah lxvi. 1, 2.

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The Simoom overtaking Travellers in the Desert.

NUMEROUS and striking references are made by the sacred writers to the properties and operations of aerial nature, as exhibited either in the land of their birth, or in those countries *with which by geographical proximity they were familiar.* *Such allusions are introduced in historical narratives, and as*

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metaphors in poetical odes and elegies, while the usages of domestic life resulting from conditions of climate characteristic of oriental localities, are repeatedly mentioned. It is desirable to have correct apprehensions of the natural circumstances thus adverted to, otherwise the meaning, pertinence, and force of various passages will either not be appreciated at all, or only vaguely understood. To supply information of this kind is the design of the following pages, devoted to the Climatology of Sacred Lands, referring, however, more particularly to Syria and Palestine. The topic is of importance on the ground of scriptural illustration, while it is of singular interest in itself and not devoid of fascination. That branch of science comes under notice, which has for its sphere of observation and enquiry the subtle circumambient atmosphere—the most wonderful and useful of the works of God, essential to the vitality of every living thing—the scene of magnificent sights, and the grand messenger of nature—the medium by which light, sound, and odour, are dispersed—the vehicle, therefore, of beauty, music, and fragrance. It deals in detail with the phenomena of heat and cold, summer and winter, day and night, sunshine and shade, rain and drought, calm and tempest. It leads the mind as well as the eye to the morning mist, the noontide glory, and the twilight cloud; expatiates amid the loveliness and grandeur of creation; and bids us mark the silence of the stormless ether, the whispers of the rising breeze, and the noise of mighty whirlwinds.

GENERAL LAWS OF CLIMATE.

The distribution of temperature over the surface of the globe—one of the main incidents of climate—is subject to a general law of diminution as the latitude of places increase, or as we pass from equatorial to polar localities. This arises from the mean altitude of the sun above the horizon, the great source of heat, diminishing with an increase of geographical distance from the equator, while the heating influence of the luminary is lessened in proportion as his rays depart from the perpendicular. In fact, the quantity of the solar rays received upon a circle of the earth's surface, of any given extent, lessens as their direction becomes oblique. Hence we have regions of burning heat, moderate warmth, and biting cold—torrid, temperate, and frigid zones—belts of the superficies distinguished

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generally by high, medium, and low temperatures. The torrid or equatorial belt, bounded by the tropics, receives the greatest amount of heat, because the midday sun is always vertically over some point or other within its limits. But to all positions without the tropics the radiant orb is never in the zenith; it is, consequently, less influential in promoting temperature, while just as we recede from tropical latitudes, his mean duration and heating power declines, till, towards the poles, his beams are always too oblique to prevent the formation of perpetual ice and snow.

The influence of latitude in determining the climate of a country is, however, vastly modified by the configuration of the land—whether it spreads out into plains but slightly raised above the level of the sea, or is piled up into mountains towering to the clouds. It is a well-known fact, that the temperature of the air decreases with its height, for the atmosphere is not heated by transmitting the rays of the sun, but by the radiation of heat from the surface of the earth warmed by the solar beams, and chiefly by actual contact with it. Hence its temperature becomes progressively lower with its distance from the general mass of the globe. The density also is not uniform, but diminishes from below upwards; and rarified air has a less capacity for heat than the compressed. In journeying from the equator along the same level, several hundred miles must be passed before there is any sensible diminution in the mean annual temperature. But a vertical ascent of only a thousand yards will cause a very perceptible decrease of heat; and the decrease will proceed with a greater ascent, till, at the height of some fifteen or sixteen thousand feet in equatorial regions, we come to a limit, where the thermometer never rises above the freezing point. This is the line of constant congelation and perpetual snow, which is at its greatest height within the tropics; and from thence descends generally in the form of a curve towards the poles, till it is found at the surface within the polar circles. It follows, that countries which are at different elevations, though in the same latitude, must have different climates; and that, in the same region, there may be great diversity of climate co-existing within narrow bounds, according as the surface has varying levels. Hence, while the tropical lowland is oppressively hot, and loaded with luxuriant vegetation, if moisture is not wanting, the tropical

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mountain, rising a few thousand feet above it, in its higher regions, is as cold and bare of verdure as any polar site.

DIFFERENCE OF LEVEL AND CLIMATE IN THE HOLY LAND.

The country which forms the eastern shore of the Mediterranean—Syria, including Palestine, or the Holy Land—has striking diversities of level in its configuration, with resulting varieties of temperature and productions. The beautiful observation of the Arabian poets respecting its grand mountain system—"The Lebanon bears winter on his head, spring on his shoulders, and autumn in his bosom, while summer lies sleeping at his feet"—is applicable to its climate generally; for four districts are distinctly marked out by the hand of nature, strikingly distinguished by differences of elevation, temperature, and vegetation. There is a region of actual depression below the level of the ocean; there are maritime plains but slightly raised above it; table-lands of considerable height surmounted with hilly ridges; and the upper portions of

"Hoar Lebanon, chief of a hundred hills."

These four regions are long strips of land, parallel to the coast, which runs in a general direction from north to south. They may be discriminated as tropical, warm, temperate, and cold.

The *depressed region* is the Ghor, or Valley of the Jordan, and especially that part of it which lies between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. The direct distance between the two lakes is about sixty-five miles. This long valley, or sunk plain, as it may be called, is bounded on both sides by a chain of steep and lofty highlands, from five to six miles asunder in the northern part, but receding to three or four times that extent in the southern, where the plain of Moab lies on the eastern, and that of Jericho on the western side of the stream. The tract is thus a cleft or gulley upon a grand scale. There is a much narrower valley let in to the larger, and descending much lower, through which the river winds its way with a generally rapid current. The entire district is quite a phenomenon in physical geography, being below the level of the sea: only another great example of which is known, that of the country bordering on the Caspian, where the depression is comparatively inconsiderable. But it amounts to nearly 1400 feet in the instance of the southern part of the Ghor, for the

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surface of the Dead Sea is to that extent below the surface of the Mediterranean. This is the mean of barometrical and trigonometrical measurements executed by the Compt de Bertou in 1838-9, Von Russegger in 1838, Lieutenant Symonds in 1841, and Von Wildenbruch in 1845. The literal accuracy of our Lord in one of his parables may here be noted: "A certain man *went down* from Jerusalem to Jericho." Adding the height of Jerusalem above the sea, at least 2200 feet, to the depression of the plain of Jericho below it, and there is a descent of 3600 feet in passing from the former to the latter—a journey of about twenty miles.

This great depression of the surface, together with the enclosing heights, cause a powerful accumulation of heat by the concentration and reflection of the solar rays, while the bordering highlands prevent the admission of external breezes to relieve the temperature. The climate is therefore tropical, though the site is some five hundred miles distant from the tropics. Travellers on descending into this low country feel as if they had entered another zone. They confirm the accuracy of Josephus, who reports that the winter in the plain of Jericho resembled spring, and that the inhabitants were wearing linen garments at the same time that the people in other parts of Judea were shivering in the midst of snow. Snow, indeed, is almost entirely unknown in the valley. The mean annual temperature, in the lower or southern portions, is probably 75°, while that of Cairo, a more southerly latitude, is only 72°. Hence, dates ripen earlier than in Egypt. Indigo, which requires a high temperature, grows wild, and is also cultivated, the products commanding a higher price than Egyptian indigo, being of superior quality. The balsam-tree, a tropical plant, which yields its medicinal gum, now called the balm of Mecca, and limited to Arabia, once flourished in groves near Jericho, and furnished the renowned balm of Gilead. The vegetation is still luxuriant and abundant whenever there is moisture. Tamarisks, willows, oleanders, and tall reeds line the borders of the Jordan, and in many places almost hide its waters. But apart from the margin of the river, the surface has the aspect of a parched desert through the months of summer, owing to the excessive heat. During the early part of May, and in the morning, a recent traveller found the thermometer standing at 92° Fahr., in the shade of a clump of

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wild fig-trees overhanging a copious spring, and close to its edge.

The *maritime plains* are the lowlands along the Mediterranean, with an elevation of from 1 to 500 feet. They are narrow strips of land in the north, where the Lebanon closely approaches the coast, but expand into spacious plains at its southerly termination, as those of Acre, Sharon, and Sephala, where the more distant hills of Judea form the inland boundary. This is the warm region. The summer is milder, and the harvest later than in the Ghor, while the winter is so genial that the orange, banana, and other delicate trees flourish in the open air. At Tripoli, in the month of January, the picturesque spectacle is presented to the European, of orange trees laden with flowers and fruit beneath his windows, while the heights of Lebanon, in the back-ground, are covered with ice and snow. The air is moist and heavy, owing to the vapours brought by the westerly winds from the Mediterranean being arrested by the bordering hills and mountains.

The *table-lands* comprise the high countries which precipitously wall in the Jordan valley, anciently known as the mountains of Gilead on the eastern side—the mountains of Ephraim and Judah on the western. The latter and best known tract is continuous through the whole of Palestine from north to south, passing from a wooded and fertile, to a bare and sterile, character in its southerly prolongation, where it blends with the desert. The greatest breadth is about thirty miles. This mass of table-land is intersected by deep valleys, and crowned with hilly ridges, which have echoed the voice of prophets, and been the scenes of miracle. Most of the localities of our Lord's life lie within its limits, with the site of his death. It attains an elevation of from 2000 to 3000 feet above the sea, but of from 3000 to 4000 as viewed from the lowest level of the Jordan; and greatly surpasses in height, on this side, the table-lands of Spain and Bavaria.

		FEET ABOVE THE SEA.
Hill of Nazareth		1,237
Ridge of Gilboa		1,300
El Maherka	} Summits of Carmel	1,598
Essefia		1,725
Little Hermon		1,862
Mount Tabor		1,905
Mount Gerizim		2,000
Mount of Olives		2,300
Hill of Bethlehem		2,705
Hill of Hebron		3,029

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The climate is temperate, and approaches to that of southern Europe. The summer heat due to the latitude is moderated by the elevation of the country, while cold is rendered, by the same cause, a decided element of the winter. The mean annual temperature of Jerusalem nearly corresponds with that of Palermo, Barcelona, and Oporto, places situated from 6° to 10° of latitude further to the north.

Upon these elevated grounds, the air is commonly remarkably pure and transparent, favouring the vivid reflection of light, and the distinct perception of distant objects. The landscape, from the foreground to the bounds of vision, is seen in definite outline and natural array, without that apparent investment with a blue or grey mist which our vaporous atmosphere gives to the scenery. Owing to the same cause, sound is transmitted with singular precision, and the human voice is clearly audible at distances which seem extraordinary to our own experience. But of course the same effect transpires everywhere under the same circumstances, and has often been noted in other countries. When Jotham addressed to the men of Shechem his beautiful apologue of the trees choosing a king, he stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, his hearers being gathered in the valley at its base.* David conversed with the people of Saul from the "top of a hill afar off, a great space being between them."† In the Arctic land expedition under Captain Back, the natives were often seen conversing together at the distance of from half to three-quarters of a mile. Lieutenant Foster, who accompanied Parry in one of his polar voyages, affirms that he conversed with a man across Port Bowen, a distance of about a mile and a quarter. Mr. Hough states, with reference to the Neilgherry hills in southern India:—"I have heard the natives, especially in the morning and evening, when the air was still, carry on conversation from one hill to another, and that apparently without any extraordinary effort. They do not shout in the manner that strangers think necessary, in order to be heard at so great a distance, but utter every syllable as distinctly as if they were conversing face to face."

The *Lebanon*, comprising its higher portions, is the fourth, or cold region, whose towering summits are seen by the mariners of the Mediterranean, from the sea around Cyprus. It runs in a single chain along the coast from north to south, till,

* Judg. ix. 7.

† 1 Sam. xxvi. 13.

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in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, it divides into two great parallel ridges, which enclose between them the beautiful longitudinal valley, known to the ancients as Cœle-Syria, or Hollow Syria. The western range, Lebanon properly so called, follows the coast, gradually inclines towards it, and terminates at the sea, a little to the north of Tyre. The eastern, or inland range, Anti-Lebanon, pursues the same direction to the sources of the Jordan, where it forms the north portion of Palestine, and from whence it is continued southwards, by the high countries already noticed, which line both sides the valley of the river. Lebanon has the greatest general elevation; but Anti-Lebanon has the highest point.

	FEET ABOVE THE SEA.
Jebel Sanin, Lebanon	9,350
Jebel Makmel „	9,375
The Cedars „	6,200
Jebel-esh-Sheikh, Anti-Lebanon	10,000
Baalbec, West slope of „	3,700
Damascus, East slope of „	2,420

On crossing the mountains from Tripoli, or Beirout, to Damascus, the traveller passes warm, temperate, and cold zones; and leaves oranges, figs, vines, roses, and a profusion of flowers, for oaks, aspens, willows, firs, and cedars, till, at about two hours' distance from the summit, utter barrenness prevails. Maundrel, in May, found himself transported by the journey from the midst of summer to the depth of winter; and D'Arrieux, in June, was glad to wrap his robes of fur around him by the time he had reached the cedars. Perpetual snow lies in the crevices and crater-like hollows of Jebel Sanin, in immense quantities, forming a compact mass; and from May to November, the business of cutting it up with hatchets, and conveying it to Beirout, is actively carried on. Jebel-esh-Sheikh, the Hermon of the Scriptures, also retains snow at the summit throughout the year. Dr. E. D. Clarke, in July, from the plain of Esdraelon, saw all the higher part invested with that perfect white and smooth velvet-like appearance which deep snow only exhibits. Its Arabic name, Old Man's Mountain, is said to be taken from the resemblance of the top in summer, clothed with snow, descending in streaks to some distance, to the hoary head and beard of a venerable sheikh.

THE SUMMER MONTHS.

Some particular details may now be given respecting seasons

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phenomena in Palestine and the adjoining countries, with a view to sacred illustration.

The specially hot months are June, July, and August. On the lowland plains, in the pent-up valleys, and over the whole country, excepting the more elevated sites, the temperature rises high as soon as the sun has gained a moderate height above the horizon; and the solar glare becomes fierce and distressing with his meridian altitude. The statement respecting the sun having risen with a burning heat,* expresses the physical reality; and the labourers, in the parable of the vineyard, who complain of having "borne the burden and heat of the day,"† speak the language of common experience. In a cave near the lake of Tiberias, a sheltered spot, the thermometer, as observed by Dr. E. D. Clarke, stood at 100° on July 5th, when, on the same day at London, 70° was its highest range. Fatal effects have resulted from the careless exposure of the person to the fiery action of the nearly vertical orb. It was apparently a *coup-de-soleil*, or sun-stroke, producing inflammatory fever, that occasioned the death of the child of the Shunammite, when with his father in the harvest-field.‡ The crusading armies, strangers to this incident of a southern climate, and neglecting precautions, suffered much from the flaming torch above them. William of Tyre relates, though with obvious exaggeration, that in a battle fought on the eastern border of the plain of Esdraelon, the sun slew more of the soldiers of Baldwin IV than the sword. Instant death has sometimes occurred from directly encountering the fierce glance of the day-king. But more generally the frame is suddenly attacked by burning fever, which becomes fatal to its victim in twenty-four or forty-eight hours. Even when life is spared, positive idiocy, or liability to fits of mental delirium, is not unfrequently the result. The Psalmist, representing spiritual by temporal things, alludes to this visitation, as a well-known fact, in the promise: "The Lord is thy shade on thy right hand: the sun shall not smite thee by day."§

Travelling is hence avoided in the middle of the day, whenever practicable, and exertion of all kinds is suspended. Saul attacked the host of the Ammonites "in the morning watch, and slew them until the heat of the day."|| It compelled the

* James i. 11. † Matt. xx. 12. ‡ 2 Kings, iv. 19. § Psa. cxxi. 5, 6.
|| 1 Sam. xi. 11.

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victors to desist from the pursuit, and saved the vanquished from further slaughter. Abraham, on the plain of Mamre, "sat in the tent door in the heat of the day." * It enforced inaction; and he sought relief for his feverish frame, in the glowing noon, where he could enjoy the cool shade of his own tene-ment, avoid the sultriness of the interior, and take the benefit of any outward breeze that might be stirring. If, perchance, a journey is inevitable over one of the great inland plains, or still more interior sandy deserts, it is the reverse of a pleasurable excursion. Not a tree or shrub is here for leagues and leagues to offer the slightest shade; not a breath of wind to fan the cheek; while all moisture is evaporated from the soil by the heat of the atmosphere. Overhead is a sky so bright, and on every side a light so dazzling, that the eye cannot open nakedly without being painfully affected. To look to the ground is of little avail, for the reflection of the light and heat from the yellow sand, or the pale grey calcareous earth, is nearly as oppressive as the glow above and around. Scarce a word is spoken by the wayfarers, all being intent upon accomplishing the day's march, and terminating their own sufferings. Arabs sigh, camels moan, the skin becomes irritable, and nought of the landscape is observed; the objects of vision being restricted to an umbrella aloft, a blue gauze veil before the face, and the glare of the outer light.

Labour of various kinds, especially the agricultural, is largely performed at or before sunrise, and long after sunset, when the full-orbed moon hangs her lamp aloft. Boaz win-nowed his barley in the threshing-floor at night. † This was to take advantage of the cooler air to perform the work, and of the breezes necessary for the operation, which begin to blow at the eventide, and prevail more or less to the dawn. Hence the phrase, "the cool of the day," ‡ in the narrative of the interview in Paradise between our fallen parents and their Maker, is literally the "wind of the day," for in tropical countries, and those bordering on the tropics, a breeze springs up at sunset. But all field labour cannot be dispensed with in the day-time—as the tending of orchards, vineyards, and oliveyards—for while the fruits are ripening, they are liable to be ravaged by beasts and birds. Domestic animals are therefore employed, male or female, to guard against their incursions.

* Gen. xviii. 1. † Ruth iii. 2. ‡ Gen. iii. 8.

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who are exposed by their office to the vivid sun-beams. The resulting swarthy complexion is alluded to in the Canticles : "Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me : my mother's children were angry with me ; they made me keeper of the vineyards."* Commonly, the parties thus engaged erect for themselves a covering or shed in the vineyard, to which they retreat as opportunity offers. These cabins are of the frailest construction, composed of reeds and boughs, which, after having served their purpose, are suffered to be demolished by the storm-winds of the rainy season. "The booth that the keeper maketh" is, therefore, mentioned by Job as an emblem of inconstancy, who also illustrates his own impatient longing for relief under his afflictions by referring to the field-labourer, a servant, or bond-slave, earnestly desiring a shadow.† In hot climates, the shade of a tree or rock ranks next to water, as a luxury to those who are compelled to be abroad at high noon, whether merely journeying or at task-work. Europeans who have experienced the transition from sun to shade in such circumstances, speak of its reviving effect upon the frame as perfect enjoyment. Hence, "a shadow in the day-time from the heat," and "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," are figurative expressions for extraordinary benefits.

While the heat of the day is at its maximum, or through the greater part of the afternoon, the streets of towns, with the fields and highways in their neighbourhood, have a very deserted appearance, business being suspended as much as possible, and repose sought by the people. This is not indolent indulgence, but a physical necessity imposed by the climate, and enforced by the habit of rising early. "It came to pass in an eventide that David arose from off his bed," where he had been taking his afternoon rest, "and walked upon the top of the king's house."‡ The flat-roofed houses of the orientals, an architectural arrangement dictated partly by the climate, are pleasant places for the inhabitants to visit in the cool declining day ; and are constantly resorted to in order to enjoy the delicious evening breeze, either walking or sitting. There is usually a parapet around the edge of the roof, to prevent any one from falling over, an appendage which the law of Moses expressly enjoined for the purpose : "When thou buildest a new house,

* Cant. i. 6. † Job xxvii. 18 : vii. 2. ‡ 2 Sam. xi. 2.

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then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence."* Frequent allusion is made by the sacred writers to interviews between parties, and other incidents of life transpiring upon the roofs of their dwellings. "Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house."† "On the tops of their houses, every one shall howl."‡ "What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops."§ "Peter went up upon the house-top to pray."|| Such sites are also commonly used as sleeping-places, so agreeably warm are the nights. The households either place their beds upon the perfectly open terraces, or under tents and wicker coverings: "They spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house."¶ Travellers sleep without inconvenience on the naked ground; and even the silkworms, which cannot endure cold, remain all night upon the trees.

SPRING AND AUTUMN.

Other periods of the year now claim attention. During the three months preceding the specially hot season, March, April, and May, and the three following it, September, October, and November, the daily heat is very considerable, both on the plains and secondary hills; and intense at noon, in bright weather, in the intervals which immediately adjoin the mid-summer quarter. But the nights have a perceptible chill, particularly on the uplands, and are often very cold in the early spring and advanced autumn. Peter, on the night of our Lord's betrayal, a time not far removed from the vernal equinox, followed him into the palace of the high priest, and sat with the servants by the fire warming himself.** The difference between the temperature of day and night is, indeed, sometimes as great as that between our ordinary winter night and hottest summer day. Jacob's experience during his shepherd life in Mesopotamia—"in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night"††—is not unusual on the highlands of Judea. Van de Velde remarks, writing under the date of March 7: "Following the slope of the vale of Samaria, we soon reached that of Shechem. The sun had not yet risen, and the cold under the shade of the mountain-ridge was piercing. But in proportion as we advanced, the warmth

* Deut. xxii. 8. † 1 Sam. ix. 23. ‡ Isa. xv. 3. § Matt. x. 27. || Acts x. 9.
 ¶ 2 Sam. xvi. 22. ** Mark xiv. 54. †† Gen. xxxi. 40.

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became more and more sensible, so that at last the shade of the noble olive groves of the vale of Shechem was welcome." The strikingly altered temperature of day and night is very distressing to the unacclimated, when exposed to its full influence. The traveller just quoted thus describes an evening in spring: "The sky had begun to be overcast, even when we were at Solomon's Pools, and well may I congratulate myself on being so well housed, for at this moment a storm of sleet and snow is driving over the valley, such as would have made our remaining in the tent impossible. The cold is so great that I sit as close as I can to the fire to warm my stiffened fingers, and fit them for writing. Just fancy our encountering so severe a climate here at the end of March. Besharah (the host) has much need to stop up the wide crevices in his cold small windows. The wind howls and whistles through them with a fearful din, and I can hardly keep the candle burning, by the light of which I write." This was at Hebron.

THE WINTER MONTHS.

The phenomena of winter—cold, snow, ice, and hoar-frost—are vigorously displayed in the Lebanon through a lengthened interval, the whole of the upper portion being deeply snow-clad from the beginning of November to the commencement of March. The name of the range, which signifies "whiteness," is referred by some to its wintry garb, but may equally as well allude to its main constituent, a white limestone rock. According to the village mountaineers, the far-famed cedars anticipate the change of seasons; they prepare to receive the coming snow by inclining their branches upwards, the better to sustain its weight, resuming an horizontal direction as it melts away. Whether this is altogether a fancy, or has any foundation in fact, as an instance of not uncommon vegetable instinct, we are not prepared to say. But the opinion is of old date with the natives, who regard the trees with religious reverence, as endowed with a faculty akin to intelligence. Southey has poetically adopted the idea:—

"It was a cedar-tree
That woke him from the deadly drowsiness;
Its broad, round-spreading branches, when they felt
The snow, rose upward in a point to bear
And standing in their strength erect,
Defied the battled storm."

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Winter visits with some severity the hill region of Palestine in December, January, and February; but the sterner features of the season are not displayed in general with persistence, the milder speedily alternating with them. The Psalmist doubtless wrote the record from personal experience: "He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice (sleet or hail) like morsels: who can stand before his cold?"* The speech put into the mouth of Elihu describes phenomena which had passed under the notice of the writer: "He saith to the snow, Be thou upon the earth: He sealeth up the hand of every man, that all men may know his work."† This is apparently a reference to the suspension of labour out of doors when the snow lies deep, which affects as well the habits of the wild animals: "Then the beasts go into dens, and remain in their places."‡ In juxtaposition with this passage from a poetical book of Scripture, we may place another from one of the historical. Thus the statement occurs that Benaiah, one of David's captains, "slew a lion in a pit in a snowy day."§ Probably a cave is meant, in which the man took refuge from the driving snow, which happened to be the den of the wild beast, then lying in his lair. The mention of the day being snowy seems quite incidental, and of no moment, yet a snowy day is very uncommon in Palestine, as it chiefly falls in the night.

Job, though a dweller in the more southern land of Edom, bordering on the hot deserts of Arabia Petræa, was no stranger to the ordinary features of winter. Hence, in the sublime address of the Almighty, he is interrogated respecting its objects, with which his senses were familiar, while completely in the dark as to the principles of causation: "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow? Out of whose womb came the ice? and the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it? The waters are hid as with a stone, and the face of the deep is frozen."|| He did not, and could not, understand the treasures of the snow as science now does—its numerous and beautiful diversities of crystallization developed by the microscope—its fertilising effect upon the soil declared by chemistry—or the protection it affords to the bulbs and roots of plants from killing cold, as a very imperfect conductor of

* Psa. cxlvii. 16, 17.

† 1 Chron. xi. 22.

‡ Job xxxvii. 6, 7.

§ Ibid. 8.

|| Job xxxviii. 22, 23, 24.

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heat, keeping them of an equable temperature beneath its unspotted blanket. But he knew the material from sensible observation of it, perhaps on the mountains of Sinai, and seems to have entertained the popular notion, current in antiquity, respecting its value as a means of purification. This was founded upon its whiteness and purity. Hence the remark : " If I wash myself with snow-water, and make my hands never so clean."* The employment of the snow to cool beverages in the hot season, wherever it could be obtained, was common among the orientals in very early times, as at present. Therefore, the messenger who faithfully fulfils his mission, is said to be as refreshing to the souls of his masters " as the cold of snow in the time of harvest."†

It is not till the beginning of December that the trees lose their foliage; and the month is drawing to a close before the vigour of winter is ordinarily felt. At Jerusalem thin ice is sometimes formed for one or two days upon the pools; but the frost never bites the ground. Snow to the depth of a foot or so is more common, but it does not usually lie long. Skinner found the heights about Nazareth, with the houses in the town, covered with it, and large heaps were piled up in the court-yard of the convent at which he alighted. The next day it was difficult to move about the streets, for a thaw had commenced. On quitting the place, dazzling snow met his view on all sides, and Mount Tabor was thickly clothed. Schulze reports an instance of two young men being frozen to death at Nazareth. Beyond the Jordan, on the hills of Gilead, the highest within the bounds of the Holy Land, the winter displays the greatest intensity. Buckingham, on the summit of Jebel es-Szalt, found the cold excessive, and the snow completely hardened by the frost. In the town of Szalt, the streets were nearly choked up, and it lay in thick masses upon the terraces of the houses, which, rising one above another on the side of the hill, presented a singular appearance. All the inhabitants were weaving sheep-skin jackets, with the wool turned inwards. This inclemency lasted during the whole of his stay, nearly a week. The frost was so severe that in the chamber he occupied, the water in the vessels was coated with ice.

But in tropical latitudes, and those immediately

* Job ix. 30.

†

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the natural year is not so distinctly divided into our four seasons, with which we are familiar—summer and winter, spring and autumn—as into two seasons, distinguished from each other by the fall and the suspension of rain. These periods vary in their length in different countries. In Palestine generally the period of cessation extends from the early part of May to the close of August, and showers are rare in September. Rain in harvest—the end of May and beginning of June—was wholly incomprehensible to a Hebrew, as much so as snow in summer.* It once occurred at the time of the wheat-gathering, but this was in answer to the prayer of Samuel, and was plainly regarded by the people as a supernatural event, for it inspired them with fear and religious reverence.† During the rainless interval, which coincides with the period of great heat, the mornings break without clouds. The days pass away without them, except some of the wisp-like and feathery, or soft and fleecy description. A few cirri occasionally spread their delicate filaments aloft at noon, feebly and transiently intercepting the sun's rays, but not diminishing the greatness of his glory. Small flocculent masses also form, but are more common at night, appearing when the moon is present—

“The beauteous semblance of a flock at rest.”

Towards the middle of August larger and denser masses may be seen drifting from the south-west, but without bringing rain. These are the Nile clouds, so called from their supposed cause, the inundation of Egypt by the Nile.

The combined influence of heat and drought rapidly produces an extraordinary change in the face of nature. Fertility and pleasantness are followed by aridity and desolation, except in the neighbourhood of permanent streams and springs. “Bashan languisheth, and Carmel.” This is not a departure from the ordinary course of events, but an annual incident. Every flower fades upon the unwatered plains and hills, every green thing vanishes, and the signs of verdure disappear from the soil. With us, the grass of the field is fresh in spring, luxuriant in summer, becoming withered and pale in the autumn. But still in all circumstances there is grass, because the variations of rain and sunshine exist throughout the whole year. But apart from natural or artificial irrigation, the spontaneous

* Prov. xxvi. 1.

† 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18.

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herbage of Palestine is soon shrivelled and reduced to dust by the summer drought and heat, till the general surface has lost every semblance of vegetable life, and assumes the aspect of a dingy copper-coloured desert. The only verdant objects remaining are the scattered fruit-trees, occasional vineyards, and fields of millet, which experience the care of man. In the midst of the wide-spread aridness, the deep green of the broad fig-leaves and of the millet fields is peculiarly delightful to the eye. The foliage of the olive, with its dull greyish hue, scarcely deserves the name of verdure. There are occasionally heavy dews at night, but, though refreshing, they have little effect upon the landscape, and are most abundant in spring and autumn.

Owing to the dryness of the season, the permanent rivers diminish largely in their volume; the secondary streams become insignificant rills, or fail altogether; "the brook decayeth and drieth up."* Hence Job compares his brethren, from whom he expected comfort and encountered reproach, to the perishable water-courses. "As the stream of brooks they pass away. What time they wax warm, they vanish; when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place. The paths of their way are turned aside; they go to nothing, and perish."† The drying up of the rivulets is a distressing event to the faint and thirsty traveller, who has expected to find water still in the channels. To the anxiety and dejection of a caravan in these circumstances, the subsequent passage refers:

"The companies of Tema anxiously look;
The caravans of Sheba eagerly expect them.
They are ashamed because of their confidence,
They come hither and are confounded."‡

These statements will not be deemed at variance with ancient and inspired references to the goodliness of the land, when it is remembered that the teeming and vigorous population of former times is now wanting, whose careful industry constructed dams and reservoirs to preserve an adequate supply of water through the summer, and thus remedied what was defective in the natural irrigation by artificial means.

The season in which rain may be expected, and when it falls at intervals in a greater or less degree, embraces more than half the year, extending from about the autumnal equinox to a

* Job xiv. 11.

† Ibid. vi. 15, 17, 18.

‡ Ibid. 19, 20.

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month or six weeks after the vernal. The autumnal rains are the "first" or "former" rains of Scripture; the vernal are the "latter."* They are so called, probably, in relation to the order of agricultural operations. The showers of autumn do not commence suddenly, but by degrees, and give opportunity for the husbandman to sow his wheat and barley, while the showers of spring continue to refresh and forward both the ripening and the vernal products of the field. Prominence is given to rain falling at the two periods, because of its importance to the agriculturist. But the whole interval from the one to the other is the rainy season, and has no regularly recurring term of prolonged fair weather. If drought rapidly produces a marked effect in the aspect of the landscape, so does the rain. "Only a few days ago," says Van de Velde, "all seemed scorched and calcined by the burning sun of the dry season. Yellow and greyish white were the painful colours your eye rested upon everywhere. Mountains and valleys, houses and fields, had all the same withered hue. The sky was of a deep blue; the heat oppressive. But now it flows from the west; clouds have arisen from the sea, and have descended in torrents of rain. Nature seems to have undergone a complete change." Especially after the winter, the rains combine with the daily accelerating heat to force vegetation. The young grass covers the plains and meadows with a carpet of the liveliest verdure; wild anemones, ranunculuses, verbenas, and other flowering plants, exhibit their varied colours by the wayside, in clefts of the rocks, and by the renewed rivulets; tall thistles, with gorgeous purple hues, rise up on every hand; the hawthorn and jasmine put on their blossoms; the myrtle and laurel temper their dark winter green with leaflets of a lighter hue; the fir-trees powerfully exhale their resinous particles; and the so-called juniper bushes, with their slim, feathery stalks, exhibit their clusters of pendent white and yellow-coloured flowers, perfuming the air with balsamic odours.

The rain, like the snow, chiefly descends at night, though heavy showers by day are frequent, and days entirely rainy not unusual. Hence, "a continual dropping in a very rainy day,"† is used to illustrate the pertinacity of a contentious woman. Though the showers are not so vehement and ample as those which fall on the lands of the Orinoco, the banks of

* Deut. xi. 14.

† Prov. xxv. 13.

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remark: "When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straight-way ye say, 'There cometh a shower,' and so it is."* In autumn, at the commencement of the rainy season, the westerly winds blow for two or three days together, falling in the night. Then, veering round to the north, several days of bright fair weather succeed. The north wind is dry and sharp, sweeping over land instead of water, and bearing along with it the cool temperature of the heights of Lebanon. "The north wind driveth away rain."† "Cold cometh out of the north."‡ The south wind is hot, often intensely oppressive, bringing the fiery temperature of the Arabian deserts. "When ye see the south wind blow, ye say, 'There will be heat;' and it cometh to pass."§

The sultry breath of the south is felt in the spring and summer months, and immediately raises the temperature common to the season, being comparable, when strong, to the heat of an oven. It is seldom continuous for more than one or two days at the utmost, and more generally terminates within twenty-four hours. Nor are the times of its visitation numerous in the year; and beyond the northern portions of Palestine, entire years pass away without the experience of it. The wind is accompanied with a thick haze of a bluish-grey colour, which completely dims the vault of heaven, obscures the outlines of contiguous objects, and hinders the perception of the distant. Vegetable nature and the human constitution suffer from its influence, especially in summer, when its temperature is most fiery. Any green thing that may have been spared by the ordinary heat and drought is instantly blasted. This scorching breeze is intended, when of the flower of the field it is said, "the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more."|| Though all constitutions are not equally sensible to its effects, yet more or less the frame becomes feverish, the skin is parched, thirst is urgent, strength is paralysed, and a debilitating effect is produced upon the mind, which a traveller expressively describes as a feeling of "good-for-nothingness." In Italy, from the days of Horace, the Sirocco, or south wind of the country, charged with the heat of Africa, has been celebrated by writers for its mind-oppressing character. The Italians

* Luke xii. 54.

+ Prov. xxv. 23.

‡ Job xxxvii. 9.

§ Luke xii. 55.

|| Psa. ciii. 10.

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at the bathing-place of the pilgrims; but fatal accidents have befel the devotees during their ablutions in spring. "While I was looking on," says Mr. Hardy, "a Russian and a Greek were overpowered by the current, and as neither of them could swim, they clung to each other, and were soon under water. The Russian was entangled among the roots of trees, and rose to the surface; but though he seized some overhanging branches, with the grasp of a perishing man, the current was too strong, and he was again carried away by the stream. He was, however, saved at some distance lower down, but the Greek was never seen after he first sunk."

The destruction of houses by rain and flood is a common occurrence. Almost all those in the villages, and the majority in the towns, are composed of mud or clay dried in the sun. This is mixed with loose stones to form the walls, and simply laid over branches of trees for the roofs. Such dwellings cannot obviously endure continued wet, whether the attack of an inundation, or of heavy rains. The saturated materials give way, the foundations are sapped, and the house falls to pieces. Travellers speak of the desolation of half a village in the rainy season as an incident by no means uncommon. Successive snows, followed by successive thaws, produce the same devastation. "The night," says Van de Velde, after sleeping in one of these penetrable buildings, "would have been peaceful enough had it not been for the rain, which, falling in heavy torrents, made its way to our resting-places, and occasioned a general disturbance, as the cold drops woke us up, and obliged us to quit our couches." An overflowing shower and a fallen wall are associated as cause and effect by the prophet.* The saying of our Lord, "And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell,"† alludes to an event of real life in the country. So does the comparison made of the perishable human body, "the soul's dark cottage," to a house of clay, liable to be crushed as the moth.‡

The rain-fall is somewhat partial and fluctuating. It varies in quantity in different years, and in different districts. Sometimes, though happily the event is rare, in one part of the country the spring rains, upon which the harvest depends, are either wholly intermitted, or too feeble to be of service to the crops, while in

* Ezek. xiii. 11—15.

+ Matt. vii. 27.

‡ Job iv. 13.

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remark: "When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, 'There cometh a shower,' and so it is."* In autumn, at the commencement of the rainy season, the westerly winds blow for two or three days together, falling in the night. Then, veering round to the north, several days of bright fair weather succeed. The north wind is dry and sharp, sweeping over land instead of water, and bearing along with it the cool temperature of the heights of Lebanon. "The north wind driveth away rain."† "Cold cometh out of the north."‡ The south wind is hot, often intensely oppressive, bringing the fiery temperature of the Arabian deserts. "When ye see the south wind blow, ye say, 'There will be heat;' and it cometh to pass."§

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* Luke xii. 54.

+ Prov. xxv. 23.

‡ Job xxxvii. 9.

§ Luke xii. 55.

|| Ps. ciii. 16.

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As like a sheet of molten lead,
The earth was burning to the tread
Of thousands weak and famished !
The peasant in his homely oot
Sat walling o'er his hapless lot ;
In accents shrill the maidens moaned,
And heavily the old men groan'd ;
The mother, at the infant's cry,
Shrieked out a frantic lullaby ;
The bread had perished—woe betide
King, queen, prince, peasant, lover, bride !
There is no calling now for wine ;
For common drink the people pine.
No minstrels at Samaria's gate,
With ready harps attendant wait,
To wake the song, lead forth the dance,
Life's cares to wile, its joys enhance.
Where are the revellers, whose feet
Once gaily trod the merry street ?
Dead—dying—living but to show
That sin's sure curse is life in woe.
In every valley, on each hill,
On every plain, by every rill,
Where fruitful plants had once been trained,
Now Desolation sovereign reigned,
As if some fierce Simoom for e'er
Had rioted and gambolled there !

The incident with which the tremendous dispensation closed—the appearance of a diminutive cloud to seaward, as observed from the top of Carmel, which rapidly enlarged, till the whole sky was obscured and abundant rain descended—is in harmony with the current operations of nature in the locality. After prolonged fair weather on the coast, upon westerly winds arising, the vapours they bring from the sea are arrested by the chain of Lebanon, and suddenly start into visibility upon being condensed by the cold of its summits. The cloud first formed is often only a speck, but expands as the arrested vapours accumulate, till the bright blue vault of heaven is completely veiled ; and in a very brief interval, there is a change from the clear shining of the sun to copious precipitation.

WINDS AND STORMS.

The currents of the atmosphere, so variable with us, partake largely of the periodic character in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, the same winds being expected with some degree of confidence to blow at the same times and seasons. This

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periodical succession, completing the round of the compass in the year, is referred to by the Preacher: "The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits."*

Along the coast of the Mediterranean, land and sea-breezes interchange diurnally with tolerable regularity. After sunset, the wind begins to blow from the land, and continues through the night; after sunrise, a breeze springs up from the sea, and is felt through the day, tempering its heat. The inequality of the solar action on the land and water, together with the tendency of the atmosphere to preserve an uniform density, is the cause of these periodically shifting currents, which are most sensible within the tropics, and on the coasts of tropical lands. During the day the land acquires a temperature higher than that of the ocean; the air over it is therefore rarified, and ascends; and the cooler air from the sea glides in. At night, the land rapidly cools, while the sea retains a nearly equal temperature, in consequence of which the cooler and heavier land air displaces the less dense or lighter air over the water, and a breeze from the shore is created.

The ancients gave the name of Etesian, "annual," to stormy and boisterous gales from the north-east, experienced in the Mediterranean towards the close of summer, or about the time of the autumnal equinox. Fishermen now designate the season of this prevalence by the term *Meltem*, a supposed corruption of *mal temps*, in allusion to the fury of these storm-winds, and the danger to which their small craft is exposed from them. They are also called *Levanter*s, from being especially common and violent in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, or the *Levant*. In summer, the great African desert, entirely deprived of water, and composed of sands and dunes, becomes intensely hot under the influence of an almost vertical sun. The heated air ascends with great rapidity, and currents are created from the colder atmosphere of the north, especially of the north-east, where the lofty highlands of Western Asia rise above the snow-line. The winds thus occasioned are typhoons, which furiously sweep over sea and shore. Allusion is frequently made in Scripture to their danger to the navigator. "Thou breakest the ships of

* Eccles. i. 6.

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Tarshish with an east wind."* "I will scatter them as with an east wind before the enemy."† Of Tyre, whose enterprising merchants were the great seamen of antiquity, it is said, "Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas."‡ It was probably a Levanter that overtook the recreant Jonah on his voyage from Joppa to Tarshish, and involved the mariners in peril. It certainly led to the shipwreck of Paul, when sailing from Cesarea to Italy. A tempestuous wind, "called Euroclydon," that is, a north-east wind, caused the disaster.§ The voyage must have commenced towards the close of August, or early in September; and might have been completed before the stormy season arrived, but for unexpected delays. Before leaving Crete, it is mentioned that, owing to much time having been lost, "the fast was now already past." This the Jews observed on the great day of expiation, which fell on the tenth day of the month Tisri, or about the time of the autumnal equinox. At this period, the Etesian gales might be expected, and hence the remark that "sailing was now dangerous." According to Philo, no prudent man thought of putting to sea after this season of the year. The Greeks and Romans considered the period of safe navigation as closing in October. It was not on account of the storms merely that ancient mariners dreaded being out upon the deep later, but because the rains prevailed, and the clouds obscured the sun by day and the stars by night, on which they were so dependent for the direction of their course. Through three sunless days and starless nights, the Roman poet pictures the skilful pilot of Æneas as beating about in the Mediterranean, uncertain of his position. Paul and his companions were in parallel circumstances during the storm, neither sun nor stars appearing for several days.

Winds are distinguished by physical properties derived from the regions from which they proceed, as moist or dry, cold or hot. The west and south-west winds in Palestine, blowing from the Mediterranean, are charged with the moisture evaporated from its surface, and bring the showers which fertilise the hills and valleys. The Arabs, therefore, call them the "fathers of the rains." At Jerusalem, our Lord made the

* Psa. xlviii. 7. † Jer. xviii. 17. ‡ Ezek. xxvii. 28. § Acts xxvii. 14

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remark: "When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straight-way ye say, 'There cometh a shower,' and so it is."* In autumn, at the commencement of the rainy season, the westerly winds blow for two or three days together, falling in the night. Then, veering round to the north, several days of bright fair weather succeed. The north wind is dry and sharp, sweeping over land instead of water, and bearing along with it the cool temperature of the heights of Lebanon. "The north wind driveth away rain."† "Cold cometh out of the north."‡ The south wind is hot, often intensely oppressive, bringing the fiery temperature of the Arabian deserts. "When ye see the south wind blow, ye say, 'There will be heat;' and it cometh to pass."§

The sultry breath of the south is felt in the spring and summer months, and immediately raises the temperature common to the season, being comparable, when strong, to the heat of an oven. It is seldom continuous for more than one or two days at the utmost, and more generally terminates within twenty-four hours. Nor are the times of its visitation numerous in the year; and beyond the northern portions of Palestine, entire years pass away without the experience of it. The wind is accompanied with a thick haze of a bluish-grey colour, which completely dims the vault of heaven, obscures the outlines of contiguous objects, and hinders the perception of the distant. Vegetable nature and the human constitution suffer from its influence, especially in summer, when its temperature is most fiery. Any green thing that may have been spared by the ordinary heat and drought is instantly blasted. This scorching breeze is intended, when of the flower of the field it is said, "the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more."|| Though all constitutions are not equally sensible to its effects, yet more or less the frame becomes feverish, the skin is parched, thirst is urgent, strength is paralysed, and a debilitating effect is produced upon the mind, which a traveller expressively describes as a feeling of "good-for-nothingness." In Italy, from the days of Horace, the Sirocco, or south wind of the country, charged with the heat of Africa, has been celebrated by writers for its mind-oppressing character. The Italians

* Luke xii. 54.

+ Prov. xxv. 23.

‡ Job xxvii. 9.

§ Luke xli. 55.

|| Psa. ciii. 16.

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have a proverb about a stupid book, *Era scritto in tempo del sirocco*—"It was written in the time of the sirocco." In Spain, the same wind, called the Solano, is experienced in a modified form. The Spaniards have likewise their proverb, that no animals but a pig or an Englishman are insensible to the solano; and they add, *No rogar alguna gracia en tiempo de solano*—"Do not ask a favour in the time of the solano," alluding to the ill humour it provokes.

A Sunday in May, 1852, which Van de Velde spent in a village near Shechem, is thus described: "When the sun rose, the atmosphere was filled with a peculiar ash-coloured vapour, always produced by the sirocco. Soon the temperature in my tent became insufferable. Outside, in the scorching rays of the sun, it was worse. There was something suffocating in the air, which made it extremely difficult to breathe, and which seemed to quench every energy. I cannot compare this feeling with anything we ever experience in our northern lands. I took refuge under the shadow of an olive garden, a little higher up the mountain, but even then I could only escape from the rays of the sun, not from the suffocating sirocco. I sat down under a tree, but felt quite powerless. The best way I found was to lie flat on the furrows of the newly ploughed ground. There I remained for the greater part of the day, panting for air, and yet not finding the air my lungs required. It was a day of much suffering, for the sirocco, besides all its other effects, has this, that it depresses the mind with a feeling of complete exhaustion. My body glowing from external and internal oppressive heat, my mind dejected and deprived of all energy—this was the condition in which I spent that whole day."

The traveller the next day descended into the valley of the Jordan. Matters waxed worse in that sunk and close region. "The further," says he, "we came down, the more a fiery wind from the Ghor met us right in the face. What I suffered when down in the valley, from the insupportable heat, I should in vain try to describe. Suppose you stood before a glowing fire, and were forced to have your face turned to it for some time in continuance, would you not find this intolerable after a few minutes? Suppose, nevertheless, that it were impossible for you to go back from the glow, cannot you imagine how the sweat would run down your fiery cheeks? At every moment

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it becomes more intolerable ; but still, remove from the spot you cannot. You are, as it were, firmly fixed before the fire ! Well, then, such was my feeling when descending into the Ghor. The air itself seemed to be fire. I was obliged, every now and then, to turn my head away from the wind, and to hold my handkerchief before my mouth, that I might not inhale the hot atmosphere, which, nevertheless, had to be inhaled. And nature around me ? you perhaps ask. All was burned. Thistles, grass, flowers, and shrubs grow here with rare luxuriance ; but now everything was turned white, like hay and straw, and this, perhaps, standing five or six feet high ! My guides, as well as myself, thought we should die while descending into this gigantic furnace." A bathe in the Jordan relieved the wayfarer, though the water was lukewarm ; but no true refreshment came till the wind changed, with a magical effect upon himself and the surrounding appearances of nature. The experience described in the foregoing extract must be regarded as exceptional with reference to Palestine in general, and only to be expected in the peculiar district visited. Lieut. Lynch gives a similar description to the above in his account of the exploration of the Dead Sea. He and his party were obliged to visit Kerak, in order to recover themselves from the effects of the insufferable heat.

Egypt has its hot southerly winds, which there take the name of *Khamseen*, or fifty, from being usual through the space of fifty days about the vernal equinox. Both in Egypt and Palestine these fervid gales have their genesis in the arid deserts contiguous to them, in the interior of which they have an intensity of temperature unknown to the sites of distant visitation. As experienced in the heart of those shelterless wastes, the hot wind is the true *Simoom* of the Arabs, the *Samiel* of the Turks. Both names have the same meaning—a poison-wind—referring to its injurious effects, and supposed pestilential qualities. During its prevalence the atmosphere assumes an alarming aspect, and towards the horizon is of a dull purplish or violet hue. Though no vapour darkens the air, the sky aloft becomes black and heavy. The sun loses all his splendour. Camels turn their heads in the direction opposite to the blast, or instinctively thrust them into a bush. Arabs cover their faces, or lie prostrate on the ground ; and, beyond all doubt, fatal consequences have resulted to human life.

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simoom, according to popular opinion and actual phenomena, exactly answers to the "destruction that wasteth at noon-day," and the "pestilence that walketh in darkness."* But there is no foundation for the idea of the air possessing any poisonous property. Charged with impalpable sand, it is suffocating, and while the heat dries the skin, accelerates respiration, inflames the throat, and produces intense thirst, it evaporates the water carried in skins by the caravans. This is a combination of circumstances only too likely to inflict deadly injury on an exposed party. The fine sand and dust of the desert, frequently deeply tinged with oxide of iron, raised in the air, strips the sun of his brilliance, darkens the face of the sky, and originates the purplish or violet hues of the atmosphere.

Cambyzes, the second monarch of the Medo-Persian dynasty, is said to have perished with his army in the desert between the Nile and the oasis of Ammon. The fierce heat of the simoom, with the inundation of sand drifting before it, and the deprivation of water, are quite adequate to explain such a calamity. In all probability, the same natural agency, specially evoked for the occasion by Almighty Power, was employed in the destruction of the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem. This opinion is sustained by the language of the prophet in relation to the event: "Behold, I will send a blast upon him."† It deserves remark that the simoom generally blows in currents of no great breadth, so that persons not very widely separated from each other may be exposed to its power and exempt from it. Lucan thus describes the peril of the Roman soldiers under Cato in the Lybian desert:—

"Meanwhile a sandy flood comes rolling on,
And swelling heaps the prostrate legions down.
New to the sudden danger, and dismayed,
The frightened soldier hasty calls for aid,
Heaves at the hill, and struggling rears his head.
Soon shoots the growing pile, and reared on high,
Lifts up its lofty summit to the sky:
High sandy walls, like forts, their passage stay,
And rising mountains intercept their way:
The certain bounds which should their journey guide,
The moving earth and dusty deluge hide."

A Saracen army, in the time of the crusades, suffered dreadfully from the same cause, while traversing the great and terrible wilderness between Egypt and Syria. So densely

* Isa. xxi. 6.

† Isa. xxxvii. 36.

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filled was the air with sandy particles, that almost total darkness ensued. No one dared open his eyes or mouth to look around him or to speak to his neighbour. Horsemen dismounted and prostrated themselves on the ground to prevent the wind from whirling them along with it. Many of the soldiers perished, with horses and camels, and the army was for a time completely scattered by the storm. "In this desert," says William of Tyre, the historian of the event, "waves of sand are raised and tossed about, like the waves of the sea when troubled with tempestuous winds, so that to navigate a stormy sea is at times not more dangerous than to pass such deserts." A representation is given, on the front page of the tract, of a caravan overtaken by one of these terrible visitations.

The deserts on the southern and eastern borders of Palestine are sacred ground, having been traversed by patriarchs, visited by prophets, and crossed by Israel at the Exodus and the Captivity, while they are also the scenes of stupendous miracles. The Jews were, therefore, well acquainted with their phenomena, and would understand the allusion in the threatening; "The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed."* Literally, upon an extensive scale, has the denunciation been executed with reference to the land of promise. The play of the common winds, and the want of an industrious population, have put it in force. Deserts enlarge their dimensions wherever cultivation is abandoned on their borders. Pushed forward by the winds, and meeting with no check, the sands advance upon the territory which man surrenders; and his once flourishing fields are gradually absorbed by the encroaching wilderness. On the other hand, the operations of human labour tend to contract the desert, by commingling its arid with fertile elements, and converting it into cultivable soil.

Whirlwinds carrying up light particles in their path, in spiral columns, to a considerable height, and sometimes of sufficient power to dislodge heavy materials, are common appearances in the desert, and on the plains of Palestine in the dry season. The rotatory motion of the air, and the direction of the current, are made sensible to the eye by the whirling

* Deut. xxviii. 24.

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human messenger, it needs no such attestation when directly revealed by himself. In the case of one who had immediate intercourse with the Most High, and who had amply verified alike his threatenings and his promises, there was no necessity for calling into being something novel, surprising, and supernatural, to insure his faith, and remove all terror of another deluge from his mind. We may safely conclude that, caused by the combined action of the solar rays and falling rain—phenomena as old as the creation—the celestial meteor was exhibited to the antediluvian world, as now to the postdiluvian. But from being simply to the former “a coronal of light,” it has become to the latter in addition “a zone of grace,” having been constituted the sign or memorial of a gracious truth, like water in baptism, or bread and wine in the eucharist. The phrase “I do set,” may with equal if not greater propriety be rendered, “I do appoint my bow in the clouds; and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.” No memorial of the covenant, that such a mighty outpouring of the Divine wrath as the deluge should not again occur, could have been selected more appropriate, felicitous, and significant for in order that the rainbow may appear, the clouds must be partial, and hence its existence is absolutely incompatible with a universal deluge from above.

“Look upon the bow and praise him that made it;
Very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof:
It compasses the heavens with a glorious circle,
And the hands of the Most High have bended it.”

In the beautiful apostrophe of one of our modern poets, we may still address this “triumphal arch” which God has reared in the sky:—

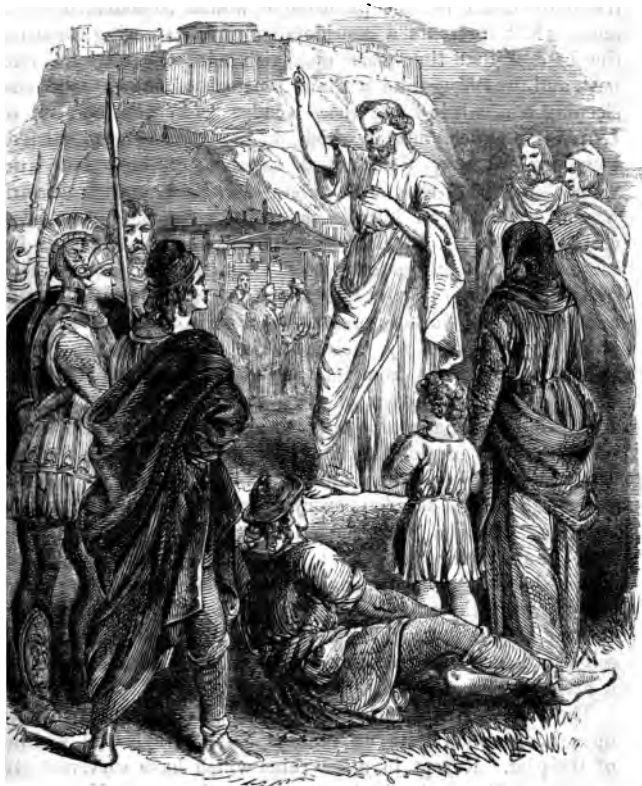
“How glorious is thy girdle, cast
O’er mountain, tower, and town!
Or mirrored in the ocean vast,
A thousand fathoms down.

As fresh in yon horizon dark,
As young thy beauties seem,
As when the eagle from the ark
First sported in thy beam.

For, faithful to its sacred page,
Heaven still rebuilds thy span;
Nor lets the type grow pale with age,
That first spake peace to man.”

ATHENS,

AS SEEN BY PAUL THE APOSTLE.



Paul addressing the Athenians in the Agora.

THE glorious oriental sun, as, shining through the transparent atmosphere of Grecian skies, it invests rocks, ruins, and mountains with tints unknown to northern regions, lights up no scene more magnificent than the city consecrated of old to its great goddess Athenæ or Minerva, whose memory,

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associated with events of world-wide celebrity, is still preserved in the word "Athens." To look upon that locality without a quickened heart or a flashing eye would indicate only an ignorant mind or an inferior nature. The most extravagant desire for the picturesque would be satisfied by a scene which presents a considerable city, gathering around the base of that time-worn rock, rich with the ruins of the past, and watching like a giant sentinel of nature over the sleeping homes below; by those wooded and varied heights of Lycabettus and Hymettus which, on the west, form its natural boundary; and by that varied expanse of blue sea and violet shore, of rock and inlet, of island and highland, which, celebrated in history under the name of "The Isles of Greece," stretch out into undistinguishable distance on its southern and south-eastern sides. Fit theatre for recollections never to die—for events which are watch-words in the annals of the world's progress—electric lights, obscuring ordinary luminaries by their superior lustre! Every point in the view projects from it a stream of magnetic influence, infecting the mind, even of youth, with contagious ardour; suggesting intelligence to the ignorant, courage to the desponding, and freedom to the enslaved; rousing the magnanimity of noble natures, and infusing high thoughts into the minds of the servile; everywhere heralding the way to greatness, heroism, and honour! There education and intellect gained their triumphs: there poetry and eloquence achieved their magic miracles; there art asserted its conquests over matter; there philosophy rose to heights which nothing short of inspiration could excel; there patriotism glowed with self-sacrificing raptures; there liberty made itself known as a presence and a power.

The traveller of modern days must, however, depend more upon imagination than on reality for these splendid visions of the past. Except in a few ruins which have survived the tyranny of Rome, the barbarous Goths, the proud Venetians, and the still more hated Turks, nothing remains in modern Athens worthy of its ancient celebrities. The confusion of its streets, the meanness of its erections (even of those which call themselves royal), and the degradation of its inhabitants, present few features of the city which was once the "eye of Greece," the civilizer of nations, and the glory of the

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world. Yet, if heathenism ever had a triumph, it was in the renown and achievements of Athens. Fondly did ancient imaginations conceive of its inhabitants as a body-guard around the goddess Athenæ, whose robust intellectual influences were described by the myth that she had sprung in complete panoply from the head of her father Zeus, or Jupiter. And well did the results correspond with their conception of her who was represented as the combined essence of wisdom and power—the patroness of brilliant and useful arts—of social order and political counsel—of intellect and patriotism.

The object of this tract, however, is not to represent this city as it appeared in the days of its highest splendour. It was then, indeed, incomparably superior to the collection of ruins which now bears its name—though its pictorial effect in decay may perhaps equal that of its greatest perfection; but at the time of which we write, its political *prestige* was gone. The period from which the reader is requested to look at Athens is the reign of Claudius Cæsar; and, perhaps, we cannot better mark the intervals between Athens as it was then and Athens as it had been heretofore, than by recalling to the mind of the reader similar intervals in British history. The marvels of that debateable land which the Athenians called “the heroic age” (when daring action was exaggerated into gigantic proportions by an obscure past) stood nearly as distant from our stand-point as the fabulous British Arthur does from the modern 1855; though the Athenian period furnished, in the persons of Hercules, Theseus, and Minos, conceptions of demi-gods, and, in its narration of the Trojan war, materials for the highest poetry. Draco and Solon (the latter of whom left his name stamped on most of the laws and customs of the city) were, to those modern Athenians, remembrances as distant as to us are those of the barons who signed Magna Charta in the reign of king John. The great battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylæ with their corresponding memory of Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, and Leonidas, might stand about as far from those days as the encounters of Cressy and Poitiers do from ours. Herodotus, the father of Greek history, might, in point of mere time, represent our Matthew of Paris; and Simonides our Chaucer. The magnificent age of Cimon and Pericles would correspond with the reign of our Henry the Fourth.

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The struggles of the Peloponnesian war would be to those Athenian ages somewhat akin to the wars of the Roses in English history; whilst the conquests of Philip—a period of disgrace to Athens, against which Demosthenes struggled in vain—might correspond with the efforts of Philip of Spain to subjugate England, the ultimate issue of which was so glorious. After that time, Athens and the whole of Greece had, at a period corresponding with our commonwealth, become the prey of the Roman power. Thenceforward, countries, at the mere mention of which the ancient world grew pale, became merged in the common appellation of Achaia—a name comprehending the whole of ancient Greece, whilst the rest was included in that of Macedonia.

VISIT OF PAUL.

It was during the reign of the emperor Claudius, when for nearly two hundred years Achaia had been a Roman province, bound hand and foot by that all-subduing tyranny, that a solitary traveller was seen bending his way towards the celebrated capital of ancient Attica. There was nothing distinguished in his external appearance; it was diminutive and insignificant; his mode of address was ungraceful, his garb mean and travel-stained; but there was that in him, on which, when once viewed, men would fain look again—a stamp of goodness, benevolence, and power: and that his eye could kindle with the blaze of genius, or shoot forth consuming lightnings in the presence of evil, who that has read his writings can ever doubt? Were this man now to appear in any city in Christendom, no honours would be deemed too great, no reception too distinguished, to give him welcome. All would hail him as the most self-denying hero, the most profound philosopher, the most inspired teacher, the most illustrious martyr (save One greater than he, and whose servant he himself was) the world had ever acknowledged. At the period under consideration he was unknown in this metropolis of art and learning. He was a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia—a birth, however, which made him a Roman freeman. He was, moreover, a learned man, but one not without strange antecedents; for, though born of Jewish descent, he had, in the opinion of his compeers, vacillated in his religious sentiments, and lost thereby patronage and honour, and was now without

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mark, or friends, or importance. Whether he were called by the name of the religion he had abandoned—a Jew, or by the name of that he had now embraced—a Christian, signified little in the district to which he had come: both were terms of offence and of derision in the eyes of the Athenians, though the former, as being the more ancient religion, might have some small advantage over a system now looked upon as utterly mean and despicable.

It is not necessary to repeat here the singular and notorious history of Saul, subsequently called Paul. All are acquainted with the superiority of his early education—Tarsus being then one of the great seats of learning; the prejudices he imbibed against the rising Christian faith; the manner in which his hands were imbued with the blood of Christ's first martyr; the energy and violence with which he persecuted all who bore His hated name, and the celebrity and promotion he was likely to gain thereby. All can recall that splendid miracle, which, by a suddenness as great as that of the flash of lightning which attended it, made him a Christian; not, however, by any impulse of mere exciting enthusiasm, but by convincing his reason that He against whom his hostility had been directed was the Divine Lord. And all know, too, how from that time his whole character and destiny underwent a complete reversal, from darkness to light, from sin to holiness; till the wondrous change ended in his becoming, no longer the stern Pharisee, but the humble disciple of a religion which he would have heretofore crushed—its noblest assertor—its first general apostle. In the privacy of Arabia he had, by contact with Heaven, been taught the truths he was thenceforward to administer; and after an introduction to the Christians at Jerusalem, who had at first received him with not a little suspicion—so much were they in terror of his former name and exploits—had settled down for a time at Antioch, in the midst of the Gentile church formed in that city, awaiting the time when God should summon him to the higher than regal office he had promised him—that of the apostle of Christ's heavenly religion to the Gentile world.

Nor need we relate how Paul had been called out, together with Barnabas, to this special and then original mission of *conveying the message* of Divine pardon through a Redeemer, and *of forming societies* which should distribute spiritual influence

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among the surrounding population. A circuit of labour most important in itself, though small in comparison with subsequent efforts, was therefore undertaken among the countries contiguous to Antioch. This essay had not been without its perils; in the course of it the missionary pair had felt the first blast of the rising storm. But much was done, and nothing could daunt men whose impulses were all heaven-born. A second time, but now in company with Silas, Paul set out upon a missionary journey. Having, after many Christian labours, reached the Troad—the spot where all Greece had been anciently collected for destruction and overthrow—the apostles were commanded to carry the tidings of salvation from that quarter into Europe, that the good news might reach the homes of the ancient warriors, and be transmitted to the western world. They landed in Philippi, and, after many successes and adventures, these men, whose ill-understood mission made them often objects of popular fury, were compelled to take refuge in Berea. Thither, however, their persecutors pursued them, till Paul, whose pre-eminent energy had rendered him peculiarly obnoxious, resolved to escape to Athens, leaving Silas and Timotheus, a recent convert, to follow him when they could. His journey, it would appear, was made by sea.

APPROACH TO ATHENS BY THE PIRÆUS.

It would be vain to conjecture what emotions this voyage might awaken in the mind of one to whom the great events of Grecian history could not be unfamiliar. The imperfect navigation of those days, when a vessel was a very incomplete machine, propelled sometimes by the wind and sometimes by oars, rendered it necessary that the mariners should always, if it were possible, “hug the shore.” Passing, accordingly, along the fertile coast of Eubœa, then the granary of Athens, the vessel would double the rocky promontory of Sunium, with the celebrated Doric temple of Athenæ conspicuous on its height; it would pass by the noble island of Egina, and, within view of Salamis, sacred to the memory of defeated tyranny and rescued liberty, would anchor in one of the ports of Athens. What Leith is to the Edinburgh of modern days, the Piræus, including its three harbours of refuge, was to Athens in the period of its glory. As the soil of Attica was not productive, corn was imported and encouraged by large

bounties, whilst, in return, the exports were figs, olives, honey, marble, several metals, and many manufactures. Like to seaports in general, the Piræus was in those days crowded with taverns and houses of equivocal reputation; and he who landed on its shores was open to the invitations of the honest trader on the one hand, or the crimp and the bully on the other. In those days a constant stream of population was ever flowing between the city and its harbours; merchants for the sake of trade, friends to take leave of their acquaintance, the idle for a lounge on the pier or among the bazaars, and the dissolute for the sake of congenial associates. The whole city of the Piræus was then larger than Athens itself, and was defended by a huge sea-wall, sixty feet in height, built during the Peloponnesian war. But now the whole locality bore visible traces of the desolations consummated by Sylla, who destroyed the fortifications of the Piræus, and overthrew the maritime power of Athens. The walls were in ruins, and even the tomb of Themistocles, the founder of the port, which stood as a landmark upon the shore, had not escaped the terrible destruction.

The only ancient approach from the Piræus had been between two long walls flanked with towers, which were likened to a pair of cables mooring the seaport to the metropolis. These walls, completed by Pericles, had not only tended to preserve the communication between Athens and its port, but also to keep off an enemy landing at the Piræus from passing to the eastward of the metropolis, except by making the whole circuit of the city. In times of great danger, all the neighbouring population had crowded within them as into a fortress. But now the maritime town was reduced to the dimensions of a village; the single approach to Athens was divided into two; many of the treasures of Grecian art were transported to Rome; and, instead of the constant crowds whom business or pleasure once led along the well-trodden road, only a thin stream of population ran intermittingly along. But as the traveller advanced, the glories of that city, which was "the envy and wonder of the world,"* increased constantly. On his right, at some considerable distance, were the thyme-covered heights of Hymettus, where the Ilissus has its source, and whence abundance of honey was anciently produced. The road passed through masses of olive

* Demades.

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trees—"the sacred grove;" then crossed the river Cephysus, on the banks of which Theseus had established himself when a homeless wanderer. Time had been when a great multitude of tombs were apparent along the causeway; but the walls had been long in ruins, and the cenotaphs now principally conspicuous, were erected to the memories of Menander and Euripides. At length, passing between the craggy hill of the Museum on the right (which derived its name from the tomb of Mæseus, the poet), and the less considerable elevation of the Pnyx on the left, where, during successive years, the voices of Athenian orators "fulminated over Greece," the traveller enters through the Piræan gate the ancient city itself.

INTERIOR OF ATHENS, AND GLIMPSES OF ITS SOCIAL LIFE.

What a scene! Immediately before the visitor stands the "observed of all observers," the ancient Acropolis—the original stronghold of former days—resting on precipitous rocks of brown and grey, crowded with objects of consummate beauty, though from this point half hidden behind its Pelasgic walls. There are the Parthenon, with its long ranges of exquisite columns, resembling the purity of a Grecian maiden; the Erechtheum, graceful in its Ionic beauty; the statue of Minerva, in bronze, the spear and helmet of which were seamarks to the mariner; and the Propylæa, the commanding pediment of which formed the majestic entrance to this upper city on the side whence the Acropolis was alone accessible, immediately opposite to the Piræan-gate. On an eminence lower than the Acropolis, and close under it on the traveller's left, is the Areopagus, whilst at its base stretches the Agora, or Athenian market-place. On the right of the Acropolis, at some distance, may be seen the meandering of the little river Ilissus. Between that river and the Acropolis is the magnificent commencement of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, begun by Pisistratus, advanced by Antiochus Epiphanes, and not yet completed. That part of Athens immediately below the Acropolis, on the traveller's right, is crowded with objects of magnitude and beauty. Amongst them is the Dionysiac Theatre, beyond which may be seen the ornamented top of the beautiful Choragic monument of Lysicrates, and near to the Ilissus the ancient Odeum; whilst the intervening space between the Acropolis and the Ilissus is filled up by the

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residences of the Athenians, which present few points of gracefulness or order, though, being interspersed with foliage, their general appearance is agreeable. Such are some of the points which modern research has succeeded in establishing amidst the ruins of Athens. But how much more remains, and will always remain, untold!

Into this city, with all its incomparable monuments of high art, did the apostle Paul enter. Though Athens was by no means equal, in the number and vivacity of its population, to what it had formerly been, it was still distinguished by the busy movements which attend on all large cities, but which peculiarly belonged to the versatile metropolitans of Attica. There might be seen the litter, borne by slaves, which carried the woman of rank, or possibly the sick person, to or from the country seat; and occasionally, though rarely, a carriage upon wheels, drawn by horses. But such an equipage was considered to indicate a proud and effeminate person. At another point might be discerned a family of boys, or perhaps of girls, conducted to or from their schools by slaves kept especially for that purpose. Or at the corners of streets children would be tossing up their shells, marked with pitch on the one side and left clean on the other, whilst the question they proposed was, "Night or day?" Or, perhaps, they would be employed in trundling the hoop as in modern times. There might be seen the landed proprietor, riding on his mule, in the morning, to his small country estate, to superintend the labours of his slaves, or returning from it in the evening after the labour of the day was done. In one place the vessel of water before the door of the house, or a bunch of hair hanging above it, would give notice to the passer-by that there was a dead body within, and he who entered through the half-opened door would perceive the body laid out, dressed in white, bedecked with chaplets and green boughs, whilst the relations of the deceased brought garlands, in which the leaves of the parsley were conspicuous; or, perhaps, the eye of the spectator might rest upon the funeral procession itself; on the body, borne by freed men, upon its couch, arrayed in white, preceded by players on the double flute, and followed, first by slaves bearing ointments, and then by relations, principally, however, by males; whilst the remains, which were sometimes burnt at an appointed spot, and some-

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times merely buried, were conveyed without the city. The poorer classes might be seen passing through the grave-gate to a distinct cemetery. Occasionally might be witnessed the reverse of this melancholy scene—the glittering bridal ceremonial, moving to the sounds of gay music, and to the song of the Hymenæos. Now and then a landed proprietor might be discerned on horseback, attended by his household of slaves, who, if he were about to make a journey, moved along under burdens of almost crushing weight. And sometimes, amidst the gay and varied robes of the men, alternating with the long and flowing drapery of the more aged females (the younger matrons and especially the virgins being kept in seclusion at home), the well-known appearance of the Roman soldier would assert the power and proclaim the universality of the Imperial sway.

There was little in the private houses of Athens to challenge attention, the Athenians having reserved for their public edifices their richest architecture and most sumptuous decorations. But at this time the simple rule of the past was beginning to yield to the inroads of increasing luxury. The houses were mostly constructed with two stories, of which the higher was devoted to the women, and many of them had a portico protecting the entrance and guarded by an eunuch. In later days, painted interiors had become common, and the floors, which were of plaster, were worked into mosaic patterns. Windows, though not absent, did not constitute a very conspicuous feature of the whole building.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ATHENIANS.

The day of the Athenians was divided into periods bearing relation to their meals. At dawn, the influx of the country population, who brought provisions into the city, and sang their ancient songs by the way, gave notice to the inhabitants that it was time to rise. On getting up, the first meal was taken, which consisted of bread dipped in wine. The theatre constituted one of their early morning occupations, and its price was two oboli (paid to the poor in the time of Pericles out of the public treasury), though certain places were expensive. As the day advanced—measured among the Athenians either by the length of the shadow of the perpendicular gnomon, or by a peculiar construction called the "*ekspydra*,"

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or water-clock—came the time called by the inhabitants “full market,” when the purchases of the day were made, and the Agora was crowded; after which came the breakfast, a midday substantial meal, in which cookery often had some share. A siesta, or some quiet game (like dibs), with the bones of animals, followed. As the day advanced, the business resorts became deserted, and the pleasure-loving population poured out of the city into the environs; some, to the public gardens or to the Dromos for an evening walk, or to the Academy, or the Lyceum, or other Gymnasia, where striking the ball, hurling the discus or the javelin, running, leaping, boxing, and wrestling, were practised. Many of the exercises were performed with bodies unclad and smeared with oil; and the Athenians, to the injury of its population, permitted many of the practices which the severer Spartans had prohibited. The supper was usually late in the day, even later than the Roman meal, with which it had a general correspondence. The Greeks, like the Romans, were much addicted to drinking, though several of their sages and great men had earnestly protested against the degrading vice; and the rites of hospitality, which they regarded with peculiar respect, and practised in honour, as they averred, of some of their popular deities, were not unfrequently occasions of the utmost disorder. As night approached, the darkness of the unlighted streets gave rise to the regulation, that a slave with a torch formed of dry wood should precede the passenger. This was the more necessary, because the frequent altars and monuments formed convenient hiding-places for thieves; and though watchmen were not wanting, they were apt, as in more modern times, to sleep upon or to desert their posts; and certain persons with bells were appointed to patrol the streets, to discover, by the answer, the degree of vigilance kept up.

THE AREOPAGUS AND OTHER PUBLIC EDIFICES.

There were certain objects which a stranger in Athens, intent upon becoming acquainted with its localities and its remembrances, could scarcely fail to visit. One of these, on the summit of the hill we have already specified, was the Pnyx, deriving its name from the massive stones which compressed its soil, thus preventing it from gliding into the tree-shaded Agora below. There, in the best days of Athens, the

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assemblies of the democracy were held, readily convened from the contiguous market-place; and there, seated on semi-circular benches hewn out of the rock, they often assembled to utter their clamours, to express their applause, to pronounce their votes, or to enact their popular tyranny. The orators of the people spoke from a stone block, which in earlier days faced the sea, but in later times was turned from it. Who does not think of those fiery words which, issuing thence, blazed through the length and breadth of Greece, coming down to us as specimens of eloquence which modern times despair of rivalling? Here Andocides, Isocrates, Pericles, Demosthenes, and Æschines, led the minds and roused the passions of the multitude. Here took place that great gladiatorial combat between Demosthenes and Æschines with which every classical reader is familiar. Eloquence in Athens had now passed its meridian, and liberty was in the deep sleep which knows of no awaking. The rostrum had been the press of its day, ready for much good and not a little evil, but an ægis against oligarchy and tyranny in all their forms. It might be regarded as one of the estates of Athens; and Aristophanes in his comedies introduces Demosthenes as promising to the sausage-seller, the Areopagus, the Limnæ, and the Pnyx—that is, the courts of law, the dwellings of the inhabitants, and the public parliament—a grant which he speaks of as comprehending the whole of Athens.

The adjacent hill bore the name of Areopagus. Of all the numerous courts of judicature in Athens this was the most illustrious. It was fabled that the god of war had been himself subject to the jurisdiction of this ancient tribunal, and this eminence was therefore designated "Mars Hill." The institution of the Areopagus appears to have been older than the age of Solon, and possibly dated its origin from the more ancient period of Cecrops. The range assigned to this tribunal was very wide. "From the guilt of murder to the negative offence of idleness its control extended. The consecration of altars to new deities, and the penalties affixed to impiety, were at their decision and in their charge. Theirs was the illimitable authority to scrutinize the lives of men; they attended public meetings and solemn sacrifices to preserve order by the majesty of their presence. The custody of the laws, the management of the public funds, and the superintendence of

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the education of youth, were committed to their care. Despite their power, they interfered but little in the management of political affairs, save in cases of imminent danger. Their duties, grave, tranquil, and solemn, held them aloof from the stir of temporary agitation. They were the last great refuge of the State, to which, on common occasions, it was almost profanity to appeal. Their very demeanour was modelled to harmonize with the reputation of their virtues and the dignity of their office. It was forbidden to laugh in their assembly. No archon, or magistrate, who had been seen in a public tavern, could be admitted to their order, and for an areopagite to compose a comedy was a matter of special prohibition. They sate in the open air, in common with all courts having cognizance of murder. If the business before them was great and various, they were wont to divide themselves into committees, to each of which the several causes were assigned by lot, so that, no man knowing the cause he was to adjudge, could be assailed with the imputation of dishonest or partial prepossession. After duly hearing both parties, they gave their judgment with proverbial gravity and silence. The institution of the ballot (a subsequent custom) afforded secrecy to their award—a proceeding deemed necessary, amidst the jealousies and power of factions, to preserve their judgment unbiassed by personal fear, and the abolition of which was amongst the causes that crushed for awhile the liberties of Athens. A brazen urn received the suffrages of condemnation; one of wood those of acquittal. Such was the character and constitution of the Areopagus."

Again: "The number of the areopagites depending upon the number of the archons, was necessarily fluctuating and uncertain. An archon was not necessarily admitted to the Areopagus. He previously underwent a rigorous and severe examination of the manner in which he had discharged the duties of his office, and was liable to expulsion upon proofs of immorality or unworthiness." * It was the duty of the public officers called "Prytanes" to summon the public assemblies, (which were sometimes held in the theatre of Bacchus), and out of the "Prytanes" a fixed number were chosen to preside over the debate, and to propose the subjects for deliberation. Our space does not allow us to enter into

* Bulwer's "Athens," vol. i. p. 343.

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these arrangements, nor into those of the civil government of Athens, at length.

"The decrees of the Roman senate derived some of their authority from being passed in a consecrated building. And at Athens it was an ingenious device of policy to connect the council and court of the Areopagus with the religious worship of the Eumenides. The devotional awe with which the latter were regarded was thus extended to the former. It was consecrated by this union. The design of blending the interests and safety of the Tribunal with the awfulness of the Temple is seen in the position of both. Some wise well-wisher to the Areopagus placed the shrine of the Eumenides immediately at the foot of this hill."*

We have already mentioned the name of "the Academy." That name suggests a feature which gives to Athens its most illustrious pre-eminence — its schools of philosophy. The Academy was a house surrounded by pleasure grounds, adorned with statues and fountains, in the neighbourhood of Athens, deriving its name, as some suppose, from its original possessor, Academus. It was purchased by Cimon, who left it a legacy to the Athenian people; having previously planted in it a great number of plane trees, whose rapid and luxuriant growth furnished a grateful shelter from the heat of a Grecian sky. One of the gymnasia of Athens, it was situated on a road leading towards the N. W. of the city, lined with the tombs of citizens who had fallen in battle. The trees were intersected with waters, for which its low locality was peculiarly favourable. It was surrounded by a wall, and comprehended several temples, among which that of Minerva, to whom the whole enclosure was dedicated, was especially conspicuous. Many of the lessons of Socrates were delivered by him within this enclosure, and the teachings of his great pupil and successor, Plato, were so identified with the spot, near to which he resided, as to cause his disciples to receive the name of Academics. Plato had several successors, some of whom considerably modified his system, and gave rise to different schools, designated by their names. The Academy stood in a part of Athens called Ceramicus, answering to the French word "Tuileries," from the spot having been heretofore used for the manufacture of tiles.

* Wordsworth's "Attica," p. 68.

ATHENIAN SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

To Athens belongs the honour of having so advanced and improved the systems of philosophy for which Greece was famous, as to become, during a long period, the university of the world. From the time of Thales of Miletus, who flourished about 600 years before Christ, a series of sages arose, with views considerably differing from each other. Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Xenophanes, and Pythagoras, successively taught their doctrines. The teachings of Socrates, however, in the city of Athens, constituted a new era in the history of philosophy. From them arose four principal philosophic sects, not to mention innumerable smaller ones—the *Peripatetics*, founded by Aristotle, and principally dealing with such practical results as history, criticism, rhetoric, and logic, in which especially he excelled; though propounding the doctrine that being ceases with life, and setting forth many pantheistic views;—the *Platonists*, or *Academics*, who dealt rather with moral than with physical sciences; avowing all knowledge to be innate; upholding the immortality of the soul; developing many of the truths which Socrates had indicated; fixing a high standard of moral excellence; theorising upon political constitutions, but acknowledging One supreme and uncreated Cause;—the *Stoics*, founded by Zeno, which sought a remedy against the ills of life in courage and self-possession; affecting superiority to pain; merging the individual in the consideration of the general good; regarding even the gods, as well as man himself, as altogether subject to the iron rule of a mystic fatalism; and arguing that all things were regulated by the infallible law that “whatever is, is right;”—and, lastly, the *Epicureans*, deriving their name from the Athenian schoolmaster, Epicurus, who found a home in Athens in the year 377. His doctrine was, that pleasure was the chief good—a tenet which, though not so intended by the master, who had in his view only mental gratification, was grievously perverted by his followers, till every gay youth, every careless spendthrift, every abandoned voluptuary, gladly owned the doctrine as his own.

Such are some of the principal sects which rendered Athens famous, and caused it to occupy a place in the civilized world greater than that which Egypt had done heretofore. The influence of its philosophical teachings, in combination with

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its exquisite models of fine art, the renown of its spirit and liberty, the fame of its eloquence, and the surpassing excellence of its literary productions, had made it a Colossus, under whose feet men were contented to walk, looking up to it with a kind of awful admiration. Even Rome, which had put the boasted love of Athenian liberty into its strong alembic, and had proved much of it to be mere dross, was still contented to sit at the feet of Athens for science, taste, literature, and wisdom. There was, accordingly, scarcely a Roman of note who did not visit Athens in some period or other of his life, though usually at the time when his education was receiving its completion. Not only did he gaze upon those master-pieces of art which have immortalized the names of Phidias and Pericles, Ictinus and Praxiteles; not only did he form his style upon the polished periods of Thucydides, or learn nervous force from the mountain grandeur of Æschylus, majesty from the fine stateliness of Sophocles, feeling and sensibility from the rich pathos of Euripides, and caustic satire from Aristophanes; but in Athens he sat at the feet of sages who professed to analyse those physical laws—then so little understood—by which matter acts on matter; those social laws by which sympathy begets sympathy; those intellectual laws by which conclusions follow premises; those political laws by which citizen is bound to citizen; and, if they admitted the phenomena at all, those spiritual laws, which deal with the mysteries of an unseen existence and an unknown eternity. In addition to these attractions, the history of Nero, a little after, shows how the Grecian games held forth all attractive amusement to Roman youth, and how a journey to Greece in those days would be like a journey to Rome or Naples in our own.

Not even the part which Athens took against the imperial government could alienate from it the favour of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. It was the favourite eastern residence of Anthony; the temporary abode of Horace; visited when a student by the son of Cicero; whilst successive potentates vied in doing it honour, or in adding magnificent structures to its architectural profusion.

ATHENIAN SOCIETY AS IT MET THE EYE OF PAUL.

Considerations like these could not, we imagine, be

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altogether without interest to the great apostle, whose previous education must have taught him to set some value upon literature, philosophy, and remembrances of high achievement. But the noble unity of his object left him little leisure to dwell upon Athens, considered as a museum of fine arts or valuable antiquities. What principally appealed to him, wherever he went, was man—living, immortal man—man as he was lost without the guidance and guardianship of revelation, or man as he might become a recipient of transforming truths, and a subject of heavenly destinies. And with the eye of one who intensely loved his species, and followed out their history unusually far into the future, would he weigh and estimate the moral lineaments presenting themselves to his gaze. What met his mental eye as he looked upon the hundred thousand human beings who constituted the population of the city?

The inhabitants of Athens at this day were men such as are always made by the cultivation of intellect, taste, and emotion, without the ballasting counterpoise of large moral principle. By birth virtuosi and patrons of art, these Parisians of ancient days were clever, quick, and versatile, excellent judges of what was right, and rapid in pronouncing their opinions. They were acute critics, keen logicians, and plausible conversers; but fickle and passionate—easily excited to effervescence, but useless for action when that effervescence had passed away—voracious of amusement, with an uncommon predisposition to the witty and caustic, yet by no means incapable of appreciating subjects of moral worth. Not only were they prone to believe the flatterer, but on every public occasion they demanded flattery as a part of their social rights. They exhibited a motley combination of the grave with the frivolous. They joined an appreciation of virtue to a practice which ignored it; they ever spoke of courage, yet at heart were cowards. With freedom on their lips, and the history of great transactions in their annals, they yet submitted to be slaves. Applauding incorruptibility, they were bought with a price. They were unbounded in their prodigality when a figure was to be cut, yet were otherwise penurious; thus exhibiting, as Isocrates said, "*the beauty of a courtesan whom none would desire for a wife.*"

Such were the Athenians in the later period of their history. Before the Christian era, Demosthenes had borne witness of them, that the dignity of their past character existed no longer; that few Athenian tradesmen were honest and industrious, and that their judges were notorious for their venality. All was rapidly degenerating into the vices which have settled down, like a crust, upon their once noble natures. Even under the Roman emperors, Athens received distinctions accorded to few conquered cities, and not as yet had Scythian barbarity swept away the traces of civilized life. But the decay of nations is always coincident with the corruption of their morals, and degeneracy had done for Athens what the uprooting hand of power had not yet effected. The clever trickery and treacherous deceit, the selfishness and rapacity, which have since characterized the Greeks of the Lower Empire, were already apparent. We may trace the germ of these even to the best days of Athenian greatness. They entered into the character even of Solon himself. That great legislator had an unmistakeable propensity towards certain mere arts of statesmanship, and, though his motives were unimpeachable, he regarded dexterity as not the least valuable accomplishment of a public man. The manner in which he settled differences, by holding out alternate bribes to rival parties; the coy reluctance with which he refused high honours, only that they might be the more eagerly pressed upon him; and the promise he obtained from the Athenians, that they would obey his laws in his absence, which he then contrived to prolong almost indefinitely, were points of character subsequently reflected, without his excellences, in the Athenian people. Once, it was said, Athens was indeed great; men's habits were unluxurious, elders were revered, chastity and decorum pervaded all public assemblies, and medicancy was unknown; but afterwards wealth measured importance, virtue became divorced from wisdom, and luxury grew into licentiousness. Though Athens still retained the name of a free city, great were the exactions perpetrated in it by the Roman government. Cicero charges it upon Piso that he had "exhausted Achaia, vexed Thessaly, and lacerated Athens." The boasted democracy of the city was only a name. Informers were numerous, and bribery general. Many vices practised by the Athenians—some of them rather to be imagined than expressed

—tended to diminish its population with the utmost rapidity, and “the sanction of infanticide was by no means the most destructive or the most loathsome form in which they manifested themselves.”* So that Plutarch, who lived a little later, declares that Greece was peculiarly conspicuous for the decrease of its inhabitants.

Nothing marked more distinctly the defective state of Athenian opinion, than the broad distinction maintained between freedmen and slaves. Freedom was on the tongue while slavery was in the practice. The evidence of a slave was only admissible after he had undergone the torture; political power was (he was instructed) an elevation to which he had no right to aspire. The slave might not bear any name belonging to a freedman, and was entirely forbidden to carry arms; he was interdicted from worshipping certain gods, and brute force was, as usual, the only argument he was supposed to comprehend. As, on the one hand, the rich trampled on the poor, so, on the other, the poor regarded the rich as their legitimate prey: the two classes were as chemical compounds, which may sometimes mix, but can never combine; their union was often more productive of effervescence than of permanent advantage. The greatest alleviation of the troubles of the slave was in the provision that, by taking refuge in the temple of Theseus, dedicated to the protection of the distressed, he might, under certain conditions, be transferred to a better master.

Whatever else might attract the attention of the apostle, one deep and pre-eminent impression was made upon his mind during this visit. It was produced by the inordinate and all-abounding idolatry which he witnessed around him. Indeed, it was as impossible to remain in a marshy soil and not to breathe its mephitic vapour, as to abide in Athens and not to come in contact with its omnipresent heathenism. The reader who peruses the account given of Athens by Pausanias, who visited it during the reign of Hadrian, cannot fail to observe this most distinguished feature of the learned metropolis. Temples, statues, altars of all kinds and all combinations, commemorating now the greater and now the lesser gods, heroes, legislators, and other illustrious men, were apparent everywhere; in the Piræus, in Munychia, between the long

* Thirlwall's "Greece."

walls, in the Ceraimeus, the Council House, the Theatres, the Gymnasia, the Agora. The Ilissus was a sacred river, the country of Attica was dedicated to Minerva, and the city of Athens was especially under her protection. Her most honoured statue in the Acropolis was reported to have fallen from heaven, and there burnt continually before it a golden lamp with a wick of asbestos; whilst a palm-tree of brass rising above the lamp carried off the smoke. The description given of Athens by Pausanias is little more than a catalogue of objects of idolatry, familiarity with one half of which must have severely tasked the memory of its inhabitants. Every god and goddess of the Pantheon had its representation there, and many of the deities were very frequently repeated. In addition to these visible emblems of idolatry, there was scarcely an action of life, personal, domestic, social, political, in which this all-prevalent heathenism was not discoverable. Many of the ceremonies were unusually splendid. In no city were priests and priestesses so numerous: the sacred offices were often attached to the most dignified families, and transmitted as hereditary rights. The archons, or principal magistrates, presided over the religious ceremonies. The slightest accidents of life became omens, fortunate or otherwise, as the priesthood might determine. New deities arose with every age; and to question their divinity was to expose the sceptic to trial, punishment, and perhaps death. The last consequence was especially to be dreaded if any suspicion were entertained of irreverence towards the Eleusinian mysteries, of which more hereafter. Æschylus narrowly escaped stoning on this charge; and, perhaps, not even the sight of the wounds received by his brother Amynias in the battle of Salamis, would have saved him, had he not been able to prove that he never had been amongst the initiated. For the same reason, Diagoras of Melos, though he saved his life by flight, was branded with perpetual infamy. The writings of Protagoras were burnt in the Forum, and Prodicus of Scios, who had asserted the tendency of human nature to elevate objects of universal utility into gods, was condemned to drink hemlock. Similarly, Socrates was accused of impiety, in not acknowledging the gods recognised by the State, and died by the same poison.

■ The festivals held by the Athenians in honour of their

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deities were more numerous than the saints' days in a Roman Catholic calendar. The Dionysiac theatre, which stood in the district of the Limnæ, at the base of the Acropolis, was the scene of an annual festival in honour of Bacchus, observed in Athens with greater splendour than in any other state of Greece, and spreading disorder, revelry, and licentiousness around. The rites were such that modern delicacy shrinks even from adverting to them; and the part of the ceremony which may be described consisted of companies of men dressed in women's apparel, wearing garlands on their heads and hands, and imitating in their gestures the antics of drunken men. In the temple of the Eumenides, placed below Mars Hill, the Furies, whose proper names it was considered unfortunate to pronounce, and who were metonymically called the Venerable Goddesses, received annually their libation of honey, wine, and cakes, made by the most illustrious youths of Athens; and slaves were prohibited from appearing in the worship of deities supposed to avenge all kinds of evil. The Dipoleia was also an annual festival observed in honour of Jupiter, the protector of the city. In this ceremonial a number of oxen were driven round a pile of consecrated cakes, and the animal that first touched the cakes was instantly slaughtered. An ancient tradition gave rise to the custom that the priest who killed the victim immediately took to flight. A jury was empanelled *pro formâ* to try the crime of its death, who acquitted the priest, and condemned the knife which had been the instrument of its murder. Then there were the Adonia, observed in honour of Venus weeping over Adonis; the Aiora, in honour of Erigone; the annual cock-fight, in memory of the omen which assured Themistocles of his success against the Persians; the Aloa, in honour of husbandry; the Anthesteria, in honour of Bacchus, when the Athenians tapped their barrels; the Itephaisteia, in honour of Vulcan, when three young men raced each other in the Academy with lighted torches, and if any of them halted, in their desire not to extinguish their lights, their pace was quickened by the blows of the spectators; the Festival of the Sun; that in honour of Ceres, in which the women took the most distinguished part; the sports and games attendant on the Theseia; the Oscophoria, also in honour of Theseus, at which the custom was that the subjects of conversation

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should be restricted to old traditions and antique tales ; with many others.

But we must not omit the grand ceremonial of the Panathenaia, in honour of the protectress Minerva, observed in its most enlarged form every fifth year. In this ceremony, in addition to the races with torches on foot and on horseback, gymnastic exercises, so grateful to the Athenians, a mimic sea-fight, and the Pyrrhic dance, took place the grand procession so effectively represented in the once coloured metopes of the Parthenon, many of which are now deposited, by a singular change of fortune, in the Museum of the British nation. The object of this procession was to escort the peplos—a piece of magnificent embroidery, annually manufactured by the virgins of Athens—to the temple of Minerva Polias, in the Acropolis, in order that her statue might be invested with it. In early times this peplos was a kind of hanging banner ; latterly, it was made to resemble the sail of a ship, and was attached to a richly decorated hull moving forward upon concealed wheels. The vessels and sacred emblems employed in these rites were preserved in the Pompeium—a temple allotted to that purpose. The procession was marshalled outside the gate of the Dipylum, advanced through the Agora, between the Areopagus and the Pnyx ; it passed through the Limnæ, and made the circuit of the base of the Acropolis, and was finally carried up through the grand ascent of the Propylæa to the citadel, where it was deposited in its appropriate temple. Aged men, adults, women, youths, virgins, and boys, took their part in the ceremony ; whilst, in honour of the occasion, prisoners were set free, and golden crowns awarded to the benefactors of the State.

Nor must we forbear to mention one festival more, removed to Rome soon after the time of which we write, but now extremely popular, not only among the Athenians, but among the Greeks in general, and even the Romans. This was the solemnity observed every fifth year at Eleusis, a town at some distance from Athens, where, in honour of Ceres and Proserpine, the most important ceremonial of all Greece was observed every fifth year, and was emphatically designated “the Mysteries.” So secret were these rites, that death was the consequence of violating them. Here, after due preparations, the initiated was led by the hierophant by night into

a place called the mystical temple, having previously washed his hands in holy water, and received the admonition to come, with a pure heart, to so solemn a ceremony. A kind of free-masonry was then observed. All the magic arts of the time were put into operation; fearful sights and sounds terrified the beholder, and secrets were made known, to reveal which was accounted by the Athenians a capital crime. The garments in which the initiated returned, now become sacred, were held in the highest reverence, and were never thrown away whilst an entire portion remained. Warburton has written elaborately to prove that these mysteries involved the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments. However this may be, it is certain that they gave an impulse to the persecutors of Christianity in the first instance, by the fraternization they taught, and that the church, by imitating them afterwards, grievously fell from its original simplicity.

Painful, intensely painful, to the mind of such a man as the apostle Paul, must have been daily familiarity with sights and associations such as these. The weight of concern which pressed on his mind, as he mingled in such scenes, was almost insupportable. What to him were the achievements of art—what to him were the boasted names of philosophy—when he witnessed the influence of both tending to estrange the mind from virtue and from God? He had probably intended—at least till Silas came—to remain incognito, that he might at leisure, and undisturbedly, observe the evils which he could not remedy. But his pent-up emotions acquired a force which bore down all silence. “While he was musing, the fire burned; then spake he with his tongue.” What is so pathetic as a powerful mind heaving under the influence of pity and love? Did he not know the antidote to these infatuations? How, then, could he avoid to exhibit it? Might not a word of his break the charmed circle of some infatuated votary, or resound and reverberate till it should reach, at least, some distant ears? The energy of mere matter may be conquered, but who can bind the inwrought convictions of a Christian soul? The idolatry around him worked like the garment of Nessus upon the limbs of Hercules. He must endeavour to tear away the poisoned tunic which ate like fire into his earnest spirit. Paul, therefore, upon the Sabbath day, entered into the synagogues of the Jews, labouring to convince his brethren that they very

inadequately apprehended the whole truth of God, and that the doctrine of a crucified Jesus, which they rejected, was more powerful than the religion they had as yet received. Could he leave the idolatrous Athenians themselves to perish in their sins? If arguments had any power (and the boast of the Athenians was that it was all-powerful with them), was it not for him to employ them against their beloved delusions? Intent on this purpose, he resolved to refrain no longer from such reasonings as love and pity might suggest. He accordingly sought the crowded assembly which daily gathered in the Agora. The course was perilous, but it was divinely impelled.

Let us follow him into the market-place, which furnished a leading feature of the ordinary Athenian life. Around the base of the Areopagus stood the booths where the concourse of the inhabitants was gathered towards the middle of the day. The umbrageous plane trees, thickly planted over the area, and the porticoes of the temples, which were numerous in that locality, afforded a grateful and abundant shade. The most conspicuous buildings in this part of Athens were the senate-house, the register-office, the residence of the Prytanes, and the temple of Mars; whilst in the midst of the Agora stood the *Milliarium aureum*, from which, as from a similar spot in the Forum at Rome, all the distances in Attica were reckoned. This point was marked by an altar erected to the twelve gods. Near it stood the statues of the ten heroes after whom the Athenian tribes were named. Here all notices of public motions were affixed, before discussion upon them was permitted in the popular assemblies. Farther on in the valley stood the Stoa, or porch, in which sat the Archon who decided religious suits, and another Stoa called by the name of Jupiter Eleuthereios, both familiar to the readers of Plato. The statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton—the Brutus and Cassius of Athenian story—were here conspicuous objects, on the ascent of the Acropolis.

In this area, whilst the women were mainly employed in the domestic offices of the day, the men loved to congregate; and though there was no hour at which it was entirely deserted, the crowd was greatest in the forenoon. The scene was then peculiarly animated. Distinct spots were appropriated to different articles of sale, and distinct periods of time to their purchase. Under their appropriate booths, many

of them being covered over with a kind of hurdles, were, not only several of the articles with which we are familiar—such, for instance, as bread, the flesh of oxen, pigs, and sheep (to which the Athenians added that of the goat), poultry, pastry, cheese, turnips, onions, etc.—but other things to which we are strangers—as, for instance, a compound of rice, cheese, eggs, and honey, wrapt in fig-leaves, to which they gave the name of *thria*; another mixture of eggs, cheese, and garlic, which they called *muttoton*; grasshoppers, and the tender ends of leaves, which constituted cheap food for the poor, etc. The female bakers stood behind their pyramids of bread, and were voluble in the use of the garnish called by us *Billingsgate*. Other women sold vegetables, ready cooked for use; and the Athenian soldier might be seen carrying away his dinner of peas in his helmet. In one quarter of the Agora was to be found every variety of ointment and perfume; in another, incense for the gods; in another, chaplets, whether formed of myrtle for joy, or of parsley for sorrow; garlands of roses, perhaps of violets, or wreaths of ivy, sacred to Bacchus and his disorderly rites. Here was displayed the celebrated honey of Hymettus; there were exhibited various articles of domestic use—feather beds, sheepskins for blankets, curtains against mosquitoes, tools for workmen, and water-clocks for the measuring of time. The loud ringing of a bell proclaimed the hour at which the sale of fish (Copaic eels and sea-pikes among the rest) began in the allotted quarter; and the dialogues between sellers and purchasers did not greatly differ, in character and intensity, from those of more familiar times. Bankers had their distinct arcades, where the scales did their office, and the chink of money was heard, while their transactions with the prodigal and needy proved them to be but “indifferent honest.” One quarter was dedicated to the sale of oil, and another to that of wine, sold by sample, and often not a little adulterated. In one spot were found hair-cutters, in another the workshops of artizans, whilst a district was appropriated to cooking utensils, which, together with cooks, were let out for hire.

Though the higher class of Athenians looked upon trade with great contempt, the common people were eager in its pursuit, and not over-scrupulous in their mode of carrying it on. In some cases, however, the Athenian gentry

made money by it, though they delegated the actual work to their slaves.

Nothing was more illustrative of Athenian character than the scenes which the Agora continually presented. Never was there a more gossiping people than the inhabitants of far-famed Athens. Their inquisitive and active minds on the one hand, and their natural love for idleness on the other, induced habits which have become a proverb. "Something new" was always their demand. In one of his orations, Demosthenes says to the Athenians: "It is your sole ambition to wander through the public places, inquiring one of another, 'What news?' " This allusion to their customary habit occurs more than once in the speeches of this celebrated orator. Doubtless, this propensity would be considerably increased in time of war. Plutarch relates how the defeat of Nicias immediately transpired from a conversation carried on in a barber's shop. The booths of the common artizans were also scenes of perpetual talk, in which nothing private or public was spared; whilst attic wit seasoned criticisms upon notorious characters, or turned into comedy the most insignificant affairs of domestic life. From such tendencies the Athenians gained the name of loiterers and loungers, and "barber's talk" became a proverb in the city. Plutarch describes the young men sitting whole days listening to the plans of Alcibiades for conquering Carthage and Libya, and drawing representations of the localities and the campaign in the dust.

What a variety of characters would present themselves to the eye of a spectator in this crowded resort of Athenian life! He might observe one, disgusting from his long nails, uncleaned teeth, slovenly attire, and ill odour, affecting more than Spartan simplicity, though this affectation extended to dress alone, and bore no relation to morals. Or, there might be seen the fop, with his robe reaching to his ancles, and his hands adorned with rings, exhaling the odour of perfumes, and carrying some elaborate bouquet or sweet smelling fruit in his hand. Near to him might be seen a usurer, who sneaked off whenever a contribution was to be made for the State, carried home his own purchases, made his own bed, and wore a turned coat. Or, there might be seen the sycophant, mingling himself with the conversation of others, and living upon the hush-money gained by fostering litigation and carry-

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the trade of an informer. The gay dress of the young
te was often seen in combination with the sober
of the philosopher; whilst from all quarters the hum
conversation, the sharp tones of interrogation, the
scents of strife, or the ring of satirical laughter, might
ally be heard.

was the scene, and such the persons, amongst whom
stle Paul now aimed to disseminate the doctrines of
7 religion. Mingling in their groups, and entering
eir conversation, he endeavoured, by taking advantage
avourable opportunities, to set before them the evils of
olatry and the claims of Jesus. It takes little to excite
like that of the Athenian Agora. The novelty of his
was a point in Paul's favour. Filled with self-esteem,
re not learners, so much as judges, of what he
d. They criticized his garb and his elocution, as well
octrine. Some regarded him with the contemptuous
scorn; others, professedly more liberal, with the open
real or affected curiosity. He came to them "neither
cellency of speech nor of human wisdom." He boasted
t name; he appealed to no acknowledged authority;
red no Athenian self-love. The people were amazed
coldness. Perplexed themselves, they allowed some of
losophers, as they loved to designate themselves, to
lead in interrogating him on his doctrines. There
esent both Epicureans and Stoics: the former, to whom
was little of a reality, and to whom mockery and
ere the most familiar weapons, regarded his teaching
tic enthusiasm, and designated him a babbler. The
who had notions of religion, but of a religion alto-
different from that now set forth, censured him as an
or—"a setter-forth of strange gods."

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the market-place and the busy throng, so unfavourable
xposition of doctrine of such a sort, the people hurried
the hill of Areopagus, where religious novelties were
adjudicated upon; not so much, however, to plead
he regular judges of public religion, as to afford him an
nity of developing, without interruption, his new and
truths. It is probable that a large concourse of

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people followed him. The occasion was extraordinary. He stood on a spot which might be regarded as the centre of the intellect and religion of the world. With what forbearance, judgment, and power, the inspired man availed himself of this great occasion, every reader of the Scripture knows.

At his feet stood the numerous temples and statues which gave rise to the saying, that it was easier at Athens to find a god than a man. The Acropolis, immediately above him, was the spot of long-cherished Athenian traditions, and the most glorious monuments of ancient art clustered thickly within the walls of that rocky fortress. The Propylæa, "like a splendid frontispiece," introduced the eye to the Parthenon, with its exquisite marble columns and coloured metopes; the Temple of Wingless Victory, so elegant in its details, the Erechtheum, and the gigantic statue of Minerva, looked down upon him from above.

In the face of all these, Paul stood up to declare what he meant by speaking of new objects of worship ("strange dæmons") before those who possessed already so many. The heathen worship made a distinction between the gods by right and the gods by honour. As Jesus had been known as historically living, the question was, by what authority he was placed in the list of the latter, and deemed worthy to be ranked with the heroes whom the Athenians were so prone to worship. It must be remembered that the introduction of a new deity was, in Gentile eyes, a great offence, and one for which the apostle often suffered.

It was in no spirit of vulgar declamation, however, that the apostle availed himself of this high occasion. Like some wise rider, who restrains his pace that he may the better reach his goal; or, rather, like an orator of the highest class (for well did the apostle understand this spiritual wisdom), who places himself alongside his hearers with the hope of afterwards raising them to his own elevation; he commences his address from a point so happily selected as at once to awaken the attention of his audience and to carry them along with him. He tells them that among the objects of devout adoration which he had observed in their city, he had discovered an altar to the "Unknown God."* He acknowledges

* Pausanias, in his description of Athens, says that, at Phalerum, "there are altars also sacred to the gods called the Unknown; and Erymenides was

that religious yearnings were evidently conspicuous* in the multiplied objects of worship crowded everywhere around; and seeing that the Athenians regarded some Unknown God or gods as their benefactors, and thus avowed that they were laid under obligations to a being whose name was to them unknown, he declares himself about to reveal to them this unknown God, whom they were worshipping in ignorance of his nature; and proceeds to give such a description of him as, if received, would have rendered their idolatry baseless and unworthy. He tells them that this unknown God is the Creator of the world; that he is enclosed in and confined by no temple which man can build—pointing, perhaps, at the moment to those magnificent ones now above his head, and also, as Demosthenes did in one of his grandest apostrophes, to the earth and sea and mountains within his view; that so far from man's service being essential to him, He is the Author of all powers and the Giver of all possessions; that, instead of there being, as the Athenians supposed, differing races, Greek and barbarian, with respective differing

traditionally reported to have reared similar altars as early as the forty-sixth Olympiad. Some of the representations given of the discovery of such an inscription as the apostle quotes, on the pediment of the Parthenon and elsewhere, are evidently unworthy of serious regard.

"Appollonius of Tyana, in Philostratus vi. 3, like Paul, finds, in the style of the inscription, an evidence of the pious disposition of the Athenians in reference to divine things, inasmuch as they had erected altars to unknown gods. Isidorus, of Pelusium (vi. 69), cannot be adduced as an authority, since he merely speaks of conjectures. Diogenes Laërtius, in the life of Epimenides III, says, that in the time of a plague, when they knew not what god to propitiate in order to avert it, he caused black and white sheep to be let loose from the Areopagus, and wherever they laid down, to be offered to their respective divinities. Hence, says he, there are still many altars in Athens without any determinate names. Although the precise inscriptions are not here given, yet altars might be erected on this or a similar occasion which were dedicated to an Unknown God, since they knew not what God was offended, and required to be propitiated, as Chrysostom has also remarked in his thirty-eighth homily on the Acts."—*Neander's Planting of Christianity*, iii. §6.

* "Much depends on the meaning attached to the ambiguous word *deisidaimon* in Acts xvii. 22" (rendered by our translators 'superstitious'). "The original signification of this word, in popular usage, certainly denoted something good, as is the case in all languages with words which denote the fear of God, or of the gods—the feeling of dependance on a higher power, which, if we analyse the religious sentiment, appears to be its prime element; although not exhausting everything which belongs to the essential nature of theism, and although the first germ, without the addition of another element, may give rise to superstition as well as faith."—*Neander's Planting of Christianity*, iii. §6.

gods, all races have sprung from one common origin; and that one God is the Maker and Provider of them all. He tells them that the changes in human history were designed to lead men to the acknowledgment of this great Being, who had made such provisions as that, by the very instincts of human nature, He, though Unknown, might be recognised and worshipped; for as one of the Greek poets, Aratus, had said, "We are the offspring of God." The moral consciousness, then, which man possesses, in combination with this notion of relationship, teaches that He from whom our being is derived, and of whose spirituality our minds are only the offspring, cannot be a Being of human workmanship, or a result of human art. How useless, then, the worship of the objects around! Having gained this point, he proceeds at once to inform them that, whatever their past ignorance might be, there was now revealed to them a better system, which demanded their repentance for past sins, and exhibited to them a future judgment; whilst that Jesus, with whose name it is probable they were already familiar, was constituted by God the Judge of mankind.

He leaves them accordingly to infer that, among the sins which this Great Father would by no means overlook, now that it had been made known to them, this all-abounding idolatry was one. And he concludes by prompting them to inquire into the facts of Christ's resurrection, as the keystone of the claims put forth on his behalf; inasmuch as that event attested and confirmed his right to be regarded as more than a derivative God, whilst his appointment as Universal Judge, often declared by himself, and corroborated by that resurrection, renders him worthy of divine regard.

With whatever attention the first part of this discourse was heard, the conclusion of it awakened the prejudices of many of Paul's hearers. The doctrine was too dogmatic for the Athenian speculator, and too positive for the Athenian sceptic. There were some, indeed, who said, "We will hear thee again on this matter;" but the words were perhaps rather those of vague civility, than of an earnest intention to pursue the subject farther. Small was the effect which the preaching of the apostle Paul produced in Athens. Sophistry, intellectuality, and wit, are perhaps as formidable enemies as any

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which the gospel can be called to encounter. The reader of the first chapters of the Epistle to the Corinthians will perceive with what kind of impressions Paul retired from Athens, even before Silas had rejoined him. Among the few who attached themselves to the apostle, were Dionysius, a member of the Areopagitic council, and Damaris, of whom we know nothing more than her name. We shall err if we judge of success always by direct and immediate fruits. The preaching of the cross had been heard in Athens. We doubt not that that event would be heralded far and wide even by the unbeliever, and that it bore a most important share in sapping the foundations of the heathenish system which soon after tottered to its fall. It would appear that Dionysius became the first bishop of the church at Athens, which, though it might have an existence, seems not till the time of Hadrian to have acquired much spiritual strength. Quadratus, who was bishop of Athens at that time, and who wrote two apologies for Christianity, declares that he found the church well nigh extinct. But about a hundred years from the period of the apostle's visit, the Athenian church was, according to the testimony of Origen, lively in its piety and energetic in its zeal.

The fortunes of Athens, subsequent to the Roman dominion, have been very melancholy. In the third century, the city was taken by the Goths, who were expelled by its inhabitants, only that the city might be retaken by Alaric, their chief, who, it is said, laid its stately structures in ruins. It now sank into utter insignificance; and, though its walls were put in a state of defence by Justitian, yet from that time there is a chasm of nearly seven centuries in its history. In the thirteenth century it emerged from oblivion under Baldwin and his crusaders. After other vicissitudes, an opulent family of Florence became its rulers, and retained its possession till 1455, when it was taken by Omar, a general of Mohammed II, who settled in it a colony, and incorporated it with the Turkish Empire. In the year 1687 it was captured by the Venetians, after a short siege, during which the Parthenon, then in an almost perfect state, and the other buildings of the Acropolis, sustained great damage. After a short interval, Athens again fell into the hands of the Turks. Amidst the ravages that subsequently took place, the Elgin

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marbles were rescued by the nobleman whose name they bear, and deposited in the British Museum.

In the year 1821, a struggle was made by the people to obtain independence, when Athens was again subjected to all the horrors of war; and it is a matter of extreme surprise that so many of the magnificent monuments of former ages should have escaped its violent assaults. After a conflict extending over several years, the allied powers interfered, the battle of Navarino was fought, and subsequent diplomatic arrangements established once more the independence of Greece. The first form of government tried, which was republican, produced only anarchy. The sovereignty was therefore given to Otho, the second son of the king of Bavaria. On his arrival in January, 1833, he fixed his capital and seat of government at Athens, as a tribute to her pre-eminence in history and the beauty of her remains, rather than as a military or political arrangement. He has constructed, at an immense expense, a new palace of white Pentelic marble. It is well situated on a gently rising ground outside the town, having a fine portico in its western front, of the Doric order. The new city at present very much resembles an English provincial town; but the sites of most of the famous edifices of old are still covered with ruins.



MARS HILL AS IT IS.







